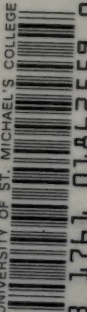
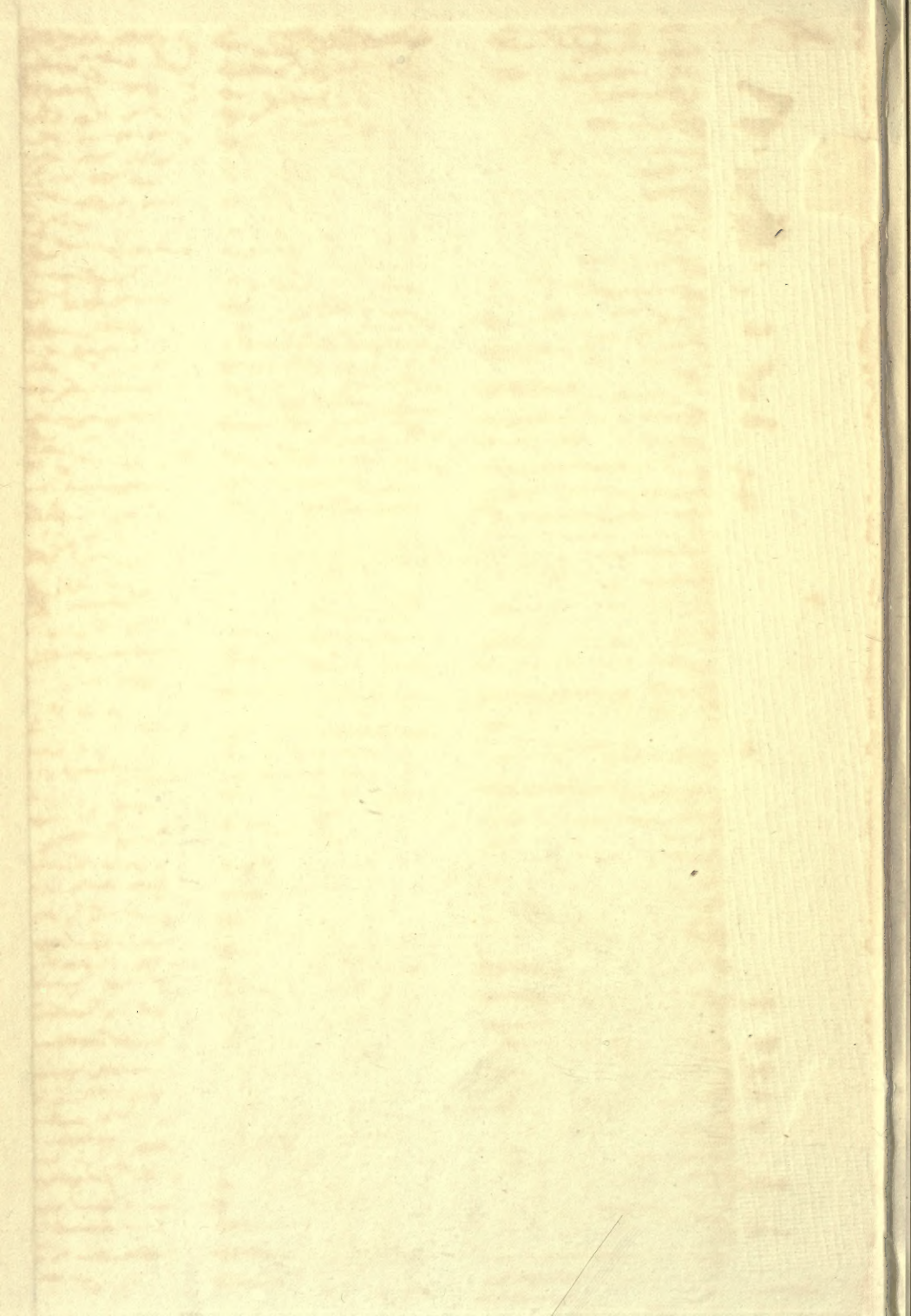


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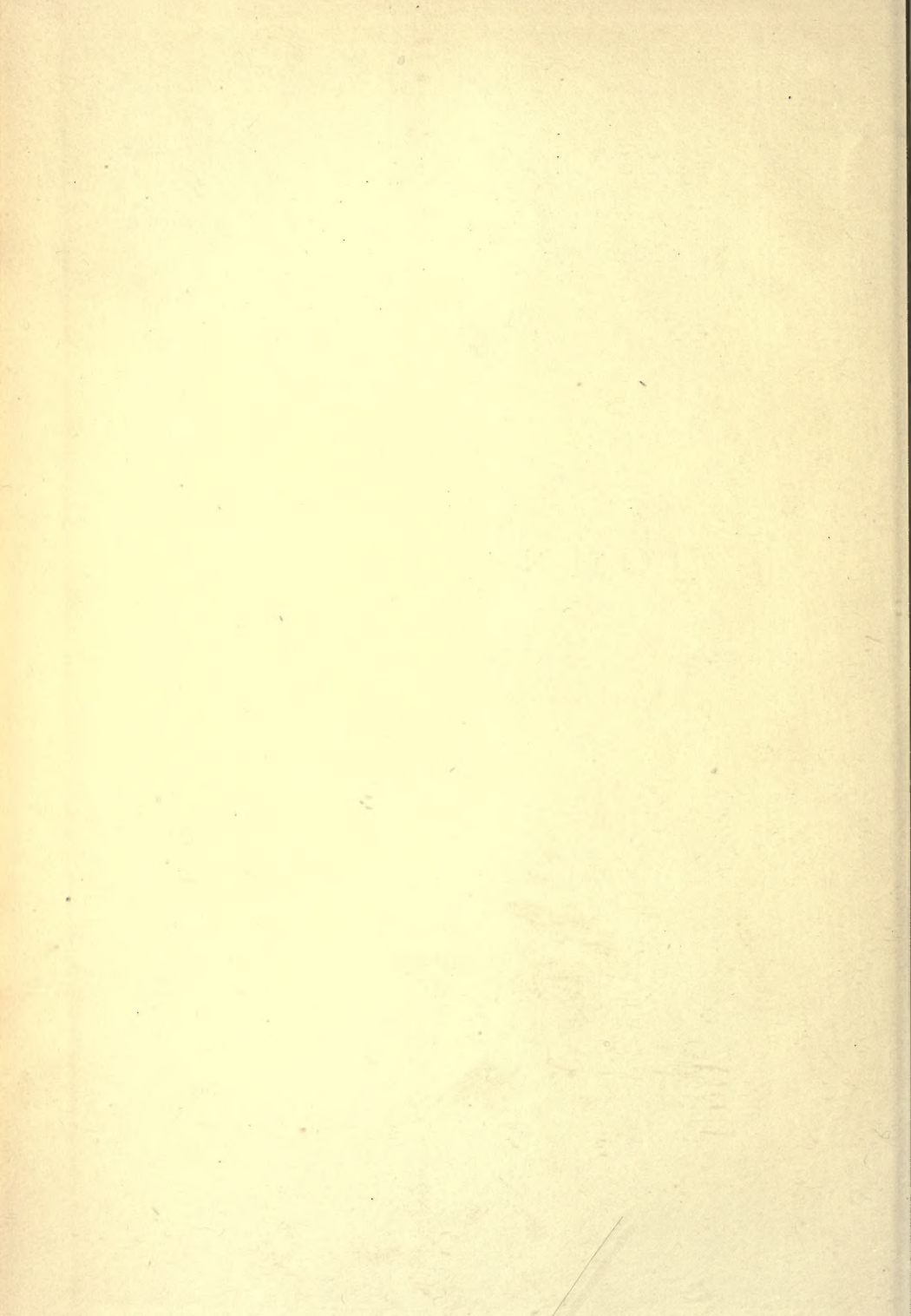


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THE COMPLETE WORKS

OF

JOHN GOWER

*G. C. MACAULAY*

\*\*\*\*

THE LATIN WORKS

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK



THE COMPLETE WORKS  
OF  
JOHN GOWER

*EDITED FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS  
WITH INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, AND GLOSSARIES*

BY  
G. C. MACAULAY, M.A.  
FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

\* \* \* \*

THE LATIN WORKS

De modicis igitur modicum dabo pauper, et inde  
Malo valere parum quam valuisse nichil.

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# INTRODUCTION

## LIFE OF GOWER.

To write anything like a biography of Gower, with the materials that exist, is an impossibility. Almost the only authentic records of him, apart from his writings, are his marriage-licence, his will, and his tomb in St. Saviour's Church ; and it was this last which furnished most of the material out of which the early accounts of the poet were composed. A succession of writers from Leland down to Todd contribute hardly anything except guesswork, and this is copied by each from his predecessors with little or no pretence of criticism. Some of them, as Berthelette and Stow, describe from their own observation the tomb with its effigy and inscriptions, as it actually was in their time, and these descriptions supply us with positive information of some value, but the rest is almost entirely worthless.

Gower's will was printed in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* (1796), and in 1828 Sir Harris Nicolas, roused by the uncritical spirit of Todd, published the article in the *Retrospective Review*<sup>1</sup> which has ever since been regarded as the one source of authentic information on the subject. It does not appear that Nicolas undertook any very extensive searching of records, indeed he seems to have practically confined his attention to the British Museum ; for wherever he cites the Close Rolls or other documents now in the Record Office, it is either from the abstract of the Close Rolls given in MS. Harl. 1176 or as communicated to him by some other person : but he was able to produce several more or less interesting documents connected either with the poet or with somebody who bore the same name and belonged to the same family, and he placed the discussion for the first time upon a sound critical basis. Pauli simply recapitulated the results arrived at by Nicolas with some slight elucidations from the Close Rolls of

<sup>1</sup> 2nd Series, vol. ii. pp. 103-117.

6 Ric. II on a matter which had been already mentioned by Nicolas on the authority of Mr. Petrie. As the result of a further examination of the Close Rolls and other records I am able to place some of the transactions referred to in a clearer light, while at the same time I find myself obliged to cast serious doubt on the theory that all the documents in question relate to the poet. In short, the conclusions at which I arrive, so far as regards the records, are mostly of a negative character.

It may be taken as proved that the family to which John Gower the poet belonged was of Kent. Caxton indeed says of him that he was born in Wales, but this remark was probably suggested by the name of the 'land of Gower' in Wales, and is as little to be trusted as the further statement that his birth was in the reign of Richard II. There was a natural tendency in the sixteenth century to connect him with the well-known Gowers of Stitenham in Yorkshire, whence the present noble family of Gower derives its origin, and Leland says definitely that the poet was of Stitenham<sup>1</sup>. It is probable, however, that Leland had no very certain information; for when we examine his autograph manuscript, we find that he first wrote, following Caxton, 'ex Cambria, ut ego accipi, originem duxit,' and afterwards altered this to 'ex Stitenhamo, villa Eboracensis provinciae, originem ducens.' It is probable that the credit of connexion with the poet had been claimed by the Yorkshire family, whose 'proud tradition,' as Todd says, 'has been and still is that he was of Stitenham,' and we find reason to think that they had identified him with a certain distinguished lawyer of their house. This family tradition appears in Leland's *Itinerarium*, vi. 13, 'The house of Gower the poete sumtyme chief iuge of the commune place' (i.e. Common Pleas) 'yet remaineth at Stitenham yn Yorkshire, and diuerse of them syns have been knights.' He adds that there are Gowers also in Richmondshire and Worcestershire ('Wicestreshire,' MS.). The statement that this supposed judge was identical with the poet is afterwards withdrawn; for on a later page Leland inserts a note, 'Mr. Ferrares told me that Gower the iuge could not be the man that write the booke yn Englisch, for he said that Gower the iuge was about Edward the secundes tyme.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Script. Brit.* i. 414.

<sup>2</sup> *Itin.* vi. 55. From Foss, *Tabulae Curiales*, it would seem that there was no judge named Gower in the 14th century.



All this seems to suggest that Leland had no very trustworthy evidence on the matter. He continued to assert, however, as we have seen, that the poet derived his origin from Stitenham, and to this he adds that he was brought up and practised as a lawyer, 'Coluit forum et patrias leges lucri causa<sup>1</sup>.' It has not been noticed that the author's manuscript has here in the margin what is probably a reference to authority for this statement: we find there a note in a contemporary hand, 'Goverus seruiens ad legem 30 Ed. 3.' From this it is probable that Leland is relying on the Year-book of 30 Ed. III, where we find the name Gower, apparently as that of a serjeant-at-law who took part in the proceedings. It is not likely that Leland had any good reasons for identifying this Gower, who was in a fairly high position at the bar in the year 1356, with John Gower the poet, who died in 1408<sup>2</sup>.

Leland's statements were copied by Bale and so became public property. They did not, however, long pass unchallenged. Thynne in his *Animadversions* acutely criticises the suggestion of Yorkshire origin, on the ground of the difference of arms:—'Bale hath much mistaken it, as he hath done infinite things in that book, being for the most part the collections of Leland. For in truth the arms of Sir John Gower being argent, on a cheveron azure three leopards' heads or, do prove that he came of a contrary house to the Gowers of Stytenham in Yorkshire, who bare barruly of argent and gules, a cross paty flory sable. Which difference of arms seemeth a difference of families, unless you can prove that being of one family they altered their arms upon some just occasion.' The arms to which Thynne refers as those of Gower the poet are those which are to be seen upon his tomb<sup>3</sup>; and the argument is undoubtedly sound. Thynne proceeds to criticise Speght's statement that Chaucer and Gower were both lawyers of the Inner Temple: 'You say, It seemeth that these learned men were of the Inner Temple, for that many years since Master Buckley did see a record in the same house, where Geffrey Chaucer

<sup>1</sup> *Script. Brit.* i. 414. This statement also appears as a later addition in the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> 'Gower' appears in Tottill's publication of the Year-books (1585) both in 29 and 30 Ed. III, e.g. 29 Ed. III, Easter term, ff. 20, 27, 33, 46, and 30 Ed. III, Michaelmas term, ff. 16, 18, 20 v<sup>o</sup>. He appears usually as counsel, but on some occasions he speaks apparently as a judge. The Year-books of the succeeding years, 31–36 Ed. III, have not been published.

<sup>3</sup> These arms appear also in the Glasgow MS. of the *Vox Clamantis*.

was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscan Friar in Fleet Street. This is a hard collection to prove Gower of the Inner Temple, although he studied the law, for thus you frame your argument: Mr. Buckley found a record in the Temple that Chaucer was fined for beating the friar; ergo Gower and Chaucer were of the Temple.'

A 'hard collection' it may be, but no harder than many others that have been made by biographers, and Leland's 'vir equestris ordinis'<sup>1</sup> must certainly go the way of his other statements, being sufficiently refuted, as Stow remarks, by the 'Armiger' of Gower's epitaph. Leland in calling him a knight was probably misled by the gilt collar of SS upon his recumbent effigy, and Fuller afterwards, on the strength of the same decoration, fancifully revives the old theory that he was a judge, and is copied of course by succeeding writers<sup>2</sup>. On the whole it may be doubted whether there is anything but guesswork in the statements made by Leland about our author, except so far as they are derived from his writings or from his tomb.

That John Gower the poet was of a Kentish family is proved by definite and positive evidence. The presumption raised by the fact that his English writings certainly have some traces of the Kentish dialect, is confirmed, first by the identity of the arms upon his tomb with those of Sir Robert Gower, who had a tomb in Brabourne Church in Kent, and with reference to whom Weever, writing in 1631, says, 'From this family John Gower the poet was descended'<sup>3</sup>, secondly, by the fact that in the year 1382 a manor which we know to have been eventually in the possession of the poet was granted to John Gower, who is expressly called 'Esquier de Kent,' and thirdly, by the names of the executors of the poet's will, who are of Kentish families. It may be added that several other persons of the name of Gower are mentioned in the records of the time in connexion with the county of Kent. Referring only to cases in which the Christian name also is the same as that of the poet, we may note a John Gower among those complained of by the Earl of Arundel in 1377, as having broken his closes at

<sup>1</sup> *Worthies*, ed. 1662, pt. 3, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Winstanley, Jacob, Cibber and others.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, p. 270. This Sir Rob. Gower had property in Suffolk, as we shall see, but the fact that his tomb was at Brabourne shows that he resided in Kent. The arms which were upon his tomb are pictured (without colours) in MS. Harl. 3917, f. 77.



High Rothing and elsewhere, fished in his fishery and assaulted his servants<sup>1</sup>; John Gower mentioned in connexion with the parishes of Throwley and Stalesfield, Kent, in 1381-2<sup>2</sup>; John Gower who was killed by Elias Taillour, apparently in 1385<sup>3</sup>; John Gower who was appointed with others in 1386 to receive and distribute the stores at Dover Castle<sup>4</sup>; none of whom can reasonably be identified with the poet. Therefore it cannot be truly said, as it is said by Pauli, that the surname Gower, or even the combination John Gower, is a very uncommon one in the records of the county of Kent<sup>5</sup>.

Before proceeding further, it may be well to set forth in order certain business transactions recorded in the reign of Edward III, in which a certain John Gower was concerned, who is identified by Nicolas with the poet<sup>6</sup>.

They are as follows :—

39 Ed. III (1365). An inquiry whether it will be to the prejudice of the king to put John Gower in possession of half the manor of Aldyngton in Kent, acquired by him without licence of the king from William de Septvans, and if so, 'ad quod damnum.' This half of Aldyngton is held of the king by the service of paying fourteen shillings a year to the Warden of Rochester Castle on St. Andrew's day<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Pat.* dated Nov. 27, 1377.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Claus.* 4 Ric. II. m. 15 d.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Pat.* dated Dec. 23, 1385.

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Pat.* dated Aug. 12, Dec. 23, 1386.

<sup>5</sup> It may here be noted that the poet apparently pronounced his name 'Gowér,' in two syllables with accent on the second, as in the Dedication to the *Balades*, i. 3, 'Vostre Gower, q'est trestout vos soubgitz.' The final syllable bears the rhyme in two passages of the *Confessio Amantis* (viii. 2320, 2908), rhyming with the latter syllables of 'pouer' and 'reposer'. (The rhyme in viii. 2320, 'Gower : pouer,' is not a dissyllabic one, as is assumed in the *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.* and elsewhere, but of the final syllables only.) In the *Praise of Peace*, 373, 'I, Gower, which am al the liege man,' an almost literal translation of the French above quoted, the accent is thrown rather on the first syllable.

<sup>6</sup> See *Retrospective Review*, 2nd Series, vol. ii, pp. 103-117 (1828). Sir H. Nicolas cites the Close Rolls always at second hand and the *Inquisitiones Post Mortem* only from the Calendar. Hence the purport of the documents is sometimes incorrectly or insufficiently given by him. In the statement here following every document is cited from the original, and the inaccuracies of previous writers are corrected, but for the most part silently.

<sup>7</sup> *Inquis. Post Mortem*, &c. 39 Ed. III. 36 (2nd number). This is in fact an 'Inquisitio ad quod damnum.' The two classes of Inquisitions are given without distinction in the Calendar, and the fact leads to such statements as

Under date Feb. 15 of the same year it was reported that this would not be to the prejudice of the king, and accordingly on March 9 John Gower pays 53 shillings, which appears to be the annual value of the property, and is pardoned for the offence committed by acquiring it without licence<sup>1</sup>.

39 Ed. III (June 23). William Sepvanus, son of William Sepvanus knight, grants to John Gower ten pounds rent from the manor of Wygebergh (Wigborough) in Essex and from other lands held by him in the county of Essex<sup>2</sup>.

By another deed, acknowledged in Chancery on June 25 of the same year, the same William Sepvanus makes over to John Gower all his claims upon the manor of Aldyngton, and also a rent of 14s. 6d., with one cock, thirteen hens and 140 eggs from Maplecumb<sup>3</sup>.

42 Ed. III (1368). Thomas Syward, pewterer and citizen of London, and Joanna his wife, daughter of Sir Robert Gower, grant to John Gower and his heirs the manor of Kentwell. Dated at Melford, Wednesday before the Nativity of St. John Baptist<sup>4</sup>.

43 Ed. III. Fine between John Gower on the one hand, and John Spenythorn with Joan his wife on the other, by which they give up all right to the Manor of Kentwell, Suffolk, except £10 rent, John Gower paying 200 marks<sup>5</sup>.

This was confirmed in the king's court, 3 Ric. II.

By documents of previous date<sup>6</sup> it may be shown that the manor of Kentwell had been held by Sir Rob. Gower, doubtless the same who is buried in Brabourne Church, who died apparently in 1349; that it was ultimately divided, with other property, between his heirs, two daughters named Katherine and Joanna, of whom one, Katherine, died in 1366. Her moiety was then combined with the other in the possession of her sister Joanna, '23 years old and upwards,' then married to William Neve of Wetyng, but apparently soon afterwards to Thomas Syward. As

that 'John Gower died seized of half the manor of Aldyngton, 39 Ed. III,' or 'John Gower died seized of the manor of Kentwell, 42 Ed. III.'

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Orig.* 39 Ed. III. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Claus.* 39 Ed. III. m. 21 d.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Claus.* 39 Ed. III. m. 21 d.

<sup>4</sup> *Harl. Charters*, 56 G. 42. See also *Rot. Orig.* 42 Ed. III. 33 and *Harl. Charters*, 56 G. 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Harl. Charters*, 50 I. 13.

<sup>6</sup> See *Rot. Orig.* 23 Ed. III. 22, 40 Ed. III. 10, 20, *Inquis. Post Mortem*, 40 Ed. III. 13, *Rot. Claus.* 40 Ed. III. m. 21.



to the transaction between John Gower and John Spenythorn with Joanna his wife, we must be content to remain rather in the dark. John Gower had in the year before acquired Kentwell in full possession for himself and his heirs, and he must in the mean time have alienated it, and now apparently acquired it again. It is hardly likely that the Joan who is here mentioned is the same as Joan daughter of Sir Robert Gower, who was married successively to William Neve and Thomas Syward. On the other hand it must be regarded as probable that the John Gower of this document is identical with the John Gower who acquired Kentwell from Thomas Syward and his wife in 1368. The confirmation in the king's court, 3 Ric. II, was perhaps by way of verifying the title before the grant of Kentwell by Sir J. Cobham to Sir T. Clopton, 4 Ric. II.

47 Ed. III (1373). John Gower grants his manor of Kentwell in Suffolk to Sir John Cobham and his heirs; a deed executed at Otford in Kent, Thurs. Sept. 29<sup>1</sup>.

48 Ed. III (1374). Payment of 12 marks by Sir J. Cobham on acquisition of Kentwell and half of Aldyngton from John Gower<sup>2</sup>.

By this last document it seems pretty certain that the John Gower from whom Sir J. Cobham received Kentwell was the same person as the John Gower who acquired Aldyngton from William Septvans; and he is proved to be a relation of the poet, as well as of Sir Robert Gower, by the fact that the arms on the seal of John Gower, attached to the deed by which Kentwell was alienated, are apparently the same as those which were placed upon Sir Rob. Gower's tomb at Brabourne, and those which we see on the poet's tomb in Southwark<sup>3</sup>. These persons, then, belonged to the same family, so far as we can judge; but evidently it is not proved merely by this fact that the John Gower mentioned in the above document was identical with the poet. We have seen already that the name was not uncommon in Kent, and there are some further considerations which may lead us to

<sup>1</sup> *Harl. Charters*, 50 I. 14. The deed is given in full by Nicolas in the *Retrospective Review*.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Orig.* 48 Ed. III. 31.

<sup>3</sup> The tinctures are not indicated either upon the drawing of Sir R. Gower's coat of arms in MS. Harl. 3917 or on the seal, but the coat seems to be the same, three leopards' faces upon a chevron. The seal has a diaper pattern on the shield that bears the chevron, but this is probably only ornamental.

hesitate before we identify John Gower the poet with the John Gower who acquired land from William Septvans. This latter transaction in fact had another side, to which attention has not hitherto been called, though Sir H. Nicolas must have been to some extent aware of it, since he has given a reference to the Rolls of Parliament, where the affair is recorded.

It must be noted then in connexion with the deeds of 39 Ed. III, by which John Gower acquired Aldyngton from William Septvans, son of Sir William Septvans, that in the next year, 40 Ed. III, there is record of a commission issued to Sir J. Cobham and others to inquire into the circumstances of this alienation, it having been alleged that William Septvans was not yet of age, and that he had obtained release of his father's property from the king's hands by fraudulent misrepresentation. The commission, having sat at Canterbury on the Tuesday before St. George's day, 1366, reported that this was so, that William Septvans was in fact under twenty years old, and would not attain the age of twenty till the feast of St. Augustine the Doctor next to come (i. e. Aug. 28); that the alienations to John Gower and others had been improperly made by means of a fraudulent proof of age, and that his property ought to be resealed into the king's hands till he was of age. Moreover the report stated that John Gower had given 24 marks only for property worth £12 a year, with a wood of the value of £100, that after his enfeoffment the said John Gower was in the company of William Septvans at Canterbury and elsewhere, until Sept. 29, inducing him to part with land and other property to various persons<sup>1</sup>.

The property remained in the king's hands till the year 1369, when an order was issued to the escheator of the county of Essex to put William Septvans in possession of his father's lands, which had been confiscated to the Crown, 'since two years and more have elapsed from the festival of St. Augustine, when he was twenty years old' (Westm. 21 Feb.)<sup>2</sup>. Presumably John Gower then entered into possession of the property which he had

<sup>1</sup> 'Et dicunt quod post predictum feoffamentum, factum predicto Iohanni Gower, dictus Willelmus filius Willelmi continue morabatur in comitiva Ricardi de Hurst et eiusdem Iohannis Gower apud Cantuar. et alibi usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis ultimo preteritum, et per totum tempus predictum idem Willelmus fil. Will. ibidem per ipsos deductus fuit et consiliatus ad alienationem de terris et tenementis suis faciendam.' *Rot. Parl.* ii. 292.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Claus.* 43 Ed. III. m. 30.



irregularly acquired in 1365, and possibly with this may be connected a payment by John Gower of £20 at Michaelmas in the year 1368 to Richard de Ravensere<sup>1</sup>, who seems to have been keeper of the hanaper in Chancery.

It is impossible without further proof to assume that the villainous misleader of youth who is described to us in the report of the above commission, as encouraging a young man to defraud the Crown by means of perjury, in order that he may purchase his lands from him at a nominal price, can be identical with the grave moralist of the *Speculum Hominis* and the *Vox Clamantis*. Gower humbly confesses that he has been a great sinner, but he does not speak in the tone of a converted libertine; we cannot reconcile our idea of him with the proceedings of the disreputable character who for his own ends encouraged the young William Septvans in his dishonesty and extravagance. The two men apparently bore the same arms, and therefore they belonged to the same family, but beyond this we cannot go. It may be observed moreover that the picture suggested to Prof. Morley by the deed of 1373, executed at Otford, of the poet's residence in the pleasant valley of the Darent, which he describes at some length<sup>2</sup>, must in any case be dismissed as baseless. Otford was a manor held by Sir John Cobham<sup>3</sup>, and whether the John Gower of this deed be the poet or no, it is pretty clear that the deed in question was executed there, principally for this reason, and not because it was the residence of John Gower.

Dismissing all the above records as of doubtful relevancy to our subject<sup>4</sup>, we proceed to take note of some which seem actually to refer to the poet. Of these none are earlier than the reign of Richard II. They are as follows:

1 Ric. II. (May, 1378). A record that Geoffrey Chaucer has given general power of attorney to John Gower and Richard

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Claus.* 42 Ed. III. m. 13 d.

<sup>2</sup> *English Writers*, vol. iv. pp. 150 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *Calendar of Post Mortem Inquisitions*, vol. ii. pp. 300, 302.

<sup>4</sup> So also the deeds of 1 Ric. II releasing lands to Sir J. Frebody and John Gower (Hasted's *History of Kent*, iii. 425), and of 4 Ric. II in which Isabella daughter of Walter de Huntyngfeld gives up to John Gower and John Bowland all her rights in the parishes of Throwley and Stalesfield, Kent (*Rot. Claus.* 4 Ric. II. m. 15 d), and again another in which the same lady remits to John Gower all actions, complaints, &c., which may have arisen between them (*Rot. Claus.* 8 Ric. II. m. 5 d).

Forester, to be used during his absence abroad by licence of the king<sup>1</sup>. Considering that Chaucer and Gower are known to have been personally acquainted with one another, we may fairly suppose that this appointment relates to John Gower the poet<sup>2</sup>.

6 Ric. II (Aug. 1382). Grant of the manors of Feltwell in Norfolk and Multon in Suffolk to John Gower, Esquire, of Kent, and to his heirs, by Guy de Rouclyf, clerk (Aug. 1), and release of warranty on the above (Aug. 3)<sup>3</sup>.

6 Ric. II (Aug. 1382). Grant of the manors of Feltwell and Multon by John Gower to Thomas Blakelake, parson of St. Nicholas, Feltwell, and others, for his life, at a rent of £40, to be paid quarterly in the Abbey Church of Westminster<sup>4</sup>. This grant was repeated 7 Ric. II (Feb. 1384)<sup>5</sup>.

The mention of Multon in the will of John Gower the poet makes it practically certain that the above documents have to do with him.

17 Ric. II (1393). Henry of Lancaster presented John Gower, Esquire, with a collar. This was mentioned by Nicolas as communicated to him by Mr. G. F. Beltz from a record in the Duchy of Lancaster Office. No further reference was given, and I have had some difficulty in finding the record. It is, however, among the accounts of the wardrobe of Henry of Lancaster for the year mentioned<sup>6</sup>, and though not dated, it probably belongs to some time in the autumn of 1393, the neighbouring documents in the same bundle being dated October or November. It proves to be in fact an order, directed no doubt to William Loveney, clerk of the Wardrobe to the earl of Derby, for delivery of 26s. 8d. to one Richard Dancaستر, for a collar, on account of another collar given by the earl of Derby to 'an Esquire John Gower'<sup>7</sup>. So elsewhere in the household accounts of the earl of Derby we find a charge of 56s. 8d. for a silver collar for John Payne, butler,

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Franc.* 1 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 6.

<sup>2</sup> See also Sir N. Harris Nicolas, *Life of Chaucer*, pp. 27, 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Claus.* 6 Ric. II. m. 27 d, and 24 d.

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Claus.* 6 Ric. II. pt. 1, m. 23 d.

<sup>5</sup> *Rot. Claus.* 7 Ric. II, m. 17 d.

<sup>6</sup> *Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellanea*, Bundle X, No. 43 (now in the Record Office).

<sup>7</sup> 'Livrez a Richard Dancaستر pour un Coler a luy doné par monseigneur le Conte de Derby par cause d'une autre Coler doné par monditseigneur a un Esquier John Gower, vynt et sys soldz oyt deniers.'



'because my lord had given his collar to another esquire beyond sea'<sup>1</sup>. This particular collar given to John Gower was a comparatively cheap one, worth apparently only 26s. 8d., while the silver collar to be given to John Payne is valued at 56s. 8d., and a gold collar of SS for Henry himself costs no less than £26 8s. 11d. The fact that Gower wears a collar of SS on his tomb makes it probable enough that he is the esquire mentioned in this document. It will afterwards be seen that we cannot base any argument upon the fact that the collar upon the effigy is now gilt, and apparently was so also in Leland's time.

25 Jan. 1397-8. A licence from the bishop of Winchester for solemnizing the marriage between John Gower and Agnes Groundolf, both parishioners of St. Mary Magdalene, Southwark, without further publication of banns and in a place outside their parish church, that is to say, in the oratory of the said John Gower, within his lodging in the Priory of Saint Mary Overey in Southwark. Dated at Highclere, 25 Jan. 1397<sup>2</sup>. At this time then Gower was living in the Priory of St. Mary Overey, and no doubt he continued to do so until his death.

Finally, Aug. 15, 1408, the Will of John Gower, which was proved Oct. 24 of the same year<sup>3</sup>. His death therefore may be presumed to have taken place in October, 1408.

This will has been printed more than once, in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, by Todd in his *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer* and in the *Retrospective Review*.

The testator bequeathes his soul to the Creator, and his body to be buried in the church of the Canons of St. Mary Overes, in the place specially appointed for this purpose ('in loco ad hoc specialiter deputato'). To the Prior of the said church he bequeathes 40s., to the subprior 20s., to each Canon who is a priest 13s. 4d., and to each of the other Canons 6s. 8d., that they may all severally pray for him the more devoutly at his funeral. To the servants of the Priory 2s. or 1s. each according to their position; to the church of St. Mary Magdalene

<sup>1</sup> *Duchy of Lancaster, Household Accounts*, 17 Ric. II (July to Feb.).

<sup>2</sup> *Register of William of Wykeham*, ii. f. 299 b. The record was kindly verified for me by the Registrar of the diocese of Winchester. The expression used about the place is 'in Oratorio ipsius Iohannis Gower infra hospicium suum' (not 'cum' as previously printed) 'in Prioratu Beate Marie de Overee in Southwerke predicta situatum.' It should be noted that 'infra' in these documents means not 'below,' as translated by Prof. Morley, but 'within.' So also in Gower's will.

<sup>3</sup> Lambeth Library, *Register of Abp. Arundel*, ff. 256-7.

40s. for lights and ornaments, to the parish priest of that church 10s., 'vt oret et orari faciat pro me'; to the chief clerk of the same church 3s. and to the sub-clerk 2s. To the following four parish churches of Southwark, viz. St. Margaret's, St. George's, St. Olave's, and St. Mary Magdalene's near Bermondsey, 13s. 4d. each for ornaments and lights, and to each parish priest or rector in charge of those churches 6s. 8d., 'vt orent et orari pro me in suis parochiis faciant et procurent.' To the master of the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark 40s., to each priest serving there 6s. 8d. for their prayers; to each sister professed in the said hospital 3s. 4d., to each attendant on the sick 20d., and to each sick person in the hospital 12d., and the same to the sisters (where there are sisters), nurses and patients in the hospitals of St. Anthony, Elsingspitell, Bedlem without Bishopsgate, and St. Maryspitell near Westminster; to every house for lepers in the suburbs of London 10s., to be distributed amongst the lepers, for their prayers: to the Prior of Elsingspitell 40s., and to each Canon priest there 6s. 8d.

For the service of the altar in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, 'in qua corpus meum sepeliendum est,' two vestments of silk, one of blue and white baudkin and the other of white silk, also a large new missal and a new chalice, all which are to be kept for ever for the service of the said altar. Moreover to the Prior and Convent the testator leaves a large book, 'sumptibus meis nouiter compositum,' called *Martilogium*, on the understanding that the testator shall have a special mention of himself recorded in it every day ('sic quod in eodem speciale memoriam scriptam secundum eorum promissa cotidie habere debeo,' not 'debes,' as printed).

He leaves to his wife Agnes £100 of lawful money, also three cups, one 'cooperculum,' two salt-cellars and twelve spoons of silver, all the testator's beds and chests, with the furniture of hall, pantry and kitchen and all their vessels and utensils. One chalice and one vestment are left to the altar of the oratory belonging to his apartments ('pro altare quod est infra oratorium hospicii mei'). He desires also that his wife Agnes, if she survive him, shall have all rents due for his manors of Southwell in the county of Northampton (?) and of Multoun in the county of Suffolk, as he has more fully determined in certain other writings given under his seal.

The executors of this will are to be as follows:—Agnes his wife, Arnold Savage, knight, Roger, esquire, William Denne, Canon of the king's chapel, and John Burton, clerk. Dated in the Priory of St. Mary Oueres in Southwark, on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, Mccccviii.

The will was proved, Oct. 24, 1408, at Lambeth before the Archbishop of Canterbury (because the testator had property in



more than one diocese of the province of Canterbury), by Agnes the testator's wife, and administration of the property was granted to her on Nov. 7 of the same year.

It may be observed with reference to this will that the testator evidently stands already in the position of a considerable benefactor to the Priory of St. Mary Overey, in virtue of which position he has his apartments in the Priory and a place of honour assigned for his tomb in the church. He must also have established by previous arrangement the daily mass and the yearly obituary service which Berthelette speaks of as still celebrated in his time. It is evident that his benefactions were made chiefly in his life-time. There is some slight difficulty as regards the manors which are mentioned in the will. Multon in Suffolk we know already to have been in the poet's possession; but what is this 'Southwell'? Certainly not the well-known Southwell in Nottinghamshire, which cannot possibly have been in the possession of a private person, belonging, as it did, to the archiepiscopal see of York. Moreover, though 'in Comitatu Nott.' has been hitherto printed as the reading of the will, the manuscript has not this, but either 'Notth.' or 'North.,' more probably the latter. There were apparently other manors of Southwell or Suthwell in the county of Nottingham, and a manor of Suwell in Northamptonshire, but there seems to be no connexion with the name of Gower in the case of any of these. It is possible, but not very readily to be assumed, that the scribe who made the copy of the will in the register carelessly wrote 'Southwell in Com. North.' (or 'Com. Notth.') for 'Feltwell in Com. Norff.,' the name which is found coupled with Multon in the other records<sup>1</sup>.

The one remaining record is the tomb in St. Saviour's church. This originally stood in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, on the north side of the church, but in 1832, the nave and north aisle being in ruins, the monument was removed to the south transept and restored at the expense of Earl Gower. After the restoration of the church this tomb was moved back to the north aisle in

<sup>1</sup> The remark of Nicolas about the omission of Kentwell from the will is hardly appropriate. Even if Gower the poet were identical with the John Gower who possessed Kentwell, this manor could not have been mentioned in his will, because it was disposed of absolutely to Sir J. Cobham in the year 1373. Hence there is no reason to conclude from this that there was other landed property besides that which is dealt with by the will.

October 1894, and was placed on the supposed site of the chapel of St. John the Baptist, where it now stands<sup>1</sup>.

In the course of nearly five centuries the tomb has undergone many changes, and the present colouring and inscription are not original. What we have now is a canopy of three arches over an altar tomb, on which lies an effigy of the poet, habited in a long dark-coloured gown, with a standing cape and buttoned down to his feet, wearing a gold collar of SS, fastened in front with a device of a chained swan between two portcullises. His head rests on a pile of three folio volumes marked with the names of his three principal works, *Vox Clamantis*, *Speculum Meditantis*, *Confessio Amantis*. He has a rather round face with high cheekbones, a moustache and a slightly forked beard, hair long and curling upwards<sup>2</sup>, and round his head a chaplet of four red roses at intervals upon a band<sup>3</sup>, with the words 'merci ihf'<sup>4</sup> (repeated) in the intervals between the roses: the hands are put together and raised in prayer: at the feet there is a lion or mastiff lying. The upper ledge of the tomb has this inscription, 'Hic iacet I. Gower Arm. Angl. poeta celeberrimus ac huic sacro edificio benefac. insignis. Vixit temporibus Edw. III et Ric. II et Henr. IV.' In front of the tomb there are seven arched niches. Against the wall at the end of the recess, above the feet of the figure, a shield

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for some of the facts to Canon Thompson of St. Saviour's, Southwark, who has been kind enough to answer several questions which I addressed to him.

<sup>2</sup> The features are quite different, it seems to me, from those represented in the Cotton and Glasgow MSS., and I think it more likely that the latter give us a true contemporary portrait. Gower certainly died in advanced age, yet the effigy on his tomb shows us a man in the flower of life. This then is either an ideal representation or must have been executed from rather distant memory, whereas the miniatures in the MSS., which closely resemble each other, were probably from life, and also preserve their original colouring. The miniatures in MSS. of the *Confessio Amantis*, which represent the Confession, show the penitent usually as a conventional young lover. The picture in the Fairfax MS. is too much damaged to give us much guidance, but it does not seem to be a portrait, in spite of the collar of SS added later. The miniature in MS. Bodley 902, however, represents an aged man, while that of the Cambridge MS. Mm. 2. 21 rather recalls the effigy on the tomb and may have been suggested by it.

<sup>3</sup> We may note that the effigy of Sir Robert Gower in brass above his tomb in Brabourne church is represented as having a similar chaplet round his helmet. See the drawing in MS. Harl. 3917, f. 77.

<sup>4</sup> So I read them. They are given by Gough and others as 'merci ihi.'



is suspended bearing arms, argent, on a chevron azure three leopards' faces or, crest a talbot (or lion) upon a chapeau. The wall behind the tomb under the canopy is at present blank; the original painting of female figures with scrolls has disappeared and has not been renewed, nor has the inscription 'Armigeri scutum,' &c., been replaced.

This tomb has attracted much attention, and descriptions of it exist from early times. Leland's account may be thus translated: 'He was honourably buried in London in the church of the Marian canons on the bank of the Thames, and his wife also is buried in the same place, but in a lower tomb. He has here an effigy adorned with a gold chain and a chaplet of ivy interspersed with roses, the first marking him as a knight and the second as a poet. The reason why he established his place of burial here, was, I believe, as follows. A large part of the suburb adjacent to London Bridge was burnt down in the year 1212<sup>1</sup>, in the reign of King John. The monastery of the Marian canons was much damaged in this fire and was not fully restored till the first year of Richard II. At that time Gower, moved by the calamity, partly through his friends, who were numerous and powerful, and partly at his own expense, repaired the church and restored its ornaments, and the Marian canons even now acknowledge the liberality of Gower towards them, though not to such an extent as I declare it to have been. For this reason it was, in my judgement, that he left his body for burial to the canons of this house<sup>2</sup>.' Berthelette in the Preface to his edition of the *Confessio Amantis*, 1532, gives an interesting account of the tomb: 'John Gower prepared for his bones a resting-place in the monastery of St. Mary Overes, where somewhat after the old fashion he lieth right sumptuously buried, with a garland on his head in token that he in his life days flourished freshly in literature and science. And the same monument, in remembrance of him erected, is on the North side of the foresaid church, in the chapel of St. John, where he hath of his own foundation a mass daily sung: and moreover he hath an obit yearly done for him within the same church on the Friday after the feast of the blessed pope St. Gregory.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps rather 1207 or 1208.

<sup>2</sup> *Script. Brit.* i. 415: so also *Ant. Coll.* iv. 79, where the three books are mentioned. The statement that the chaplet was partly of ivy must be a mistake, as is pointed out by Stow and others.

'Beside on the wall, whereas he lieth, there be painted three virgins with crowns on their heads, one of the which is written Charitie, and she holdeth this device in her hand,

En toy qui es fitz de dieu le pere<sup>1</sup>  
Sauvé soit que gist souz cest pere.

'The second is written Mercye, which holdeth in her hand this device,

O bone Jesu, fait ta mercy  
Al alme dont le corps gist icy<sup>2</sup>.

'The third of them is written Pite, which holdeth in her hand this device following,

Pur ta pité, Jesu, regarde,  
Et met cest alme in sauve garde.

'And thereby hangeth a table, wherein appeareth that who so ever prayeth for the soul of John Gower, he shall, so oft as he so doth, have a thousand and five hundred days of pardon.'

Stow, writing about 1598, says, 'This church was again newly rebuilt in the reign of Richard II and king Henry IV. John Gower, a learned gentleman and a famous poet, but no knight, as some have mistaken it, was then an especial benefactor to that work, and was there buried in the north side of the said church, in the chapel of St. John, where he founded a chantry. He lieth under a tomb of stone with his image also of stone being over him. The hair of his head brown, long to his shoulders but curling up, collar of esses of gold about his neck; under his head,' &c.<sup>3</sup> The tomb is then further described as by Berthelette, with addition of the epitaph in four Latin hexameters, 'Armigeri scutum,' &c. (see p. 367 of this volume).

In the *Annals of England* (date about 1600) he again describes the tomb, adding to his description of the painting of the three virgins the important note, 'All which is now washed out and the image defaced by cutting off the nose and striking off the hands<sup>4</sup>,'

<sup>1</sup> Read rather 'En toy qu'es fitz de dieu le pere.'

<sup>2</sup> Read 'Obon Jesu, fait a mercy' and in the second line 'dont le corps gist icy.'

<sup>3</sup> *Survey of London*, p. 450 (ed. 1633). In the margin there is the note, 'John Gower no knight, neither had he any garland of ivy and roses, but a chaplet of four roses only,' referring to Bale, who repeats Leland's description.

<sup>4</sup> p. 326 (ed. 1615). Stow does not say that the inscription 'Armigeri scutum,' &c., was defaced in his time.



from which it would appear that we cannot depend even upon the features of the effigy which now exists, as original.

The figures of the virgins were repainted in the course of the seventeenth century apparently, for in Hatton's *New View of London* (date 1708) they are described as appearing with 'ducal coronets'.<sup>1</sup> In Rawlinson's *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* (published 1719) the effigy is spoken of as having a 'scarlet gown,' the older descriptions, e.g. Stow, giving it as 'an habit of purple damasked,' and it is said that there is upon the head 'a chaplet or diadem of gold about an inch broad, on which are set at equal distapces four white quaterfoyles.'<sup>2</sup> The writer argues also that the chain should be of silver rather than of gold<sup>3</sup>. The arms are said to be 'supported by two angels,' and 'underneath is this inscription, "Hic iacet Iohannes Gower Armiger Anglorum poeta celeberrimus ac huic sacro Edificio Benefactor insignis temporibus Edw. III et Ric. II. Armigeri scutum,"' &c. The following remark is added: 'Our author Mr. John Aubrey gives us an inscription which he says he saw on a limb of this monument, something different from the foregoing, and therefore not unworthy a place here, viz.

Johannes Gower, Princeps  
Poetarum Angliae, vixit  
temporibus Edwardi tertii  
et Richardi secundi.'

Later, in 1765, Tyler describes the gown as purple and the arms as pendent by the dexter corner. The figures of women have ducal coronets and scrolls of gold, and below them is the epitaph 'Armigeri scutum.' Under the statue the inscription 'Hic iacet,' &c.<sup>4</sup> The monument, as here described, is engraved in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* (date 1796), where there is a full description of it<sup>5</sup>. Blore, under whose direction the position of the monument was changed, says in 1826 that the inscription on the ledge of the tomb 'Hic iacet,' &c., was then entirely gone.

Dollman says that there was a fire which injured the nave of the church in the reign of Richard II, and that the windows of the

<sup>1</sup> vol. ii. p. 542.

<sup>2</sup> vol. v. pp. 202-4. The description is no doubt from Aubrey.

<sup>3</sup> On this subject the reader may be referred to Selden, *Titles of Honour*, p. 835 f. (ed. 1631).

<sup>4</sup> *Antiquities of St. Saviour's, Southwark*, 1765.

<sup>5</sup> vol. ii. p. 24.

nave and aisles, which were finally removed in 1833, were of the time of Richard II and Henry IV<sup>1</sup>. It is certain, however, that the church remained long in an unfinished state during the period between 1207 (or 1212), the date of the early fire, and the latter part of the fourteenth century. Dollman observes that the remains which may have been contained in the tomb 'disappeared when the tomb was removed from the north aisle in 1832.'<sup>2</sup> From what has been said it will be perceived that the tomb has undergone a series of alterations and renovations which have to some extent at least destroyed its original character.

A word must be said finally about Prof. Morley's theory that Gower was in holy orders and held the living of Great Braxted in Essex from 1390-7. This is founded on the fact that the parson of Great Braxted for the period named was one John Gower, as Professor Morley learns from Newcourt's *Repertorium Parochiale*<sup>3</sup>. The original record referred to by Newcourt is to be found in the Registry of the diocese of London<sup>4</sup>, and is to the effect that on February 23, 1390-1, the bishop of London admitted and instituted John Gower, clerk, to the parochial church of Great Braxted, vacant by the resignation of John Broun, the late rector, the said John Gower having been duly presented by the king, who at this time was patron of the living, the heir of the late earl of Pembroke being under his wardship. Then later, under date March 31, 1397, there is record of a new institution to the benefice, which is vacant by the resignation of John Gower, late rector<sup>5</sup>.

Professor Morley thought that the expression 'John Gower, clerk' might indicate that the person referred to was in minor orders only, some of the rectors inducted being called 'priest' (while others have no title at all). He conceived that this John Gower held the rectory for six or seven years without being admitted to priest's orders at all, and that he then resigned on his marriage<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> *Priory Church of St. Mary Overie*, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Canon Thompson writes to me, 'The old sexton used to show visitors a bone, which he said was taken from the tomb in 1832. I tried to have this buried in the tomb on the occasion of the last removal, but I was told it had disappeared.'

<sup>3</sup> vol. ii. p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> *Bp. Braybrooke's Register*, f. 84.

<sup>5</sup> *Braybrooke Register*, f. 151.

<sup>6</sup> The date of the resignation by John Gower of the rectory of Great Braxted is nearly a year earlier than the marriage of Gower the poet.



and he found confirmation of the theory that this was Gower the poet from the fact that Great Braxted is near to Wigborough, where, as we have seen, a person of this name, supposed by Professor Morley to be the poet, had some claim to rent. We have already seen reason to think that the John Gower who had a rent of £10 from Wigborough was not the poet, and in any case it is evident that the fact could have nothing to do with a presentation by the king five and twenty years afterwards to the rectory of Great Braxted. As to resignation with a view to marriage, it is very unlikely, if not altogether out of the question, that a clergyman who had held an important rectory for six or seven years should not only have been permitted to marry, but should have had his marriage celebrated in the Priory of St. Mary Overy and with the particular sanction of the bishop of Winchester. Add to this the fact that John Gower the poet was undoubtedly 'Esquire,' being called so not only on his tomb but also in the documents of 1382 and 1393, the latter belonging to the period when, according to this theory, he was holding the living of Great Braxted. On the whole, the 'minor orders' theory must be dismissed as entirely baseless, and the John Gower who was rector of Great Braxted must be set down as another of the rather numerous persons of this name who were to be found in Kent and Essex at this time. There is nothing in Gower's writings to suggest the idea that he was an ecclesiastic. He distinctly calls himself a layman in the *Mirour de l'Omme*, and the expression 'borel clerk' in the Prologue of the *Confessio Amantis* must be taken to mean the same thing. The language which in the *Vox Clamantis* he uses about rectors who fail to perform the duties of their office, makes it almost inconceivable that he should himself have held a rectory without qualifying himself for the performance of the service of the Church even by taking priest's orders. Evidently Professor Morley's idea of the poet as an Essex rector must go the way of his previous attempt to establish him as a country gentleman at Otford. It is probable that he passed a considerable part of his literary life in those lodgings within the Priory of St. Mary Overy which are mentioned in his marriage licence and in his will<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I do not know on what authority Rendle states that 'His apartment seems to have been in what was afterwards known as Montague Close, between the church of St. Mary Overy and the river,' *Old Southwark*, p. 182.

To the information which we derive from records must be added that which is to be drawn from the poet's own writings. From the *Speculum Meditantis* we learn that in early life he composed love poems, which he calls 'fols ditz d' amour' (27340), and from two other passages (ll. 8794 and 17649) we may perhaps assume that he was already married at the time when this work was composed. In the former, speaking of those who tell tales to husbands about their wives' misconduct, he says in effect, 'I for my part declare ('Je di pour moi') that I wish to hear no such tales of my wife:.' in the second he speaks of those wives who dislike servants and other persons simply because their husbands like them, and he adds, 'I do not say that mine does so' ('Ne di pas q' ensi fait la moie'). If the inference be correct, his union with Agnes Groundolf in his old age was a second marriage. We cannot come to any definite conclusion from this poem about any profession or occupation which he may have had besides literature. The statement of Leland that he practised as a lawyer seems rather improbable, in view of the way in which he here speaks of lawyers and their profession. Of all the secular estates that of the law seems to him to be the worst (24085 ff.), and he condemns both advocates and judges in a more unqualified manner than the members of any other calling. Especially the suggestion of a special tax to be levied on lawyers' gains (24337 ff.) is one that could hardly have come from one who was himself a lawyer<sup>1</sup>.

Again the way in which he speaks of physicians (24301, 25621 ff.) seems almost equally to exclude him from the profession of medicine.

Of all the various ranks of society which he reviews, that of which he speaks with most respect is the estate of Merchants.

<sup>1</sup> At the same time I am disposed to attach some weight to the expression in *Mir.* 21774, where the author says that some may blame him for handling sacred subjects, because he is no 'clerk,'

'Ainz ai vestu la raye manche.'

This may possibly mean only to indicate the dress of a layman, but on the other hand it seems clear that some lawyers, perhaps especially the 'apprenticii ad legem,' were distinguished by stripes upon their sleeves; see for example the painting reproduced in Pulling's *Order of the Coif* (ed. 1897); and serjeants-at-law are referred to in *Piers Plowman*, A text, Pass. iii. 277, as wearing a 'ray robe with rich pelure.' We must admit, therefore, the possibility that Gower was bred to the law, though he may not have practised it for a living.



He takes pains to point out, both in this poem and in the *Vox Clamantis*, the utility of their occupation, and the justice of their claim to reasonably large profits on successful ventures in consideration of the risks they run (*Mirour*, 25177 ff.; *Vox Clam.* Lib. v. Cap. xi, *Heading*). He makes a special apology to the honest members of the class for exposing the abuses to which the occupation is liable, pleading that to blame the bad is in effect to praise the good (25213 ff., 25975 ff.), and he is more careful here than elsewhere to point out the fact that honest members of the class exist. He speaks of 'our City,' and has strong feelings about the interests of the city of London, and about the proceedings of a certain bad citizen who stirs up strife and aims at giving privileges in trade to strangers (*Mirour*, 26380 ff.; cp. *Vox Clamantis*, v. 835 ff.): moreover, the jealousy of Lombards which he expresses has every appearance of being a prejudice connected with rivalry in commerce (25429 ff.). He has a special enthusiasm about the wool-trade, as a national concern of the first importance, and he has very definite opinions about the abuses of the staple (25360 ff.). At the same time there is no definite evidence that Gower was a merchant, and his interest in trade and in the affairs of the city of London may well have arisen from his residence in or near the city and his personal acquaintance with merchants (cp. *Mir.* 25915 ff.). His references to the dearness of labour and the unreasonable demands of the labourer (24625 ff.) are what we might expect from a man who had property in land; but again we have no sufficient evidence that Gower was a land-owner in the ordinary sense of the word, for, though he acquired the manors of Feltwell and Multon, he did not reside upon either of them, but gave a lease of them at once.

He tells us that he is a man of simple tastes (26293 ff.), and we know from the whole tone of his writings that he is a just and upright man, who believes in the subordination of the various members of society to one another, and who will not allow himself to be ruled in his own household either by his wife or his servants. But, though a thorough believer in the principle of gradation in human society, he constantly emphasizes the equality of all men before God, and refuses absolutely to admit the accident of birth as constituting any claim to 'gentlesce.' The common descent of all from Adam is as conclusive on this point for him as it was for John Ball. Considering that his views

on society are essentially the same as those of Wycliff, and considering also his strong opinions about the corruption of the Church and the misdeeds of the friars, it is curious to find how strongly he denounces the Lollards in his later writings.

He has a just abhorrence of war, and draws a very clear distinction between the debased chivalry of his own day and the true ideal of knighthood. Above all he has a deep sense of religion, and is very familiar with the Bible. He strongly believes in the moral government of the world by Providence, and he feels sure, as others of his age did also, that the final stage of corruption has almost come. Whatever others may do, he at least intends to repent of his sins and prepare himself to render a good account of his stewardship. In both his French and his Latin work he shows himself a fearless rebuker of evil, even in the highest places. The charge of time-serving timidity has been sufficiently dealt with in the Introduction to the English Works.

From the *Vox Clamantis* it is evident that the rising of the Peasants produced a very powerful, indeed almost an overwhelming, impression upon his mind. He describes the terror inspired by it among those of his social standing in the most impressive manner. The progress of his political development during the reign of Richard II is clearly seen in his Latin works, with their successive revisions. He began, it is evident, with full hope and confidence that the youthful king would be a worthy representative of his father the Black Prince, both in war and in peace. As time goes on, and the boy develops into an ill-regulated young man, under evil influences of various kinds, the poet begins to have doubts, and these gradually increase until they amount to certainty, and rebuke and denunciation take the place of the former favourable anticipations. In the latest version of the *Confessio Amantis*, which is, no doubt, contemporary with some of these changes in the text of the *Vox Clamantis*, we see the author's confidence transferred from the king to his cousin, not as yet regarded as a successor to the throne, but thought of as representing a fair ideal of chivalry and honesty. Finally, in the *Cronica Tripertita*, he accepts the fall of Richard as the fatal consequence of a course of evil government and treachery, and rejoices in the prospect of a new order of things under his predestined hero.



We see here the picture of one who is not devoted to a particular party, but looks to what he conceives as the common good, deeply impressed with the sense that things are out of joint, and hoping against hope that a saviour of society may arise, either in the person of the young king, or of his vigorous and chivalrous cousin. There is no sign of any liking for John of Gaunt or of any attachment to the Lancastrian party generally; but he is stirred to very genuine indignation at the unfair treatment of men whom he regards as honest patriots, such as Gloucester, the Arundels, and Cobham. He himself was evidently a most patriotic Englishman, loving his country and proud of its former greatness. For this we may refer especially to *Vox Clamantis*, vii. 1289 ff., but the same feeling is visible also in many other passages. He is a citizen of the world no doubt, but an Englishman first, and he cares intensely for the prosperity of his native land. Even when he writes in French it is for England's sake,

‘O gentile Engleterre, a toi j’escris.’

When he decides that the *Confessio Amantis* could no longer go forth with Richard as its patron, it is to England that he dedicates his poem, and for his country that he offers up the prayers which he can no longer utter with sincerity on behalf of the worthless king (*Conf. Am. Prol.* 24 and viii. 2987).

From the *Confessio Amantis* we learn the circumstances under which that work was undertaken, owing in part at least to a suggestion from the king himself, who, meeting Gower upon the river, made him come into his own barge and conversed with him familiarly on his literary projects, urging him apparently to the composition of a poem in English, and perhaps suggesting Love as the subject. We gather also that in the year 1390 the author considered himself already an old man, and that he had then suffered for some time from ill-health (*Prol.* 79\*, viii. 3042\*), and from the Epistle to Archbishop Arundel prefixed later to the *Vox Clamantis*, as well as from the Latin lines beginning ‘Henrici Regis’ (or ‘Henrici quarti’) we learn that he was blind during the last years of his life, probably from the year 1400. We may reasonably suppose that he was born about the year 1330, or possibly somewhat later. From the Latin statement about his books we learn, what is tolerably obvious

from their tenour, that his chief aim in writing was edification, while at the same time we gather from the opening of the first book of the *Confessio Amantis* that he then despaired of effecting anything by direct admonition, and preferred finally to mingle amusement with instruction. The Latin lines at the end of this volume, beginning 'Dicunt scripture,' express a principle which he seems to have followed himself, namely that a man should give away money for good purposes during his own life, rather than leave such business to be attended to by his executors.

The literary side of his activity is sufficiently dealt with in the introductions to his several works, and there also it is noted what were the books with which he was acquainted. It is enough to say here that he was a man of fairly wide general reading, and thoroughly familiar with certain particular books, especially the Bible, all the works of Ovid, and the *Aurora* of Peter de Riga.

### THE LATIN WORKS.

Of the works which are included in the present volume the *Vox Clamantis* is the most important. It is written in elegiac verse, more or less after the model of Ovid, and consists of 10,265 lines, arranged in seven books, of which the first, second and third have separate prologues, and each is divided into a series of chapters with prose headings. As to the date of composition, all that we can say is that the work in its present form is later than the Peasants' rising in the summer of 1381, and yet it was evidently composed while the memory of that event was fresh, and also before the young king had grown beyond boyhood. The advice to the king with regard to fidelity in marriage need not be taken to have special reference to the king's actual marriage at the end of the year 1382, but perhaps it is more natural to suppose that it was written after that event than before.

The general plan of the author is to describe the condition of society and of the various degrees of men, much as in the latter portion of the *Speculum Meditantis*. This, however, is made subordinate to the detailed account, given at the beginning, of the Peasants' rising, and that is in fact set down as the main subject of the work in the Latin account of it given by the author:

'Secundus enim liber sermone Latino versibus exametri et pentametri compositus tractat super illo mirabili euentu, qui in Anglia tempore domini Regis Ricardi secundi anno regni sui quarto contigit, quando seruiles rustici impetuose contra nobiles et ingenuos regni insurrexerunt. Innocenciam tamen dicti domini Regis tunc minoris etatis causa inde excusabilem pronuncians, culpas aliunde, ex quibus et non a fortuna talia inter homines contingunt enormia, euidentius declarat. Titulusque voluminis huius, cuius ordo septem continet paginas, Vox Clamantis nominatur.'

So the statement of contents ran in its earlier form. Afterwards the excuses made for the king on the ground of his youth were withdrawn, and in the final form of the statement the events of the *Cronica Tripertita* are brought into the reckoning, and the fall of Richard seems to be represented as a moral consequence of the earlier misfortunes of his reign.

Evidently what is quoted above is a very insufficient summary of the *Vox Clamantis*, which in fact deals with the Peasants' rising only in its first book; and notwithstanding the fact that this event so much overshadows the other subjects of the poem that the author in describing his work afterwards treated it as the only theme, there is some reason to question whether what we have is really the original form of the poem, and even to conclude that the work may have been originally composed altogether without this detailed narrative of the insurrection. For this idea there is some manuscript authority. It has not hitherto been noted that in one copy (MS. Laud 719) the *Vox Clamantis* appears with the omission of the whole of the first book after the Prologue and first chapter<sup>1</sup>. At the same time the text of this manuscript seems to be complete in itself, and the books are numbered in accordance with the omission, so that there are six books only, our second book being numbered as the first<sup>2</sup>. There is really something to be said for

<sup>1</sup> The Lincoln MS. has the same feature, but it is evidently copied from Laud 719.

<sup>2</sup> There seems also to have been an alternative numbering, which proceeded on the principle of making five books, beginning with the third, the second being treated as a general prologue to the whole poem. In connexion with this we may take the special invocation of divine assistance in the prologue of the third book, which ends with the couplet,

'His tibi libatis nouus intro nauta profundum,  
Sacrum pneuma rogans vt mea vela regas.'



this arrangement, apart from the fact that it occurs in a single manuscript. The first book, with its detailed account of the Peasants' revolt, though in itself the most interesting part of the work, has certainly something of the character of an insertion. The plan of the remainder seems to be independent of it, though the date, June, 1381, which is found also in the Laud MS.,

'Contigit vt quarto Ricardi regis in anno,  
Dum clamat mensem Iunius esse suum,'

was doubtless intended to suggest that portentous event as the occasion of the review of society which the work contains. The prologue of the second book, which introduces the teachings of the vision with an invocation of God's assistance, an apology for the deficiencies of the work, and an appeal to the goodwill of the reader, and concludes with a first announcement of the name of the succeeding poem, *Vox Clamantis*, would certainly be much more in place at the beginning of the whole work than here, after more than two thousand lines, and there is no difficulty in supposing that the author may have introduced his account of the Peasants' revolt as an afterthought. The chief reason for hesitating to accept the Laud MS. as representing an authentic form of the poem, lies in the fact that the text of this MS. is rather closely related to that of another copy, MS. Digby 138, which contains the first book in its usual place; and it is perhaps more likely that the original archetype of these two MSS. was one which included the first book, and that this was omitted for some reason by the scribe of the Laud MS., than that the copyist of the Digby MS. perceived the absence of this book and supplied it from some other quarter.

One other matter affecting our estimate of the style of the composition generally has perhaps been sufficiently illustrated in the Notes of this edition, that is to say, the extent to which the author borrows in the *Vox Clamantis* from other writers. It is sufficiently obvious to a casual reader that he has appropriated a good many lines from Ovid, though the extent of this schoolboy plagiarism is hardly to be realised without careful examination; but his very extensive obligations to other writers have not hitherto been pointed out. He repeatedly takes not lines or couplets only, but passages of eight, ten or even twenty lines from the *Aurora* of Peter Riga, from the poem of Alexander Neckam *De Vita Monachorum*, from the *Speculum Stultorum*, or from the *Pantheon*,

so that in many places the composition is entirely made up of such borrowed matter variously arranged and combined. This is evidently a thing to be noted, because if the author, when describing (for example) the vices of monasteries, is found to be merely quoting from Alexander Neckam, we cannot attach much value to his account as a picture of the manners of his own time. His knowledge of Ovid seems to have been pretty complete, for he borrows from almost every section of his works with the air of one who knows perfectly well where to turn for what he wants; quite a large portion of Neckam's poem is appropriated without the smallest acknowledgement, and many long passages are taken from the *Aurora*, with only one slight mention of this source (iii. 1853). Most of the good Latin lines for which Gower has got credit with critics are plagiarisms of this kind, and if Professor Morley had realized to what extent the *Vox Clamantis* is a compilation, he would hardly have estimated the work so highly as he has done. The extracts from medieval authors are to some extent tolerable, because they are usually given in a connected and intelligible shape, but the perpetual borrowing of isolated lines or couplets from Ovid, often without regard to their appropriateness or their original meaning, often makes the style, of the first book especially, nearly as bad as it can be. I have taken the pains to point out a considerable number of plagiarisms, but it is certain that there must be many instances which have escaped my notice. In his later Latin verse the author is very much less dependent upon others, and the *Cronica Tripertita*, from the nature of the subject, is necessarily original.

Gower's own style of versification in Latin is somewhat less elegant than that of Alexander Neckam or Peter Riga, but it stands upon much the same level of correctness. If we take into account the fact that the Latin is not classical but medieval, and that certain licences of prosody were regularly admitted by medieval writers of Latin verse, we shall not find the performance very bad. Such licences are, for example, the lengthening of a short syllable at the caesura, the position of final short vowels before 'st,' 'sp,' 'sc' at the beginning of the succeeding word, and the use of polysyllabic words, or of two dissyllables, at the end of the hexameter, so that lines such as these are not to be taken as irregular:

'Omnis et inde gradus a presule sanctificatus;'  
'Quo minor est culpa, si cadat inde rea;'

\*\*\*\*

'Et quia preuisa sic vota facit, puto culpa ;'  
'Si bene conseruet ordinis ipse statum.'

In any case it is certain that Gower expressed himself in Latin with great facility and with tolerable correctness. He may have imitated the style of Ovid '*studiosius quam felicius*,' as Leland observes, but the comparison with other Latin verse-writers of his time sets his performance in a fairly favourable light.

#### VOX CLAMANTIS. ANALYSIS.

##### PROLOGUS LIBRI PRIMI.

From the records of the past we derive examples ; and though credit be not commonly given to dreams, yet the writers of past time instruct us otherwise. Daniel and Joseph were taught by visions, and a man's guardian angel often warns him in his sleep. Hence, as it seems to me, my dreams should be recorded as signs of the times ; and what my vision was and at what time it came, ye may learn from this book.

If ye desire to know the writer's name, add to *John* the beginning of *Godfrey*, the first letter of *Wales* and the word *ter* without its head. But give no praise to the author, for I write not with a view to fame. I shall write of strange things which my country has experienced, and as my matter is woful, so also shall be my song. My pen is wet with tears, and both my heart and my hand tremble ; nor am I sufficient to write all the troubles that belong to the time. I ask for indulgence rather than praise : my will is good, though my powers fall short. I pray that while I sing of those true visions which disturb my heart with terror, he whose name I bear, to whom visions were revealed in Patmos, may control my work.

##### LIBER PRIMUS.

CAP. I. It was in the fourth year of king Richard, when the month was June : the moon had set and the morning-star had risen, when from the West a strange light sprang, the dawn came from the region of the setting sun and brought forth the day. The sun shone and all the earth was bright ; Phebus went forth in his glorious car, attended by the four Seasons, Summer being nearest to him then and honoured by all creatures. The meadows were bright with flowers and the flocks sported in the fields, a perfect paradise of flowers and fruits was there, with the songs of multitudinous birds. Such was the day on which I wandered forth for my pleasure.

All things have an end, and at length that calm day had completed its appointed hours ; evening came and I lay down to rest. The night came on, dark and gloomy as the day had been bright, and sleep did not visit my eyes. My hair stood on end, my flesh and my heart



trembled, and my senses were disturbed like water. I reflected what the cause might be of my sudden terror, and my mind wandered by various paths. The night went on, yet no sleep came, and terror of a coming evil oppressed me. Thus I spent the hours of darkness, not knowing what was approaching, seeing the past and fearing for the future; but at length, towards dawn, sleep came upon my weary eyes, and I began to dream.

CAP. II. Methought I went out upon a Tuesday to gather flowers, and I saw people in bands going abroad over the fields. Suddenly the curse of God fell like lightning upon them, and they were changed into the forms of beasts, various bands into various forms.

One band was changed into asses rebellious against the halter and the burden, careering over the fields and demanding to be as horses; and these had also horns in the middle of their foreheads, which were stained with blood; they were swift as leopards in their leap, and had tails like that of a lion, yet the stolid asinine mind was in them still. I stood in terror and could advance no further.

CAP. III. With them came oxen, who refused any longer to be subject to the yoke and who would no longer eat straw. These too were in monstrous shape with feet like those of a bear and with the tails of dragons; they breathed forth fire and smoke like the bulls of Colchos. They devastated the fields and slew men: the plough, the rake and the mattock lay idle. 'Ah me!' I said, 'the cultivation of the fields will cease and famine will come upon us.'

CAP. IV. A third band I saw transformed into swine, furious and possessed by the devil. They followed one another, hog and hogling, boar and little pig, the sow and her companion, and there was no swine-herd to keep them away from the corn-fields. They wandered where they would, and the pig ravaged like a wolf.

One boar there was, whom Kent produced, such as the whole earth might not match. Flame came from his mouth and eyes, his tusks were like those of an elephant; foam mixed with human blood flowed over his flanks. He strikes down all those whom he meets and none can prevail against him: no place except heaven is safe from his rage. From the North comes another boar to meet him and to plan destruction.

These boars were greater and more furious than that of Tegea or that which Meleager hunted. They are not content with acorns for their food or water for their drink; they devour rich food in the city and drink good wine, so that they lie in drunkenness as dead. They despise the pig-stye and defile kings' palaces with their filth: their grunting is like the roaring of a lion.

CAP. V. A fourth band was turned into dogs, who are not content with the food from their master's table, but range in search of better, who do not hunt hares or stags, but bark at the heels of men. Here

are Cut and Cur from their wretched kennels, the sheep-dog and the watch-dog, the baker's, the butcher's, and the miller's dog. The one-eyed is there and the three-legged dog limps behind barking. These cannot be soothed by stroking, but bare their teeth in anger against you. They tear all whom they meet, and the more they devour the less they are satisfied. Cerberus in hell hears their howl, and breaking away from his chains he joins himself to their company and becomes their leader. More savage were these than the hounds which tore Acteon or the beast which Diana sent to destroy the Athenians. All trembled before them.

CAP. VI. Another band took the form of foxes and cats. They ran about and searched every cavern and every hiding-place, and made their way into secret chambers. There was venom in their bite. The caves of the wood send forth the foxes, who rob by day without fear, and have a treaty of peace with the dogs. The cats leave the barns and cease to catch mice, and these do damage more than ever did the mice of Ekron.

CAP. VII. A sixth took the form of domestic fowls, but they claimed to be birds of prey. The cock had the beak and claws of a falcon, and the goose soared up to the heaven. Suddenly the cock becomes a carrion-crow and the goose a kite, and they prey upon the carcasses of men. The cock crows horribly and the hen follows him and moves him to evil. The goose which formerly frightened only children with its hissing, now terrifies grown men and threatens to tear them to pieces.

Owls join themselves to these and do by day the deeds of darkness, sharpening their feathers with iron, in order that they may slay men.

CAP. VIII. The dream continued, and I saw another band in the form of flies and of frogs. These were like those that plagued Egypt: the frogs came into houses and shed their poison everywhere; the flies pursued with their stings all those of gentle blood, and nothing could keep them out. Their prince Belzebub was the leader of the host. The heat of the summer produced them suddenly in swarms: the fly was more rapacious than the hawk and prouder than the peacock; he contended with the lark, the crane and the eagle in flight.

This was a day on which horses were overcome by asses, and lions by oxen, a day in which the dog was stronger than the bear and the cat than the leopard, a day in which the weak confounded the strong, a day in which slaves were raised on high and nobles brought to the ground, a day in which the terror of God's wrath came upon all, such a day as no chronicle records in time past. May such a day never come again in our age!

CAP. IX. When all this multitude was gathered together like the sand of the sea, one, a Jay skilled in speech, took the first place among them and addressed them thus: 'O wretched slaves, now comes

the day in which the peasant shall drive out the lord ; let honour, law and virtue perish, and let our court rule.' They listen and approve, and though they know not what 'our court' means, what he says has for them the force of law : if he says 'strike,' they strike, if he says 'kill,' they kill. Their sound was as the sound of the sea, and from terror I could scarcely move my feet. They strike a mutual compact and declare that all those of gentle blood who remain in the world shall be overthrown.

Then they advance all together ; a dark cloud mingled with the furies of hell rains down evil into their hearts ; the earth is wetted with the dew of the pit, so that no virtue can grow, but every vice increases. Satan is loose and among them, the princes of Erebus draw the world after them, and the more I gaze, the more I am terrified, not knowing what the end will be.

CAP. X. Furious rage there was, they were greedy for slaughter like hungry wolves. The seven races derived from Cain were added to them. The prophets spoke of them, Gog and Magog is their name, they neither fear man nor worship God. Moreover those companions of Ulysses, whom Circe transformed, are associated with them : some have the heads of men and others of brute beasts.

CAP. XI. There is Wat, Tom and Sim, Bet and Gib followed by Hick ; Coll, Geff and Will, Grigge, Dawe, Hobbe and Lorkin, Hudd, Judd, Tebb and Jack, such are their names ;<sup>1</sup> and Ball teaches them as a prophet, himself having been taught by the devil.

Some bray like asses, others bellow like bulls, they grunt, they bark, they howl, the geese cackle, the wasps buzz ; the earth is terrified with their sound and trembles at the name of the Jay.

CAP. XII. They appoint heralds and leaders, and they order that all who do not favour them shall suffer death. They are armed with stakes and poles, old bows and arrows, rusty sickles, mattocks and forks ; some have only clods and stones and branches of trees. They wet the earth with the blood of their betters.

CAP. XIII. These come in their fury to the city of new Troy, which

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's spirited translation of these lines is well known, but may here be quoted again :

'Tom comes thereat, when called by Wat, and Simm as forward we find, Bet calls as quick to Gibb and to Hykk, that neither would tarry behind. Gibb, a good whelp of that litter, doth help mad Coll more mischief to do, And Will he does vow, the time is come now, he'll join in their company too. Davie complains, whiles Grigg gets the gains, and Hobb with them does partake, Lorkin aloud in the midst of the crowd conceiveth as deep is his stake. Hudde doth spoil whom Judde doth foil, and Tebb lends his helping hand, But Jack the mad patch men and houses does snatch, and kills all at his command.'

*Church History*, Book iv. (p. r39).



opens its gates to them, and they surge in and invade the streets and houses. It was Thursday, the festival of Corpus Christi, when this fury attacked the city on all sides; they burnt the houses and slew the citizens. The Savoy burns, and the house of the Baptist falls to ruin in the flames. They rob and carry away the spoil, and that day is closed with drunkenness everywhere.

The next day, Friday, is yet worse; no wisdom or courage avails against them, they rage like a lioness robbed of her young. O, how degenerate is the city which allows this, how disgraceful that armed knights should give place to an unarmed mob! There is no Capaneus or Tydeus, no Ajax or Agamemnon, no Hector or Achilles, to make defence or attack. Ilion with its towers cannot keep men safe from the furies.

CAP. XIV. Helenus the chief priest, who kept the palladium of Troy, was slain in spite of his exhortations. These were deeds worthy rather of demons than of men. Piety and virtue perished and vice ran riot. They said 'Let his blood be upon our heads,' and slew him without pity: the curse of Christ shall fall upon them for this deed.

Simon had the same death as Thomas, but at the hands of greater numbers and for a different cause. Vengeance came for the death of Thomas; for Simon it daily threatens. It was midday when this blood was shed, the shepherd was slain by his flock, the father by his children. He died untimely; but though taken away from us, he lives in heaven. This is the foulest of all the deeds done: these men are worse than Cain, who only slew his brother. O cursed hand that struck the severed head! Wail for this, all ye old and young, the evils prophesied by Cassandra come down on this city. The king could not rescue Helenus, but he mourned for him in his heart.

CAP. XV. The chief citizens also perished, there was death and sorrow everywhere. If a son pleaded for his father, both were slain. No place of safety can be found by those of gentle condition; they flee to the forests in vain, and move vaguely hither and thither, neither city nor field affords them protection. Death is everywhere, and spares not even the women and the children. There is no remedy, and neither lamentation nor prayers are of any avail.

CAP. XVI. When I saw all this, horror seized me and I fled. I left my own house and wandered over the fields, I went from place to place in search of safety; the enemy pressed after me; I hid in caves of the woods, and was without hope at evening of what the morrow might bring. My dreams terrified me and my heart melted like wax in the fire. I lay hid during the day and trembled at every sound, the tears that I shed were my sole subsistence. I was alone and in terror of the wrath of God, my mind was sick and my body was wasted. Hardly ever did I meet a companion, and those friends whom I had trusted in

prosperity failed me now. I dared scarcely speak a word, lest I should betray myself to an enemy.

Then, when I saw nothing but death about me, I desired to die, and yet I was unwilling to perish in so desolate a state. While I wept, lo, Wisdom came to me and bade me stop my tears, for grief would at some time cease. I stood amazed and in doubt; death was life to me and life was death, and wondrous visions passed before me.

CAP. XVII. I saw not far off a Ship, and I ran towards it and climbed up its side. In it were almost all those of gentle birth, crowded together and terrified, seeking refuge from the furies. I prayed that we might have a favourable voyage. The ship left the shore, but my hopes were vain: the sky grew dark and the winds lashed the waves into storm, the ship was driven before them amid thunder and rain. There was confusion among the sailors, and the captain in vain endeavoured to direct the ship's course.

CAP. XVIII. At length the storm so increased that all were in despair of safety. A huge monster of the sea, Scylla and Charybdis both in one, appeared as if to destroy the ship and all who were in it. We prayed to heaven for help.

(The Tower of London was like this ship, shaken by the storm, its walls giving way to the fury of the mob. In vain it offered hopes of safety; it was stained with foul parricide, and the den of the leopard was captured by assault.)

When I saw these things I was terrified in my sleep, and I prayed to God for help. 'Thou Creator and Redeemer of the human race, thou who didst save Paul from the sea, Peter from prison and Jonah from the whale's belly, hear my prayer, I entreat thee. Help me and grant that I may be cast up on a favourable shore!'

As I prayed, the monster struck the ship, and it was almost swallowed up by the fury of Scylla.

CAP. XIX. Yet our cries and tears were not unheard. When the storm raged most furiously, there was one William, a Mayor, who was moved to high deeds: he struck down that proud Jay, and with his death the storm abated, Scylla restored its prey, and the ship once more rode upright upon the water. The sailors regained their courage and hoisted a little sail, peace returned and the sky became clear. I then with all the rest gave thanks to Christ.

CAP. XX. Still my dream went on, and still I seemed to see that ship, which now with broken oars was drifting in search of a landing-place. It was driven to that port where all this evil raged; it had escaped Scylla, but it came to an Island more dangerous than Scylla. I landed, and asked one of those whom I met, 'What island is this, and why is there so great a concourse of people here?' He replied: 'This is called the Island of Brute, and the men who dwell here are of fair form but of savage condition. This people lays law and justice

low by violence; strife and bloodshed reign here ever. Yet if they could love one another, no better people would there be from the rising to the setting of the sun.'

I was saddened and terrified by his answer, I knew not whether sea or land were more to be feared. The heavenly voice which I had heard before said to me, 'Lament not, but take heed to thyself. Thou hast come to a place where wars abound, but do thou seek peace within by God's assistance. Be cautious and silent; but when thou hast leisure, record these dreams of thine, for dreams often give a presage of the future.' The voice was heard no more, and at that moment the cock crew and I awoke from my sleep, scarce knowing whether what I had seen was within me or without.

CAP. XXI. Then I returned thanks to God for having preserved me upon the sea and from the jaws of Scylla. The rustic goes back to his labours, but in his heart there remains hatred of his lords; therefore let us be forewarned and provide against future evils. As for me, God has set me free from the danger, and for this I thank him; and I would that my country, preserved from destruction, might render due thanks to God. While the memory of these things is fresh in me, I will write that which I experienced in my sleep, that waking slumber which brought to me no mere vision but a dream of reality.

#### PROLOGUS LIBRI SECUNDI.

Many things did I see and note, which my pen shall write, but first I invoke, not the Muses, but the true Spirit of God, and I will let down my nets in the name of Christ and for his glory. The style and the verses are poor, but the meaning is good. I will give that which my poor faculties can attain to; and may he be my helper who produced speech from the mouth of an ass. I prefer to do a little good than none.

The words which follow are not spoken from myself; they are gathered from various sources, as honey from various flowers or bright shells from various shores. The name of the book is *Vox Clamantis*, because it is the utterance of a fresh sorrow.

#### LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAP. I. Tears shall be the ink with which I write. All is vanity except the love of God, and man has cause for lamentation from his birth.

Yet if any people in the world could be happy, God granted this boon to us; we were blessed above all other nations. Now our former glory is extinguished and our prosperity is destroyed.

Why is our condition thus changed? Nothing on earth happens without a cause, yet all deny that they are the cause of this and find fault with Fortune, who turns all things upside down.



CAP. II. O thou who art called Fortune, why dost thou thus depress those whom thou didst once exalt? Once our country was everywhere honoured, all desired to be at peace with it: now our glory has departed and enemies attack us from all quarters. Reply, Fortune, and say if thou art the cause of this change. I think not, for I believe in God and not in Fortune; yet I will describe thee, as men think that thou art.

CAP. III. Fortune, hear what men say of thee, that thou hast a double face, and goest by double paths, that nothing in thee is stable or secure. No gifts may keep thee faithful, thou art lighter than the dead leaves which fly before the wind: now thou art bright and fair, now dark and lowering; thy love is more treacherous than that of a harlot, the prosperity which thou givest is very near to disaster.

CAP. IV. Fortune gives no honey without gall, she changes like the sphere of the moon. Her wheel is ever turning, and no tears or prayers will move her. Citizen and husbandman, king and rustic, rich and poor, all are alike to her. Ah! why was so much power given to such a one as she is?

Thus men say, believing that Fortune can overthrow the decrees of God, but in fact she is nothing, fate is nothing, chance has nothing to do with the affairs of men. Each one makes for himself his own lot: if the will is good, good fortune follows, if evil, it makes the fortune bad. Virtue will lead you to the summit of the wheel, and vice will bring you and your fortune down to the bottom.

CAP. V. God has said that the man who obeys his commands shall prosper in wealth and peace: the very elements are subject to the righteous man. Joshua caused the sun to stand still, Gregory stayed the plague, Moses divided the sea, Elisha caused iron to swim, the three children were unhurt by the fire, the earth rose to give a seat to Hilarius. Wild animals, too, serve the just man, witness Daniel, Silvester, Moses and Jonah.

CAP. VI. Again, the elements war against sinners: so it was in the case of the plague caused by David's sin, in the case of the Sodomites, Korah, Dathan and Abiram, Lysias and others. The wicked man cannot enjoy good fortune, nor can the good man be deprived of it. It was guilt that caused the fall of Pharaoh and of Saul, the death of Ahab and of Eli with his sons. The Jews always conquered while they were obedient to God's law, and were overcome when they transgressed it.

CAP. VII. It is God Omnipotent, the Three in One, who governs all things here. As fire, heat and motion are three things combined in one, so the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are three persons but one Godhead.

CAP. VIII. Christ, the Son of the Father, became incarnate in man, and yet remained what he was before, being less than the Father and yet equal to him, perfect Man and perfect God. As the frailty of

the first Adam brought evil upon us all, so the strength of the second Adam healed our wound and restored our fallen state.

CAP. IX. We must submit our mind to the faith, for man cannot understand the things of God, and we must not examine too closely the mystery which we cannot penetrate. This we know, that life is given to all through the name of Jesus Christ:

CAP. X. The heathen bows down to figures of wood and stone, asking help from that which his hands have made. Was not the world made for man and all things placed in subjection to him? How then can these idols be of any avail?

As for us, we use images differently, not giving to them the worship that belongs to God, but by them assisting devotion; especially the sign of the Cross is to be adored, by means of which we conquer the powers of evil. Great is the virtue of the Cross, by which Christ despoiled hell of its prey and ascended into heaven.

CAP. XI. God created the heaven and the earth, and all created things ought to serve him. As he creates all things, so also he rules them continually, and he gives his gifts according to men's merit. Whatever comes to pass in the world, whether it be good or evil, we are the cause of it.

#### PROLOGUS LIBRI TERCIJ.

Since good and bad fortune are due to the merits and demerits of men, I shall examine the various conditions of men and find out where the fault lies. I shall utter not so much my own words as the common report of others, and it must be remembered that he who finds fault with the bad is in effect praising the good. May God assist me to carry out my task! My abilities are small, and I do not affect high themes, but I speak of the evils which the common voice of humanity bewails. Let no envy or calumny attack my work; and do thou, O Christ, grant that I may avoid falsehood and flattery. With this prayer I enter on my voyage.

#### LIBER TERCIVS.

CAP. I. The order of the world is in three degrees,—Clergy, Knight-hood and Peasantry. I shall deal first with the prelates of the Church, whose practice is very far removed from the example of Christ. Riches alone are valued by them, and the poor man is despised, whatever may be his merits.

CAP. II. Prelates of the Church are now hirelings, whose desire is to live in luxury and to indulge their appetites. Gluttony and lust everywhere prevail.

CAP. III. The prelates of the Church aim at earthly honours instead of heavenly: they desire rather to have the pre-eminence than

to do good. Powerful men escape without rebuke for their sins, and penance is avoided by payment.

CAP. IV. As regards the 'positive law,' for breach of which dispensations are granted, I ask first whether Christ gives indulgence beforehand for sin, or prohibits that which is not sin. If these things are sins, how can I be free to commit them on consideration of a money payment; if not, why does the Church forbid them? This is merely a device for bringing in money to the clergy.

CAP. V. The poison of temporal possessions is still working in the Church. They no longer war on the pagan, but turn their swords against their own brother Christians.

CAP. VI. Christ left peace with his disciples, but in our time avarice and ambition cause prelates to take part in intestine strife, with swords in their hands and the cross as their ensign. It is not the part of a soldier to offer incense at the altar or of a priest to bear arms in war.

CAP. VII. The priest should fight with other than material arms. David was not permitted to build a house for the Lord, because he had been a shedder of blood; and those who are stained with the slaughter of their brethren cannot be the true servants of the altar. Brotherly love should prevail, and this is opposed to strife and self-seeking ambition.

CAP. VIII. Worldly men may make wars, but the clergy should not take part in them; their strength is in their words and prayers, and they have no need of material arms. Too great prosperity and wealth is the cause of these evils: they do not see what the end will be.

CAP. IX. The ring and the pastoral staff belong to the Pope, the sceptre to the Emperor; the one must not usurp the rights of the other. The Emperor should not claim spiritual power, nor the Pope temporal. Christ is a lover of peace and his ministers must not appeal to the sword, but must keep the command, 'Thou shalt not kill.' Let Christ himself lay claim to what is his. Pride is the root of all evil.

The apostles conquered by prayers and by patience; Peter had neither silver nor gold, but he healed the lame man; our clergy abound in wealth, but do no works of healing, either spiritual or bodily. O thou who art head of the Church, remember that forgiveness should be until seventy times seven, and that Peter was commanded by Christ to put up his sword.

CAP. X. The teaching and the writings of the clergy are in favour of peace and love, and when I wondered why they waged wars, one answered me in the person of the supreme pontiff and said: 'Rule on earth is given to us by divine decree and it pleases us to enjoy all the good things of this world. Our way is different from that of Christ and his apostles; we set up the cross as a sign of hatred and vengeance, we put to death those who will not acknowledge our rule; the pastoral



staff is turned into a spear and the mitre into a helmet, we can slay with sword as well as with word, and whereas Peter cut off the ears, we cut off the head.'

CAP. XI. These claim the worship and honour which belong to God alone, and the goods which they unjustly seize are never restored. The shepherd preys like a wolf upon his own sheep.

CAP. XII. He who is promoted to dignity in the Church by simony is like the thief who enters not by the door into the sheepfold. The Church is a congregation of faithful men, and the clergy are no better than the laity, except so far as they lead better lives. Yet they lay burdens upon us which they will not bear themselves, and do not follow their own precepts. They bear the keys of heaven, but they neither enter themselves nor allow us to enter: they set no good example to their flocks.

CAP. XIII. A prelate should be a light to guide his people by example, and he should encourage them by his voice, and also reprove and restrain. The oil with which he is anointed is a type of the qualities that he ought to display.

CAP. XIV. At the Court of Rome nothing can be done without gifts: the poor man is everywhere rejected. The spirit of Antichrist is opposite to that of Christ, and there are many signs that he has already come.

CAP. XV. Our prelates aim at the mere outward show of sanctity and refuse to bear the burden of Christ. O God, in thy mercy restore them to the state which they have lost!

CAP. XVI. Rectors of parishes, too, err after the example of the prelates. They are luxurious in their lives, and many desert their spiritual cures, in order to frequent courts and great households, with a view to promotion.

CAP. XVII. Another gets leave from the bishop to leave his parish on the plea of study at the universities; but there he learns and teaches only lessons of unchastity. The Church, which is his true bride, is neglected, and harlots receive the tithe which belongs to God.

CAP. XVIII. A third rector resides in his parish, but spends his time in sports, keeps well-fed horses and dogs, while the poor are not relieved or the sick visited, makes his voice heard more in the fields and woods than in the church. He lays snares too for the women of his parish, and if their bodies be fair, he cares not how their souls are defiled.

CAP. XIX. Another neglects his cure of souls and makes money by buying and selling. He is liberal of his wealth to none but women; and if benefices were inherited by the children of those who hold them, the succession would seldom fail.

CAP. XX. The priests without benefices, who get their living by 'annuals,' are equally bad: the harlot and the tavern consume their

gains. Let none admit these to his house, who desires to keep his wife chaste, any more than he would admit pigeons to his bed-chamber, if he wished to keep it clean.

CAP. XXI. These infect the laity by their bad example. The bishop ought not to ordain such men; and he who might prevent an evil and does not, is equally guilty with him who causes it.

CAP. XXII. The clergy deny the right of laymen to judge and punish them; yet the sins of the clergy deeply affect the laity. We are all brethren in Christ and we are bidden to rebuke our brethren, if they do wrong, and to cast them out of the Church, if they will not amend.

CAP. XXIII. Priests say that in committing fornication they do not sin more than other men who are guilty of this vice. But their sacred condition and their vow of chastity makes the evil worse in them than in a cobbler or a shepherd.

CAP. XXIV. If we consider the office of the priesthood, we shall find that the vestments and ornaments of priests are all symbolical of the virtues which they ought to possess.

CAP. XXV. The ceremonies of sacrifices under the old law were symbols of the virtues required in priests under the new, and as under the old dispensation the ministers of the altar ought to be without defect and deformity of body, so the priests of the new law should be spiritually free from blemish. Uzzah touched the ark with unclean hands and was punished with death: so he who comes polluted to the service of the altar is worthy of punishment.

CAP. XXVI. A man must be of mature age before he assumes the priesthood; for youth is apt to yield to the temptations of the flesh. The evil impulses cannot be wholly expelled, but they may be kept in check, as is symbolized by the tonsure of the priest. Let the priest avoid idleness, whence so many vices spring.

CAP. XXVII. The honour of priests is great, if they live worthily. They administer to us the sacraments during our lives, they give us burial when we are dead, they are the salt of the earth and the light of the world. So much the worse is it when they are ignorant and bad; the distinction between the good and the bad priest is like that between the dove and the raven sent out of the ark.

CAP. XXVIII. The young scholars who are being trained for the priesthood are in these days too often indolent and vicious. If they are so in youth, they will hardly be good in their later age.

CAP. XXIX. They are induced to undertake the priesthood by desire to escape from the control of the ordinary law, by dislike of labour, and by love of good living, seldom by the higher motive, which once prevailed, of contempt for worldly things and longing after the highest good. Thus, since the clergy is without the light of virtue, we laymen wander in the dark.

## LIBER QUARTUS.

CAP. I. Men of Religious Orders are also of various conditions, some good and others bad. Let each bear his own burden of blame : I write only what common report tells me.

There are first those who hold temporal possessions, and some of these live in gluttony and luxury.

CAP. II. Those who leave the world should give up worldly things ; but in these days the monk is known only by his garb. He indulges himself with the richest food and the choicest drink, he makes haste when the bell rings for a meal, but he rises very slowly and reluctantly for midnight prayer. The monks of old were different ; they dwelt in caves and had no luxurious halls or kitchens, they were clothed in skins, fed on herbs and drank water, and abstained from fleshly lusts. These men truly renounced the world, but that blessed state has now perished.

CAP. III. The old monastic rule has given place to gluttony and drunkenness, and those who live so can hardly be chaste. Pride, anger and envy prevail among these men, in spite of the restrictions of their rule.

CAP. IV. There is no brotherly love among them, and the vow of individual poverty is also broken. They make money in various ways and spend it on their pleasures and in enriching their children, whom they call their nephews.

CAP. V. A monk wandering abroad from his cloister is like a fish out of water ; nor are those much better who stay within the walls and allow their minds to dwell on worldly things.

CAP. VI. Some seek honour and dignity under the cover of the monastic profession, even though they be of poor and low birth.

CAP. VII. Patience, Chastity and the rest who were once brothers of religious orders, are now dead or departed, and their contrary vices have taken their places.

CAP. VIII. So also the regular Canons for the most part neglect their monastic rule and have only a show of sanctity.

CAP. IX. Monks who are untrue to their profession are of all men the most unhappy. They have no real enjoyment of this world and they lose also the joys of heaven.

CAP. X. Let all members of religious orders perform their vows and repent of their past sins, of their pride, luxury, avarice, ambition, gluttony, wrath, envy and strife.

CAP. XI. Above all let them avoid intercourse with women, who bring death to their souls. Let them labour and study ; for idleness is the great incentive to evil.

CAP. XII. The monk who sets himself to observe his rule will live hardly and fast often, praying continually and doing penance for sin. He will submit himself humbly to his prior, and he will not grudge to



perform duties that are irksome. The prior should be gentle with his younger brethren and not make the yoke too heavy for them.

CAP. XIII. As regards nuns, they too are under the rule of chastity ; but as women are more frail by nature than men, they must not be so severely punished if they break it. They require meat often on Fridays for their stomachs' sake, and this is prepared for them by Genius the priest of Venus.

CAP. XIV. Where Genius is the confessor of a convent, the laws of the flesh prevail. The priest who visits nuns too often corrupts them, and the woman very easily yields to temptation. A wife may deceive her husband, but the bride of Christ cannot conceal her unfaithfulness from him : therefore she above all others should be chaste.

CAP. XV. True virginity is above all praise, and this surpasses every other condition, as a rose surpasses the thorns from which it springs. The best kind of virginity is that which is vowed to God.

CAP. XVI. Not all whom Christ chose were faithful, and everywhere bad and good are mingled together ; but the fault of the bad is not a reason for condemning the good. So when I speak of the evil deeds of Friars, I condemn the bad only and absolve the good.

The number of mendicant friars is too great and their primitive rule has been forgotten. They pretend to be poor, but in fact they possess all things, and have power over the pope himself. Both life and death bring in gains to them.

CAP. XVII. They preach hypocritically against sin in public, but in private they encourage it by flattery and indulgence. They know that their gains depend upon the sins which their penitents commit. Friars do not often visit places where gain is not to be got. They have an outward appearance of poverty and sanctity, without the reality. I do not desire that they should be altogether suppressed, but that they should be kept under due discipline.

CAP. XVIII. Some friars aim at dignity as masters in the schools, and then they are exempted from their rule and obtain entry into great houses. The influence of the friar is everywhere felt, and often he supplies the place of the absent husband and is the father of his children. Bees, when they wound, lose their stings and are afterwards helpless : would it were so with the adulterous friar !

CAP. XIX. The order of friars is not necessary to the Church. Friars appropriate spiritual rights which belong to others ; and though this may be by dispensation of the pope, yet we know that the pope does not grant such dispensations of his own motion, and he may be deceived. They ask for the cure of souls, but in fact they are demanding worldly wealth : not so did Francis make petition, but he left all and endured poverty.

CAP. XX. This multitude of friars is not necessary for the good of society. David says of them that they neither take part in the labours

of men nor endure the rule of the law : they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet the world feeds them. It is vain for them to plead the merits of Francis, when they do not follow his example. All honour to those who do as he did.

CAP. XXI. They draw into their order not grown men but mere boys. Francis was not a boy when he assumed his work ; but in these days mere children are enrolled, caught like birds in a snare : and as they are deceived themselves, so afterwards they deceive others.

CAP. XXII. The friar who transgresses the rule of his order is an apostate and a follower of the apostate fiend. He finds entrance everywhere, and everywhere he lays snares, encourages hatred, and fosters impurity. Under a veil of virtuous simplicity he conceals a treacherous heart. These are ministers of the Synagogue rather than of the Church, children of Hagar, not of Sara.

CAP. XXIII. They are dispersed over the world like the Jews, and everywhere they find ease and abundance. Their churches and their houses are built in the most costly style and adorned with the richest ornaments. No king has chambers more magnificent than theirs, and their buildings are a mark of their worldly pride. Unless their souls are fair within, this outward pomp of religion is of no avail.

CAP. XXIV. Friars differ from one another in the garb of their order, but all equally neglect their rule. Only the order founded by brother Burnel still maintains its former state. Two rules of this order I will set forth, which are almost everywhere received. The first is that what the flesh desires, that you may have ; and the second that whatever the flesh shrinks from, that you should avoid. So the new order of Burnel is thought better than those of Benedict or Bernard.

Thus, if bad times come, I shall hold that the error of the Clergy is the cause. The body is nothing without the spirit : we have darkness instead of light, death instead of life, and the flock is scattered abroad without a shepherd.

#### LIBER QUINTUS.

CAP. I. I will speak in the second place of the order of Knighthood. This was established first to defend the Church, then for the good of the community, and thirdly to support the cause of the widow and orphan. If a knight performs these duties, he should have praise, but not if he makes war merely for the sake of glory.

If a knight overcomes his enemies, but is overcome by the love of a woman, he has no true glory, for he makes himself a slave instead of free.

CAP. II. If the knight would reflect on the variety and uncertainty of love, he would not allow himself so easily to be made captive.

CAP. III. But when he sees beauty in woman decked out with all its charms, he thinks it divine and marvellous, and he can offer no

effectual resistance. Lovers are blind and are driven by every kind of unreasonable impulse. Women deceive men, and men also deceive and betray women.

CAP. IV. The knight has little need to fear bodily wounds, which may easily be healed ; but love is not to be cured by physicians, and this deprives him both of reason and of honour.

CAP. V. Those who seek fame and worldly honours only, are hardly better than those who are conquered by women.

CAP. VI. The good woman is one whose praise is above all things. The bad is a subtle snare for the destruction of men. She paints her face and uses every art to deceive. The world is treacherous, but woman is more treacherous still.

CAP. VII. The good knight, who labours neither for gain nor for glory, and is not conquered by love, obtains the victory over the enemies of the Church and of his country, and gives us the blessing of peace.

CAP. VIII. The bad knight is the causer of many evils in the other orders of society. He deserves to have Leah, not Rachel, as his bride. Those who follow wars for the sake of the spoils are like vultures that prey upon the corpses of the dead. Alas, in these days gold is preferred to honour and the world to God.

CAP. IX. Another estate remains, that of the cultivators of the soil, who provide sustenance for the human race in accordance with the divine ordinance laid down for Adam. These at the present time are lazy and grasping, as well as few in number ; one peasant now asks more wages than two did in past time, and one formerly did as much work as three do now. We know from recent experience what evil the peasant is capable of doing. God has ordained, however, that nothing is to be had without toil ; therefore the peasant must labour, and if he will not, he must be compelled.

CAP. X. There are also the casual labourers, who go from one employment to another and always find fault with the food that they get from their masters. These are irrational like beasts, and they should be disciplined by fear of punishment.

CAP. XI. In cities there are chiefly two classes, the merchants and the craftsmen. The former sin by not regarding festivals and holy days.

CAP. XII. Usury and Fraud are two sisters, daughters of Avarice, to whom the dwellers in cities pay honour. Usury is forbidden of old, but by a gloss on the text it is now approved.

CAP. XIII. Fraud is worse, because it is common to all places. From the young apprentice to the master all practise it in selling.

CAP. XIV. Craftsmen, who make things, follow the laws of Fraud, and so do those who sell articles of food, as meat, fish, bread, beer, and so on.

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CAP. XV. It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest, and it is shameful for a citizen to benefit strangers at the expense of his fellow-citizens. It is an evil thing when one of low condition is exalted to the highest place in the city. The evil man is a common scourge; but though he be mounted on high, he shall fall and perish.

CAP. XVI. The man whose tongue is unrestrained is as a pestilence among the people. The tongue causes strife and many evils; it breaks through every guard and devours like a flame. None can say how many evils the tongue of the talkative man brings about in the city: it causes discord and hatred instead of peace and love; and where peace and love are not, there God is not. The citizen who thus plagues his fellows should be put to death or banished: it is expedient that one should die, lest the whole people should perish.

Thou ruler of the city, labour to bring about harmony and peace, and above all deal prudently. Great consequences often follow from small things, and the fire which seems to be extinguished may blaze up again. Justice and peace, which formerly reigned, must be restored, so that the ruin which overtook Rome and Athens may be averted from our city.

#### LIBER SEXTUS.

CAP. I. Besides the three degrees of society above described, there are those who are called ministers of the Law. Of these some labour for true law and justice, and these I praise; but most practise an art under the name of law which perverts justice. The advocate will plead the cause of any man who pays him, and compels his rich neighbours to give him gifts, for fear that evil should befall them. He has a thousand ways of making his gains; the great and powerful break through his snares, but the weak and defenceless are caught in them. Like the bat or the owl he loves darkness rather than light: yet sometimes the biter is bitten.

CAP. II. The advocate oppresses and plunders the poor, and rejoices in discord as a physician in disease. He contrives every device to enrich himself and his offspring; he joins house to house and field to field. But his heir dissipates that which he has gathered together, and a curse comes upon him at the last.

CAP. III. The land is ruined by the excessive number of lawyers. As a straight stick appears crooked when plunged in water, so does straightforward and simple law become distorted in the mind of the lawyer. As clouds conceal the sun, so do advocates obscure the clear light of the law. Conspiracy, they say, is unlawful, but they themselves conspire to protect one another, and the law has no power over these.

CAP. IV. They ascend by degrees from the rank of apprentice to that of serjeant and so to the office of judge. The administration of

justice is disturbed chiefly by three things, gifts, favour, and fear. Those who make friends with the judge will hardly lose their case.

CAP. V. O ye who sell justice for gain, learn what end awaits you. The higher you rise, the greater will be your fall : the more wealth you gather, the greater will be your misery. O thou judge who seekest after wealth, why dost thou attend to all things else and neglect thyself? Thou wilt gain the world, but lose heaven. All worldly power comes to an end, and so, be sure, will thine.

CAP. VI. As regards the sheriffs, the bailiffs, and the jurymen at assizes, they are ready to accept bribes and pervert justice. As the toad cursed the harrow, so I curse these many masters, who are all unjust.

CAP. VII. Laws, nevertheless, there must be, to punish the transgressor ; and if there are laws there must also be judges. The worst of evils is when justice is not to be had, and this causes a land to be divided against itself. Much depends upon the ruler : for the sins of a bad king the people are punished as well as the king himself. The higher a man's place is, the worse is the effect of his evil-doing. A law is nothing without people, or people without a king, or a king without good counsel.

<sup>1</sup> Complaints are everywhere heard now of the injustice of the high court, and the limbs suffer because the head is diseased. The king is an undisciplined youth, who neglects all good habits, and chooses unworthy companions, by whose influence he is made worse. At the same time older men give way to him for gain and pervert the justice of the king's court. None can tell what the end will be : I can only mourn over these evils and offer my counsel to the youthful king.

CAP. VIII. Every subject is bound to serve his king, and the king to govern his people justly. Hence I shall endeavour to set forth a rule of conduct for the honour of my king.

First then, I say, govern thyself according to the law, and enforce on thyself the precepts that are fitting for others. A king is above all others ; he should endeavour to overcome and rise above himself. If thou art above the laws, live the more justly. Be gentle in thy acts, for thy wrath is death. Endeavour to practise virtue in thy youth and to avoid evil communications.

CAP. IX. Avoid false friends and those who stir up war for the sake of their own profit. Resist those who will tempt thee to evil, O king.

<sup>1</sup> In the first version, 'Complaints are heard now of the injustice of the high court : flatterers have power over it, and those who speak the truth are not permitted to come near to the king's side. The boy himself is blameless, but his councillors are in fault. If the king were of mature age, he would redress the balance of justice, but he is too young as yet to be held responsible for choice of advisers : it is not from the boy but from his elders that the evil springs which overruns the world.'

Take vengeance on wrong, and let justice be done without fear or favour.

CAP. X. Show mercy also, where mercy is fitting, and listen to the prayer of the poor and helpless. Let fit men of proper age and sufficient wisdom be appointed to administer justice.

CAP. XI. Be not exalted with vain glory, O king, or moved by sudden wrath to violence. Be liberal to those who need thy help, and give alms to the poor of that which God has given thee. Avoid gluttony and sloth.

CAP. XII. Above all things, O king, flee from the enticements of fleshly lusts. Take example by the sin of David, and by that of the Hebrews who were tempted by the counsel of Balaam. One consort is sufficient for thee : be faithful to her.

CAP. XIII. O king, thou art the defender in arms of thy people. Remember the deeds of thy father, whose praise is sounded everywhere and whose prowess was above that of Hector. He was just and liberal ; he made prey of foreign lands, but he protected his own. France and Spain both felt his might, and he broke through the ranks of his enemies like a lion. The land was at rest under that great prince : the nation was secure from its enemies. O king, endeavour to deserve the praise which thy father won. Peace is the best of all things, but it must sometimes give way to war.

CAP. XIV. A king must not prey upon his people ; their love is his chief glory. He should remember that true nobility does not come from noble descent but from virtue. Study to know thyself and to love God.

CAP. XV. O young king, remember how Solomon in his youth asked for wisdom to rule well, rather than wealth or long life, and how God granted his prayer and added also the other blessings. Wisdom is above everything for a king, and this makes him acceptable to God.

CAP. XVI. Whatever thou hast, O king, comes from God. He has given thee beauty of body, and thou must see to it that there be virtue of the soul corresponding to this. Worship and fear God, for earthly kingdoms are as nothing compared with his.

CAP. XVII. Death makes all equal ; rich and poor, king and subject, all go one way. Prepare thyself, therefore, for thy journey, and adorn thyself betimes with virtue. May God direct thee in the right way.

CAP. XVIII. <sup>1</sup> The king is honoured above all, so long as his acts

<sup>1</sup> In the first version as follows, 'O king of heaven, who didst create all things, I pray thee preserve my young king, and let him live long and see good days. O king, mayest thou ever hold thy sceptre with honour and triumph, as Augustus did at Rome. May he who gave thee the power confirm it to thee in the future.

For the glory of thy rule I have written these lines with humble heart. O flower of boyhood, according to thy worthiness I wish thee prosperity.'



are good, but if the king be avaricious and proud, the people is grieved. Not all that a king desires is expedient for him : he has a charge laid upon him and must maintain law and do justice.

O king, do away the evils of thy reign, restore the laws and banish crime : let thy people be subject to thee for love and not for fear.

CAP. XIX. All things change and die, the gems that were bright are now dimmed, the Church herself has lost her virtue, and the Synagogue becomes the spouse of Christ. The good men of old have passed away, and the bad of old live again. Noah, Japhet, Abraham, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Elijah, Micaiah, Elisha are gone; Nimrod, Ham, Belus, Ishmael, Abiram, Korah, Dathan, Zedekiah, and Gehazi survive. Peter is dead, but Tiberius lives; Paul is reconverted into Saul; the examples of Gregory, Martin, Tobit, and Job are neglected. Benedict is dead, but Julian lives : there is a new Arius, a new Jovinian, who spread their heresy.

CAP. XX. As the good men in the Church of God have passed away, so also the men who were famed for prowess in the world are gone, as Trajan, Justinian, Alexander, Constantine, Theodosius, Julius, Hannibal, while the bad still survive, as Nero, Dionysius, Tarquin, Leo, and Constantius. Solomon is dead and Rehoboam survives. The love of David and Jonathan is gone, but the hatred of Saul still lives; the counsel of Achitophel is followed and that of Hushai rejected; Cato is banished and Pilate is made judge in his stead; Mordecai is hanged and Haman is delivered; Christ is crucified and Barabbas is let go free.

CAP. XXI. Temperance and chastity also have disappeared. Socrates and Diogenes are dead, Epicurus and Aristippus still live; Phirinus is dead and Agladius survives; Troilus and Medea are dead, while Jason and Criseida remain; Penelope and Lucretia have passed away, Circe and Calipso still live. The laws of marriage are no longer kept in these days, chaste love is all but unknown, and adultery everywhere prevails. Women have no modesty, no chastity, and no patience: vice blooms and flourishes, while the flower of virtue is trodden under foot.

#### LIBER SEPTIMUS.

CAP. I. Now the golden head of Nebuchadnezzar's statue is gone, and the feet of iron and clay remain : the world is in its final stage of deterioration. There are principally two causes, lechery, which leads to sloth, and avarice, which is ever unsatisfied.

CAP. II. The avaricious are merciless to the poor, and their hard hearts are typified by the iron of the statue. He is wretched who is ever desiring more, not he who has little and is content.

CAP. III. The fragile clay signifies the frailty of our flesh, which shows itself in fornication and adultery. There is also hypocrisy every-

where, which conceals the foulness within by a fair show without. Yet it will not escape detection.

CAP. IV. Things that were good are now changed into the opposite forms, truth into falsehood, wisdom into folly, love into lust, learned into ignorant; servants are become masters and masters servants. Nothing pleases now but flattery. Courts do not keep their former honour: knights there are in plenty, but little valour. Weakness grows and strength is depressed, there is much talk but little action, the burdens of war without the advantages. Justice has departed and fraud has taken its place; even those of one family feel envy and hatred one against another. Friendship is treacherous and seeks gain like a harlot: hatred is everywhere common, but love is as the phoenix. There is no faith anywhere, and the right hand cannot trust the left. All cry out against the world and say that it is growing worse and worse.

CAP. V. The world is indeed full of evil and impurity, and this life is a perpetual warfare, in which all that is good perishes and all that is evil prevails. Even the elements of the world change and pass away, and much more human things. No degree is exempted: the hearts of kings are disturbed by fear of change, and terrors prevail in spite of royal banquets and bodyguards.

CAP. VI. Man was created for the service of God, and the world was given for his use. He was made in the image of God, and he learnt gradually the purpose of his creation and to love his Creator.

CAP. VII. All things were put under his feet, and were made to minister to him. He ought therefore to remember whence he is and who gave him these things. Again, when by man's sin the race of man was corrupted, the Creator himself restored and redeemed it, taking the form of a servant. Man ought therefore to confess him as Lord and follow his precepts with a devout mind.

CAP. VIII. Man is a microcosm or lesser world, and according as he does ill or well, the greater world is good or bad. Man ought therefore to aim at high things, and not to submit himself to the rule of sin.

CAP. IX. When death comes, when the throat is dry and the face bloodless, when the eyes are fixed and the tongue silent, when the pulse beats no more and the feet can no longer move, what then will the proud man say? The body in which he prided himself is now food for worms, his strength is less than that of a fly, and his beauty is turned into loathing. His wealth and his pomp avail him no longer, the serpent is his attendant and the charnel-house is his bed-chamber.

CAP. X. The envious man, who once gnawed upon others, is now himself devoured: he who laughed at the misfortunes of others, laughs now no more; the heart that so much murmured now suffers putrefaction; the sting of envy can pierce no more.

CAP. XI. He who was full of anger, now cannot move his head;

he who uttered furious words, now cannot make a sound ; he who terrified others by his threats, now does not scare away the worm which eats his heart.

CAP. XII. What can avarice do for him who has served her? He has no chest but his coffin, no land but the seven feet of earth in which he lies. He who preyed upon others, is himself the prey of death ; he who closed his purse against the poor, is now himself in want.

CAP. XIII. The slothful man who was given to sleep, has now abundance of it, with the cold earth instead of his soft bed-coverings. He who seldom came to the church, now never leaves it, but his time for prayer is past.

CAP. XIV. Gluttony is no longer a pleasure ; the body which delighted in choice food and drink is now full of vileness and horror, the abode of foul reptiles.

CAP. XV. The man who took pleasure in lechery, delights in it now no more. His members are preyed upon by the serpent, and he can no longer use his hands, his eyes, or his tongue in the service of lust. No longer can he commit incest or violate the honour of virginity.

CAP. XVI. Answer, thou sinful man, what will thy pride do for thee then, thy envy, thy anger, thy sloth, thy gluttony, thy lechery, or thy avarice? All the glory of this world perishes and passes away.

CAP. XVII. Everything passes away, wealth, honour, beauty, power, learning, and pleasure. Our flesh grows old as a garment and we perish. He is happy and a true king who rules himself, he is a slave (though called a king) who is subject to his own vices. Our life is so short and death comes so soon, that we ought all to prepare for our journey hence. Death comes when we least expect it, and takes away our wealth and strength, nor can any man redeem himself with gold, or move with gifts the Judge who judges all things justly.

CAP. XVIII. Death is common to all, but to the good it is a cause of joy, to the evil of sorrow. The good will pass by means of death to a place of perfect peace and perfect joy, such as cannot be described or imagined.

CAP. XIX. The evil-doer has a twofold death, the death of the body and the death of the soul. No words can tell the torment of that second death, which is eternal. How terrible will the Judgement be and how direful the sentence ! Happy are they who shall escape such punishment.

CAP. XX. Let each man remember what his condition is, and let him repent in time, turning himself to the service of his Creator. Let him submit to punishment in this life, that he may escape that which is eternal : for it is the property of God to forgive and to have mercy.

CAP. XXI. Almost everyone, however, follows the lusts of his flesh and neglects the cause of his soul. The unrighteous have power everywhere, and all vices flourish.



CAP. XXII. The days are coming which Christ foretold, and the signs which he predicted are visible now. God's sentence is still delayed, in order that the sinner may have room for repentance. Hardly even a few just men are found to save the world from destruction.

CAP. XXIII. Each one of the various degrees of society has departed from its true virtue, and the deadly vices have rule over the whole. Prelates are worldly, priests unchaste, scholars lazy, monks envious and self-indulgent, knights are evil livers, merchants defraud, peasants are disobedient and proud. The enticements of the world have overcome them all.

CAP. XXIV. I love all the realms of Christendom, but most of all I love this land in which I was born. From other lands I stand apart and am not involved in their calamities ; but this country of mine, which brought me up from childhood and in which I dwell, cannot suffer evil without affecting me : by its burdens I am weighed down ; if it stands, I stand, if it falls, I fall. Therefore it is that I bewail its present divisions.

One thing above all things is needful, and that is justice, with which is associated peace. If in other lands the sins of the flesh prevail, yet there they are to some extent compensated ; for there justice prevails and all are equal before the law. Among us, however, not only is there carnal vice, but justice is absent ; so that a terrible vengeance is being prepared for us by God.

We, who have always been favoured by fortune, are now brought low ; this land, which was once reputed so wealthy, is now poor both in virtue and in possessions ; my country, which was so strong, is made feeble by unjust judgements ; she who was so fertile, is now sown with salt ; she who had Fame for her sister, is now infamous, all her praise is taken away and her glory is departed. Her lords are sunk in sloth, her clergy is dissolute, her cities full of discord, her laws oppressive and without justice, her people discontented.

O land barren of virtue, where is thy past fortune ? omens appear which presage thy fate, and all point to thee as an example. It is not by fortune or by chance that this comes about, but by our sins ; and the grace of God even now may be found by repentance. I pray that God may show us his mercy and accept our tears. We know that thou, O God, art alone to be worshipped, that thou art the ruler of all things, and not fortune. Show pity therefore, O God !

CAP. XXV. Such were the verses which came to me by inspiration in my sleep. It is not I who speak them, but the common voice of all. Let him who feels himself in fault amend his ways, and he who feels himself free from fault may pass untouched. I accuse no man ; let each examine his own conscience.

The world is neither evil nor good : each man may make of it what

he will by his own life. <sup>1</sup> But this I say, that sin committed and not purged by repentance receives at length its due reward.

The conclusion of the *Vox Clamantis*, as altered from the first version, is doubtless intended as a fitting form of introduction for the *Cronica Tripartita*, which comes in as an appendix added in later years. It will be noted as regards the prose which forms a transition to this, that Gower has in the end brought himself to think that the misfortunes of the earlier part of Richard's reign were intended as a special warning to the youthful king, whom he formerly relieved from responsibility on account of his tender age, and that the tyranny of his later time sprang naturally out of his disregard of this preliminary chastisement. This change of view is also to be traced in the successive forms assumed by the paragraph relating to the *Vox Clamantis* in the author's account of his books ('Quia vnusquisque,' &c.).

Of the contents of the *Cronica Tripartita* it is unnecessary that more should be said than is contained in the Notes to this edition. Of the remaining pieces the *Carmen super multiplici Viciorum Pestilencia* is dated by the author as belonging to the twentieth year of Richard II. The *Tractatus de Lucis Scrutinio* is probably somewhat later, and the poem 'O deus immense,' &c., is said in one of the titles prefixed to have been composed near the end of Richard's reign. Besides these there is a group of Latin poems referring to the accession of Henry IV, 'Rex celi, deus,' &c. adapted from the *Vox Clamantis*, 'H. aquile' pullus,' and 'O recolende, bone,' with several short occasional pieces belonging to the last years of the author's life. One of these has reference to his blindness and to the end of his activity as an author which was caused by it, and in connexion with this we have also the epistle to Archbishop Arundel prefixed to the All Souls MS. of the *Vox Clamantis* and other Latin poems, and apparently meant to accompany the presentation of this particular copy. To Arundel also is addressed the short piece referring to the comet of March 1402, and finally we have the lines in which allusion is made to the short-comings of executors. It is probable also that the four lines which afterwards appeared upon the poet's tomb, 'Armigeri scutum,' &c., and which are given by the Glasgow MS., were written by Gower himself.

<sup>1</sup> In the first version, 'I am myself the worst of sinners, but may God grant me relief by his Spirit.'

Some reference ought perhaps to be made in conclusion to the list of Gower's works given by Bale and copied by others, with a view to the question whether he was acquainted with any works of Gower which are not known to us. In his *Scriptorium Illustrium Catalogus*, p. 524 (ed. 1559) he says that Gower wrote

'*Speculum Meditantis*, Gallice, Lib. 10.

'*Confessionem Amantis*, Anglice, Lib. 8, "Eorum qui ante nos scripserunt."

'*Vocem Clamantis*, Latine, Lib. 7, "Scripture veteris capiunt exempla."

'*De compunctione cordis*, Lib. 1.

'*Chronicon Ricardi Secundi*, Lib. 3, "Opus humanum est inquirere."

'*Chronicon triperitum*, Lib. 3, "Tolle caput mundi C. ter et sex."

'*Ad Henricum quartum*, Lib. 1, "Nobilis ac digne rex Henrice."

'*De eodem rege Henrico*, Lib. 1, "Rex celi deus et dominus."

'*De peste vitiorum*, Lib. 1, "Non excusatur qui verum non fateatur."

'*Scrutinium lucis*, Lib. 1, "Heu quia per crebras humus est."

'*De coniugii dignitate*, Lib. 1, "Qualiter creator omnium rerum Deus."

'*De regimine principum*, "O deus immense, sub quo dominatur."

'*Epigrammata quaedam*, Lib. 1, "Alta petens aquila volat alitque."

'*De amoris varietate*, Lib. 1, "Est amor in glosa pax bellica."

'*Carmina diuersa*, Lib. 1, et alia plura.'

In regard to this list it may be observed first that in the two cases where the beginning of the book or piece in question is not cited, we may safely assume that Bale had not seen it. This applies to the *Speculum Meditantis* and the supposed piece *De compunctione cordis*, of which I can give no account. It will be observed that he makes the short prose preface to the *Cronica Triperita*, 'Opus humanum est inquirere' &c., into a separate work in three books. The other items are all recognizable, except 'Epigrammata quaedam, Lib. 1, "Alta petens aquila volat alitque."' Here we may observe that the quotation is from *Vox Clamantis* vi. 985, 'Alta petens aquila volat alite celsius omni,' &c. (a passage taken from the *Aurora*); and on referring to Bale's unpublished papers<sup>1</sup> we find the description of this supposed book of epigrams in the following form, 'Ex suo libro et sanctifidensi chron. Epigrammata edidit, li. 1, "Alta petens aquila volat alite,"' whence we should gather that the book referred to was a collection of quotations. It is probable that Bale may have

<sup>1</sup> Communicated to me by Miss Bateson.



seen in some Gower MS. a selection of sententious passages from the *Vox Clamantis* and other places, such as we actually have on one of the blank leaves of the Digby MS. (f. 160), beginning 'Vulturis est hominum natura cadauera velle,' again one of those allegories of bird nature which were borrowed by Gower from the *Aurora*.

It may be noted here that in the same passage of Bale's unpublished papers we have the following statement :

'De triplici opere hoc carmen est super eius tumbam editum,  
Quos viuens legi libros nunc offero regi,  
Cuius habent legi secula cuncta regi.'

Also the following is given as the epitaph of his wife,

'Quam bonitas, pietas, elemosina, casta voluntas,  
Sobrietas que fides coluerunt, hic iacet Agnes.  
Vxor amans, humilis Gower fuit illa Ioannis :  
Donet ei summus celica regna Deus.'

These statements seem to be given by Bale on the authority of Nicholas Brigham, to whom we owe the tomb of Chaucer in Westminster Abbey.

#### THE TEXT AND THE MANUSCRIPTS.

Gower's principal Latin work, the *Vox Clamantis*, is found in ten manuscripts altogether. Of these four are evidently contemporary with the author and contain also the *Cronica Tripertita* and most of the other Latin poems printed in this volume. Some of these last are found also in other MSS. of the *Vox Clamantis*, some Latin pieces are contained in the Trentham MS. of the *Praise of Peace* and the *Cinkante Balades* (described in vol. i. p. lxxix), and the *Cronica Tripertita* occurs separately in the Bodleian MS. Hatton 92. Copies of the *Carmen de multiplici Viciorum Pestilencia* are contained in some MSS. of the *Confessio Amantis*, viz. TBAP<sub>2</sub> of the second recension, and FH<sub>2</sub>K of the third, and with regard to these the reader is referred to the account given of the manuscripts in the Introduction to the second volume of this edition.

Of the four manuscripts of the *Vox Clamantis* with other Latin poems, which have been referred to as contemporary with the author, one is at Oxford, in the library of All Souls College, one at Glasgow in the Hunterian Museum, and two in London. They

are proved to be original copies, not only by the handwriting of the text, which in each case is distinctly of the fourteenth century, but also by the fact that they all have author's corrections written over erasure, and in several cases the same hand is recognizable throughout. The original text of the *Vox Clamantis* seems to be written in one and the same hand in the All Souls and Glasgow MSS. and this hand is also that of the lines supplied occasionally in the margin of the Harleian: the hand in which the text of the *Cronica Tripertita* is written in the All Souls MS. appears also in all the other three, and the same is the case with some of the correctors' hands, as will be seen in the detailed accounts which follow. Of the other manuscripts of the *Vox Clamantis* two, which are not themselves original copies, give the text in its first (unrevised) form, the rest are more or less in agreement with the revised text, but give it at second or third hand, with no alterations made over erasure.

S. ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXF. 98. Contains, f. i v<sup>o</sup>, Epistle to Archbishop Arundel, ff. 2-116, *Vox Clamantis*, ff. 116-126 v<sup>o</sup>, *Cronica Tripertita*, ff. 126 v<sup>o</sup>-127 v<sup>o</sup>, 'Rex celi deus,' 'H. aquile pullus,' 'O recolende bone,' ff. 127 v<sup>o</sup>-131, *Carmen super multiplici Viciorum Pestilencia*, f. 131, *Tractatus de Lucis Scrutinio* (imperfect at the end owing to the loss of a leaf), ff. 132-135, *Traité pour ensampler les Amantz marietz*, (imperfect at the beginning), f. 135 v<sup>o</sup>, 'Quia vnusquisque,' ff. 136, 137, 'Eneidos Bucolis,' 'O deus immense,' 'Quicquid homo scribat' (f. 137 v<sup>o</sup> blank). Parchment, ff. 137 as numbered (and in addition several blank at the beginning and end) measuring  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$  in. Well and regularly written in single column, the *Vox Clamantis* 48 lines on a page and the succeeding poems 52. The original first quire begins with f. 2, but before this a quire of four leaves (probably) was inserted, of which the first two are blank, the third is cut away, and the fourth has on its verso the Epistle to the Archbishop. The quire which ends with f. 116 has seven leaves only, and that ending with f. 137 six. After this several leaves have been inserted, which remain blank. The book has on f. i an ornamental initial S containing a miniature of Abp. Arundel in his robes and mitre, and there are large coloured and gilt capitals at the beginning of each book of the *Vox Clamantis*, and coloured initials of various sizes for chapters and paragraphs. Original oak binding.

Five leaves are lost (apart from blanks at the beginning and end), as follows.

After f. 2 one leaf containing chapter-headings of *Vox Clamantis* Lib. ii. cap. ii-Lib. iii. cap. xxii. After f. 5 two leaves, containing

chapter-headings Lib. vii. cap. xix to the end, the lines 'Ad mundum mitto,' probably with a picture of the author, and *Vox Clamantis* Lib. i. Prologus, ll. 1-18. After f. 13 one leaf (*Vox Clamantis* i. 766-856). After f. 131 one leaf (*De Lucis Scrutinio* 93-103, probably some other short piece, and the French *Traicté*, to iii. 3).

This MS. was certainly written and corrected under the direction of the author, and remained for some time in his hands, receiving addition from time to time. From the *Epistola* at the beginning, which occurs here only and seems to relate to this volume in particular, we may gather that it was eventually presented to Abp. Arundel. It is possible that it passed from him to his successor Chichele, and so to the College of All Souls, where it now is, but there seems to be no definite evidence to confirm this suggestion.

The text of S in the *Vox Clamantis* agrees in the main as regards revised passages with that of the other original manuscripts C, H and G, but in some respects it is peculiar. In Lib. iii. cap. i. S has a rewritten version which differs from that of the other revised copies, and the same is the case with regard to the lines 'Quicquid homo scribat' (p. 365). There are also some places, as iv. 1072, 1197-1232, v. 450, where S retains the original text in company with TH<sub>2</sub> or even with H<sub>2</sub> alone. A few possibly right readings are peculiar to S, as in i. 1788, 2073, ii. 300, iii. 380 (margin), 1642, v. 325, vi. 555, while some others are common to S with G alone, some few small mistakes remain uncorrected, as in i. 106, 953, 1212, 1591, 1662, iii. 176, 989, 1214, 1541, 1695, iv. 273, 336 &c., and in some cases, where the headings of chapters have been rewritten, as vi. cap. xviii, xix, the original headings are left standing in the Table of Chapters at the beginning.

At least five hands are distinguishable, as follows:

- (1) the original text of the *Vox Clamantis*.
  - (2) the original text of the succeeding poems, French and Latin, and the rewritten text or corrections on ff. 15 v<sup>o</sup> (i. 1019), 90 v<sup>o</sup> (vi. 545), 97 (vi. 1159), 115 v<sup>o</sup> (vii. 1454 f., 1469 f.), 116 (last lines of *Vox Clamantis*).
  - (3) the original text and (probably) the corrections of the *Epistola*, f. i, and the corrections or rewritten text on ff. 36 v<sup>o</sup> (iii. 2 ff.), 39 (iii. cap. iv. heading), 97 v<sup>o</sup> (vi. 1189), 98 (vi. 1219 ff.), 115 r<sup>o</sup> (vii. 1409 ff.), 116 (first lines of *Cron. Trip.*), 126 v<sup>o</sup>, 127 v<sup>o</sup>, and the text of 'Quicquid homo scribat.'
  - (4) marginal note on f. 40 v<sup>o</sup>, 'Nota de bello Cleri' &c. (iii. 375).
  - (5) marginal note on f. 66, 'Nota quod Genius' &c. (iv. 587).
- In addition there are some marginal notes which are not quite contemporary, as those on ff. 51 v<sup>o</sup>, 52, 76 v<sup>o</sup>, 77 ('Contra rectores Oxon.' &c., 'Nota de muliere bona' &c.), and the heading of the last piece on f. 137 seems to have been rewritten over a hand different from any of the above, of which some words remain. A few corrections are in doubtful hands, as vi. 1208.

Of the above hands the first, very regularly written in a fourteenth century character, in brown ink, is probably the same as that of the *Vox Clamantis* in G, and the same scribe apparently wrote the lines which are supplied sometimes in the margin of H, having been dropped out of the text by the first copyist. The second (2) is also a very neat and regular hand, but of a somewhat later type. It appears in the French and Latin poems of MS.



Fairfax 3, as well as in the substituted leaf at the beginning of the *Confessio Amantis* in that manuscript. It is also used for the *Cronica Tripertita*, *Traitié* and other pieces in the Glasgow MS. (G), for the *Cron. Tripertita* and other Latin pieces in H, and for some of the rewritten passages of the *Vox Clamantis* in G, H, and C. The third (3) is a rather rough hand, found also occasionally in corrections of G and H. The fourth (4) is that in which the same marginal note is written also in C, H and G.

G. GLASGOW HUNTERIAN MUSEUM T. 2, 17. Contains, ff. 1-108, *Vox Clamantis* preceded by the Table of Chapters, ff. 109-119, *Cronica Tripertita*, ff. 119, 120, 'H. aquile pullus,' 'O recolende,' 'Quia vnusquisque,' 'Eneidos Bucolis,' ff. 120 v<sup>o</sup>-122, *Carmen super multiplici Viciorum Pestilencia*, ff. 123, 124, *Tractatus de Lucis Scrutinio*, f. 124 v<sup>o</sup>, *Traitié pour ensampler les Amantz marietz* followed by *Carmen de variis in amore passionibus*, f. 129, 'Orantibus pro anima,' with shield of arms and the lines 'Armigeri scutum,' and below this a bier with candle at head and foot, f. 129 v<sup>o</sup>, 'Epistola quam Iohannes Gower in laudem . . . Henrici quarti statim post coronacionem . . . deuote composuit,' f. 130 v<sup>o</sup>, 'O deus immense,' f. 131 v<sup>o</sup>, 'Henrici regis,' 'Vnanimes esse,' f. 132, 'Presul, ouile regis,' 'Cultor in ecclesia,' 'Dicunt scripture,' f. 132 v<sup>o</sup> blank.

Parchment, ff. 132 in quires of eight leaves (except the first, which has six) with catchwords, measuring  $11\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$  in., 53 lines to the page in the *Vox Clamantis*, then 52 or 51, regularly and well written with passages erased and rewritten as in CH. On f. 6 v<sup>o</sup> is a painting like that in the Cotton MS. of a man in a brown hat, a blue coat with brown lining, and with three arrows in his belt, shooting an arrow at the globe (which has a threefold division corresponding to the three elements of air, earth, and water), with the lines 'Ad mundum mitto mea iacula' &c. There is a floreated page at the beginning of Lib. i. (after the Prologue) and illuminated initials with decoration at the beginning of the other books; large and small coloured capitals for chapters and paragraphs.

I have to thank Dr. Young the Librarian of the Hunterian Museum, for facilities given to me in using this MS. and for his kind help in collating and describing it.

The text of G has, as might be expected, a close affinity with that of S, but the peculiarities of S as regards revision in certain passages, e. g. iii. 1 ff., iv. 1197 ff., are not shared by this MS., which goes here with the other revised copies, C and H. In one place at least G has a further touch of revision, viz. in the heading of vi. cap. vii., where its reading is shared by D. In a good many instances, however, G stands with S (sometimes in company with D or L) in support of a probably true reading which is not given by other MSS., as i. 465, 468, 979, 1454, iv. 72, v. 789, vii. 684, 1342, or of an error, as i. 1525, 1870, iii. 1863, iv. 799. It may be noted that sometimes in G an erasure has been made without the correction being supplied.

The following are some of the hands that may be distinguished in this manuscript:

- (1) Text of the *Vox Clamantis*. This seems to be the same as S (1), H (2).
- (2) Text of the *Cronica Tripertita* and succeeding pieces to f. 131 r<sup>o</sup>, passages rewritten over erasure in vi. 545 ff., 1159 ff. and in the conclusion of the *Vox Clamantis*. This is the same as S (2), C (3), H (3).
- (3) Corrections in vi. cap. xix., vii. cap. iii. and xxiv, rewritten lines at the beginning and near the end of the *Cronica Tripertita*, text of the poem 'Henrici Regis' with its heading, f. 131. Perhaps the same as S (3).
- (4) The marginal note at iii. 375: the same as S (4), C (6), H (6).
- (5) The text of 'Vnanimes esse' and the succeeding poems on ff. 131 v<sup>o</sup>, 132.

C. COTTON. TIB. A. iv, British Museum. Contains, ff. 2-152 v<sup>o</sup>, *Vox Clamantis*, ff. 153-167 r<sup>o</sup>, 'Explicit libellus' &c. and *Cronica Tripertita*, f. 167, 'Rex celi deus,' 'H. aquile pullus,' 'O recolende bone,' ff. 168-172, *Carmen super multiplici Viciorum Pestilencia*, ff. 172 v<sup>o</sup>-174, *Tractatus de Lucis Scrutinio*, ff. 174 v<sup>o</sup>, 175, 'Quia vnusquisque,' 'Eneidos Bucolis,' 'Orate pro anima,' 'O deus immense,' ff. 176, 177, 'Henrici regis,' 'Vnanimes esse,' 'Presul, ouile regis,' 'Cultor in ecclesia,' 'Dicunt scripture.' Ends on 177 r<sup>o</sup>. Parchment, ff. 178, that is, 176 leaves of original text, preceded by two blanks, on the second of which is Sir Robert Cotton's Table of Contents, ending 'Liber vt videtur ipsius autoris,' the first leaf of the text being now numbered f. 2. In quires of eight with catchwords, signed *a*, *b*, *c*, &c. from f. 10 (where the text of the *Vox Clamantis* begins) the first quire, containing the chapter-headings &c., written in a hand different from that of the main part of the text. Leaves measure about 10 × 6½ in. Written in single column, 38 lines to the page in the *Vox Clamantis*, 40 or more in the *Cronica Tripertita*. The MS. has been carefully corrected, and revised passages appear written over erasure as in SGH. Capitals coloured and gilded at the beginning of the books, coloured blue and red at the beginning of chapters and paragraphs. On f. 9, the last of the first quire, a picture like that in the Glasgow MS., of the author shooting at the world, as shown in the frontispiece of this volume.

On f. 2 is written 'Roberti Cotton liber ex dono doctissimi Patricii Youngi generosi.' The book suffered somewhat in the fire of 1731, but it has been carefully and skilfully repaired, and though the writing at the top of each page shows traces of the heat, no part of it is illegible. The effect produced is clearly visible on the page of which a facsimile is given.

The text of C is a very good one and unquestionably independent. In regard to spelling it may be observed that the copyist of the *Vox Clamantis* frequently gives 'u' for 'v' at the beginning of words, he writes 'sed' almost always for 'set,' and often 'ti' for 'ci' in words like 'etiam,' 'ratio,' 'patiens' and even 'fatie' (ii. 57), but also 'eciam,' 'ambicio,' 'precium,' &c.

The following are the hands, so far as they can be distinguished:

- (1) Text of the *Vox Clamantis*, a small and somewhat irregular but clear hand, of the fourteenth century.

(2) The eight leaves preceding this (containing the chapter-headings), and also ff. 96, 97 and part of 140. This hand has made corrections throughout, not revising the text, as the author might, but setting right the mistakes of the scribe.

The (3) following passages as rewritten over erasure: i. 1019 ff., vi. 545-554, and also the prose heading of the first part of the *Cronica Tripartita*. This is the 'second hand' of the Fairfax MS., the same as S (2), G (2), H (3).

(4) The passage rewritten over erasure in iii. 1 ff., also the heading of iii. cap. iv., corrections in iv. 1198 ff., and iv. 1221\*-1232\* rewritten over erasure. This is a neat round hand used also in the same places of the Harleian MS.

(5) The passage 'Rex puer,' &c., vi. 555-580, and vi. cap. xviii, with the heading of cap. xix., over erasure, a hand which resembles (3), but does not seem to be identical with it.

(6) The marginal note at iii. 375 and perhaps also iv. 587, and the marginal note at the end of the *Cronica Tripartita*; also f. 176 'Nota hic in fine—intendo,' and the lines 'Henrici regis,' &c. This is the same as S (4), G (4), H (6).

(7) Corrections in vi. 1208, 1210: the same as H (7), and the correction of vi. 1210 in S.

(8) Corrections in vi. 1219 ff., and vii. 187 ff.

(9) Text of *Cronica Tripartita* and the succeeding pieces to f. 168: a rather rough and irregular hand in faded ink.

(10) Marginal notes of *Cronica Tripartita* and text of *Carmen super multiplici* &c. from f. 169, 'Ad fidei dampnum' to the end of 'O deus immense,' f. 176.

(11) The four smaller poems at the end (possibly with the exception of 'Cultor in ecclesia'). The same as H (9).

(12) The lines at the beginning and near the end of the *Cronica Tripartita* (over erasure).

Some other corrections are doubtful, as the concluding lines of the *Vox Clamantis*.

H. HARLEIAN 6291, British Museum. Contains the same as C, except where deficient from loss of leaves, with the addition of a second copy of the last three poems. Parchment ff. 164, measuring 9×6 in., in quires of eight with catchwords, 37 lines to the page, regularly and neatly written. No decoration except coloured initials. Has lost probably two whole quires, 16 leaves, at the beginning, and begins with *Vox Clamantis*, i. 502. The first existing quire is lettered 'b,' and this is also the lettering of the third quire of the Cotton MS., the first, which has the Table of Chapters, not being counted in the lettering. In addition to these, one leaf is lost after f. 1 (containing *Vox Clamantis*, i. 571-644), two after f. 58 (iii. 1716-1854), one after f. 108 (vi. 951-1021), one after f. 133 (vii. 1399-1466). This last leaf formed part of a quire of 12, which followed f. 124, at the end of the *Vox Clamantis*. Of these the last three have been cut away, but only one leaf of text is lost, f. 134 continuing at 1467, and the concluding lines of the *Vox Clamantis* being here given in the hand which copied the *Cronica*



*Triperitita*, &c. The last quire of that book, ff. 158-164 (one leaf lost at the end), has several blanks (162, 163, 164 v<sup>o</sup>).

In a good many instances passages of from two to six lines are omitted in the text and inserted in the margin, either across or at the bottom of the page, in a hand which seems not to be that of the text, though very similar, and is probably identical with S (1). This occurs on ff. 41, 74, 76, 78, &c.

The text of H is very correct, and in forms of spelling, &c. it closely resembles that of S. There is little punctuation at first, but more afterwards. In form of text it agrees nearly with C, but (1) the marginal note at iv. 587 is omitted, (2) as regards revision H parts company with C at vi. 1219, from which point H has the unrevised text in agreement with EDTH, except in the concluding lines of the *Vox Clamantis* on f. 134, which, as already remarked, are rewritten in a new hand.

The hands of H may be thus distinguished:

(1) Text of the *Vox Clamantis*, a good and regular fourteenth-century hand.

(2) Passages added in the margin, probably the same as S (1).

(3) Rewritten text of i. 1019 ff., vi. 545-580, vi. cap. xviii and heading of xix, last lines of *Vox Clamantis*, text of *Cronica Triperitita* and succeeding pieces to the end of 'O deus immense' f. 159 v<sup>o</sup>. This is the same as S (2), G (2), C (3).

(4) Rewritten text of iii. 1 ff., corrections of iv. 1212, 1214, and rewritten text of 1221\*-1232\*; also f. 160, 'Nota hic in fine' &c. to end of f. 161 r<sup>o</sup>. This is the same as C (4).

(5) Correction of the heading of iii. cap. iv, the same as S (3).

(6) Marginal note at iii. 375, the same as S (4), G (4), C (6).

(7) Corrections of vi. 1208, 1210, and of *Cronica Triperitita* i. 55 f. and some other places: the same as C (7).

(8) Rewritten passages at the beginning and near the end of the *Cronica Triperitita*, the same as C (12).

(9) Second copy of the last poems (on f. 164), the same hand as C (11).

E. At ECTON, near Northampton, in the possession of General Sotheby, who very kindly sent it to the Bodleian Library for my use. Contains *Vox Clamantis*, *Carmen super multiplici Viciorum Pestilencia*, *Tractatus de Lucis Scrutinio*, 'O deus immense,' 'Cultor in ecclesia,' 'Vnanimus esse,' 'Dicunt scripture.' Parchment, ff. 191, measuring about 9 x 6½ in., in quires of eight with catch-words, the last quire of seven leaves only (two blank). Neatly written in a good hand of the end of the fourteenth century, in single column, 32 lines to a page. On f. 10 a brightly coloured picture of an archer drawing a bow to shoot at the world, with the lines 'Ad mundum mitto,' &c., as in the Cotton and Glasgow MSS., but the figure and features are different, and evidently the picture has less claim to be considered an authentic portrait than those of the two MSS. above named. The headings of pages and chapters are in red, and there are coloured

initials and other decorations throughout. The whole is written in one hand, and there are no corrections or erasures such as might indicate that the book had been in the hands of the author.

The manuscript seems to have been in the possession of the Sotheby family since 1702, when it was 'bought at Lord Burgley's sale for £1 2s. 6d.' No leaves are lost, but two are transposed at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth books.

The text is very fairly correct, and the MS. is closely related to C both in text and spelling (for which see i. Prol. 37 f., i. 21, 95, 447, 1706, 1776, 2017, ii. 174, 311 &c.), but not derived from it (see i. 41, 1626, 2094, iii. 1760 f., v. 785 f.). The passages which in C and the other original copies are rewritten over erasure, as iii. 1 ff., vi. 1161 ff., are usually given by E in the revised form, but the marginal notes at iii. 375 and iv. 587 are omitted. Occasionally too, where C has a correction, E gives the original reading in company with H, as iii. 840, v. 785 f., and especially in the passages vi. 1219 ff. and vii. 182 ff., where H no longer agrees with SCG in corrections, we find that E goes with H. In the final poems E shows some independence as regards marginal notes, e. g. in the last piece, where instead of 'Nota contra mortuorum executores,' we find the much more pointed, though doubtfully grammatical, remark, 'Nota quod bonum est unicuique esse executor sui ipsius.' This is the only MS. except CHG which contains the short pieces at the end, and the omission from these of 'Presul, ouile regis' may be an indication that the MS. was written before 1402.

As regards the picture in this MS., the features of the archer are quite different from those represented in the Cotton MS. He has a prominent pointed nose and a light-coloured moustache and beard; the arrow, held between the fore-finger and the second and aimed upwards, covers the mouth. The dress consists of a grey fur cap with a hood under it of light crimson, covering also the upper part of the body: below this a blue surcoat with brown lining and wide sleeves thrown back so as to leave the arms bare: a red belt with buckle and pendant, and red hose. The globe is at a higher level and smaller in proportion than in the other pictures. Like them it is divided into three, the left hand upper division having a crescent moon and four stars: a red cross with a banner stands at the summit of the globe.

D. DIGBY 138, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Contains *Vox Clamantis* only, preceded by the Table of Chapter-headings. Parchment and paper, ff. 158 originally, with other leaves inserted at the beginning and end in the sixteenth century; about  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$  in., in quires of eight with catchwords; neat writing of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, about 37 lines to the page. No decoration except red and blue initials, numbering of chapters in red, &c. The rubricator has introduced some corrections here and there, but there are no passages rewritten over erasure. There is some transposition of leaves in the fourteenth quire, dating from before the rubricator's numbering of chapters. The name of a sixteenth-century owner, Roger Waller,

occurs on f. 158 v<sup>o</sup>. and Kenelm Digby's device, 'Vindica te tibi, Kenelme Digby,' on f. 1.

The text of D is of a mixed character. Sometimes, in company with TH<sub>2</sub>, it reproduces the original form of a passage, as i. 1029 ff., vi. cap. xviii and xix, vii. 189 f., 1409 ff., 1454 ff., 1479 ff. In other places, as iii. 1 ff., vi. 545, and elsewhere, the readings of D are those of the revised MSS. It is peculiar in the addition after vi. 522, where eight lines are introduced from the original text of the altered passage which follows at the end of the chapter. The text of D generally is much less correct than that of the older copies, and it is derived from a MS. which had lines missing here and there, as indicated by the 'deficit versus in copia,' which occurs sometimes in the margin. In the numbering of the chapters the Prologues of Libb. ii. and iii. are reckoned as cap. i. in each case. The corrections and notes of the rubricator are not always sound, and sometimes we find in the margin attempts to improve the author's metre, in a seventeenth-century hand, as 'Et qui pauca tenet' for 'Qui tenet et pauca' (ii. 70), 'Causa tamen credo' for 'Credo tamen causa' (ii. 84). Some of these late alterations have been admitted (strange to say) into Mr. Coxe's text (e. g. ii. 70).

The book is made up of parchment and paper in equal proportions, the outer and inner leaves of each quire being of parchment. Sixteen leaves of paper have been inserted at the beginning and twelve at the end of the book, easily distinguished by the water-mark and chain-lines from the paper originally used in the book itself. Most of these are blank, but some have writing, mostly in sixteenth-century hands. There are medical prescriptions and cooking recipes in English, selections of gnomic and other passages from the *Vox Clamantis*, among which are the lines 'Ad mundum mitto,' &c., which do not occur in the Digby text, four Latin lines on the merits of the papal court beginning 'Pauperibus sua dat gratis,' which when read backwards convey an opposite sense, the stanzas by Queen Elizabeth 'The dowte of future force (*corr.* foes) Exiles my presente ioye, And wytt me warnes to shonne suche snares As threten myne annoye' (eight four-line stanzas).

With regard to the connexion between D and L see below on the Laud MS.

L. LAUD 719, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Contains *Vox Clamantis* (without Table of Chapters and with omission of Lib. i. 165-2150), *Carmen] super multiplici Viciorum Pestilencia, Tractatus de Lucis Scrutinio, Carmen de variis in amore passionibus, 'Lex docet auctorum, 'Quis sit vel qualis, 'H. aquile pullus, and seven more Latin lines of obscure meaning ('Inter saxosum montem,' &c.), which are not found in other Gower MSS. Parchment and paper, ff. 170 (not including four original blank leaves at the beginning and several miscellaneous leaves at the end), in quires usually of fourteen leaves, but the first of twelve and the second of six, measuring about  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$  in., about 27 lines to the page, moderately well written with a good many contractions, in the same hand throughout with no corrections, of the second quarter of the fifteenth century. There is a roughly drawn*



picture of an archer aiming at the globe on f. 21, and the chapters have red initial letters. Original oak binding.

The names 'Thomas Eymis' and 'William Turner' occur as those of sixteenth-century owners. The note on the inside of the binding, 'Henry Beauchamp lying in St. John strete at the iii. Cuppes,' can hardly be taken to indicate ownership.

The most noticeable fact about the text of this MS. is one to which no attention has hitherto been called, viz. the omission of the whole history of the Peasants' Revolt. After Lib. i. cap. i. the whole of the remainder of the first book (nearly 2,000 lines) is omitted without any note of deficiency, and we pass on to the Prologue of Lib. ii, not so named here, but standing as the second chapter of Lib. i. (the chapters not being numbered however in this MS.). After what we commonly call the second book follows the heading of the Prologue of Lib. iii, but without any indication that a new book is begun. Lib. iv. is marked by the rubricator as 'liber iii<sup>us</sup>,' Lib. v. as 'liber iii<sup>us</sup>,' and so on to the end, making six books instead of seven; but there are traces of another numbering, apparently by the scribe who wrote the text, according to which Lib. v. was reckoned as 'liber iii<sup>us</sup>,' Lib. iv. as 'liber iii<sup>us</sup>' and Lib. vii. as 'liber v<sup>us</sup>.' It has been already observed that there is internal evidence to show that this arrangement in five (or six) books may have been the original form of the text of the *Vox Clamantis*. At the same time it must be noted that this form is given by no other MS. except the Lincoln book, which is certainly copied from L, and that the nature of the connexion between L and D seems to indicate that these two MSS. are ultimately derived from the same source. This connexion, established by a complete collation of the two MSS., extends apparently throughout the whole of the text of L. We have, for example, in both, i. Prol. 27, laudes, 58 Huius ergo, ii. 94 et ibi, 312 causat, 614 Ingenitque, iii. 4 mundus, 296 ei, 407 amor (*for maior*), 536 Hec, 750 timidus, 758 curremus, 882 iuris, 1026 Nil, 1223 mundus, 1228 bona, 1491 egras, 1584 racio, 1655 Inde vola, 1777 ibi, 1868 timet, 1906 seruet, 2075, 2080 qui, iv. 52 vrbe, 99 tegit, and so on. The common source was not an immediate one, for words omitted by D with a blank or 'deficit' as iii. 641, vii. 487 are found in L, and the words 'nescit,' 'deus,' which are omitted with a blank left in L at iii. 1574 and vi. 349 are found in D. If we suppose a common source, we must assume either that the first book was found in it entire and deliberately omitted, with alteration of the numbering of the books, by the copyist of the MS. from which L is more immediately derived, or that it was not found, and that the copyist of the original of D supplied it from another source.

It should be noted that the MS. from which L is ultimately derived must have had alternative versions of some of the revised passages, for in vi. cap. xviii. and also vi. l. 1208 L gives both the revised and the unrevised form. As a rule in the matter of revision L agrees with D, but not in the corrections of vi. 1208-1226, where D has the uncorrected form and L the other. We may note especially the reading of L in vi. 1224.

The following are the Latin lines which occur on f. 170 after '[H.] Aquile pullus,' &c.

'Inter saxosum montem campumque nodosum  
Periit Anglica gens fraude sua propria.

Homo dicitur, Cristus, virgo, Sathan, non iniustus fragilisque,  
 Est peccator homo simpliciterque notat.  
 Vlcio, mandatum, cetus, tutela, potestas,  
 Pars incarnatus, presencia, vis memorandi,  
 Ista manus seruat infallax voce sub vna.'

The second of the parchment blanks at the beginning has a note in the original hand of the MS. on the marriage of the devil and the birth of his nine daughters, who were assigned to various classes of human society, Simony to the prelates, Hypocrisy to the religious orders, and so on. At the end of the book there are two leaves with theological and other notes in the same hand, and two cut for purposes of binding from leaves of an older MS. of Latin hymns, &c. with music.

L2. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, A. 72, very obligingly placed at my disposal in the Bodleian by the Librarian, with authority from the Dean and Chapter. Contains the same as L, including the enigmatical lines above quoted. Paper, ff. 184, measuring about 8×6 in. neatly written in an early sixteenth-century hand, about 26 lines to the page. No coloured initials, but space left for them and on f. 21 for a picture corresponding to that on f. 21 of the Laud MS. Neither books nor chapters numbered. Marked in pencil as 'one of Dean Honnywood's, No. 53.'

Certainly copied from L, giving a precisely similar form of text and agreeing almost always in the minutest details.

T. TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, D. 4, 6, kindly sent to the Bodleian for my use by the Librarian, with the authority of the Provost and Fellows. Contains *Vox Clamantis* without Table of Chapters, followed by the account of the author's books, 'Quia vnusquisque,' &c. Parchment, ff. 144 (two blank) in seventeen quires, usually of eight leaves, but the first and sixteenth of ten and the last of twelve; written in an early fifteenth-century hand, 36-39 lines to the page, no passages erased or rewritten. Coloured initials.

This, in agreement with the Hatfield book (H<sub>2</sub>), gives the original form of all the passages which were revised or rewritten. It is apparently a careless copy of a good text, with many mistakes, some of which are corrected. The scribe either did not understand what he was writing or did not attend to the meaning, and a good many lines and couplets have been carelessly dropped out, as i. 873, 1360, 1749, 1800, ii. Prol. 24 f., ii. 561 f., iii. 281, 394 f., 943 f., 1154, 1767-1770, 1830, iv. 516 f., 684, v. 142-145, 528-530, vi. 829 f., vii. 688 f., 1099 f.

The blank leaf at the beginning, which is partly cut away, has in an early hand the lines

'In Kent alle car by gan, ibi pauci sunt sapientes,  
 In a Route thise Rebaudis ran sua trepida arma gerentes,'

for which cp. Wright's *Political Poems*, Rolls Series, 14, vol. i. p. 225.

H2. HATFIELD HALL, in the possession of the Marquess of Salisbury, by whose kind permission I was allowed to examine it. Contains the *Vox Clamantis*, preceded by the Table of Chapters. Parchment, ff. 144 (not counting blanks), about  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$  in., in eighteen quires of eight with catchwords; neatly written in a hand of the first half of the fifteenth century, 40 lines to the page. There is a richly illuminated border round three sides of the page where the Prologue of the *Vox Clamantis* begins, and also on the next, at the beginning of the first book, and floreated decorations at the beginning of each succeeding book, with illuminated capitals throughout. The catchwords are sometimes ornamented with neat drawings.

The book has a certain additional interest derived from the fact that it belonged to the celebrated Lord Burleigh, and was evidently read by him with some interest, as is indicated by various notes.

This MS., of which the text is fairly correct, is written in one hand throughout, and with T it represents, so far as we can judge, the original form of the text in all the revised passages. In some few cases, as iv. 1073, v. 450, H<sub>2</sub> seems to give the original reading, where T agrees with the revised MSS.

On the last leaf we find an interesting note about the decoration of the book and the parchment used, written small in red below the 'Explicit,' which I read as follows: '100 and li. 51 blew letteris, 4 co. smale letteris and more, gold letteris 8: 18 quayers. price velom v s. vi d.' There are in fact about 150 of the larger blue initials with red lines round them, the smaller letters, of which I understand the account reckons 400 and more, being those at the beginning of paragraphs, blue and red alternately. The eight gold letters are those at the beginning of the first prologue and the seven books.

The following notes are in the hand of Lord Burleigh, as I am informed by Mr. R. T. Gunton: 'Vox Clamantis' on the first page, 'nomine Authoris' and 'Anno 4 Regis Ricardi' in the margin of the prologue to the first book, 'Thomas arch., Simon arch.,' opposite i. 1055 f., 'Amoris effectus' near the beginning of Lib. v, 'Laus Edw. princ. patris Ricardi 2' at Lib. vi. cap. xiii, and a few more.

C2. COTTON, TITUS, A, 13, British Museum. Contains on ff. 105-137 a part of the *Vox Clamantis*, beginning with the Prologue of Lib. i. and continuing to Lib. iii. l. 116, where it is left unfinished. Paper, leaves measuring  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6$  in. written in a current sixteenth-century hand with an irregular number of lines (about 38-70) to the page. Headed, 'De populari tumultu et rebellione. Anno quarto Ricardi secundi.'

Text copied from D, as is shown by minute agreement in almost every particular.

H3. HATTON 92, Bodleian Library, Oxford. This contains, among other things of a miscellaneous kind, Gower's *Cronica Tripartita*, followed by '[H.] aquile pullus,' 'O recolende,' and 'Rex celi



deus,' altogether occupying  $21\frac{1}{2}$  leaves of parchment, measuring  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. Neatly written in hands of the first half of the fifteenth century, about 28-30 lines to the page, the text in one hand and the margin in another.

Begins, 'Prologus. Opus humanum est—constituit.'

Then the seven lines, 'Ista tripartita—vincit amor,' followed by 'Explicit prologus.' After this,

'Incipit cronica iohannis Gower de tempore Regis Ricardi secundi vsque ad secundum annum Henrici quarti.

Incipit prohemium Cronice Iohannis Gower.

Postquam in quodam libello, qui vox clamantis dicitur, quem Iohannes Gower nuper versificatum composuit super hoc quod tempore Regis Ricardi secundi anno Regni sui quarto vulgaris in anglia populus contra ipsum Regem quasi ex virga dei notabiliter insurrexit manifestius tractatum existit, iam in hoc presenti Cronica, que tripartita est, super quibusdam aliis infortuniis,' &c.

Ends (after 'sint tibi regna poli'), 'Expliciunt carmina Iohannis Gower, que scripta sunt vsque nunc, quod est in anno domini Regis prenotati secundo, et quia confractus ego tam senectute quam aliis infirmitatibus vltius scribere discrete non sufficio, Scribat qui veniet post me discreciore Alter, Amodo namque manus et mea penna silent. Hoc tamen infine verborum queso meorum, prospera quod statuatur regna futura deus. Amen. Ihesus esto michi ihesus.'

This conclusion seems to be made up out of the piece beginning 'Henrici quarti' in the Trentham MS. (see p. 365 of this volume) combined with the prose heading of the corresponding lines as given by CHG. It may be observed here that the Trentham version of this piece is also given in MS. Cotton, Julius F. vii, f. 167, with the heading 'Epitaphium siue dictum Iohannis Gower Armigeri et per ipsum compositum.' It is followed by the lines 'Electus Cristi—sponte data,' which are the heading of the *Praise of Peace*.

FORMER EDITIONS. The *Vox Clamantis* was printed for the Roxburghe Club in the year 1850, edited by H. O. Coxe, Bodley's Librarian. In the same volume were included the *Cronica Tripartita*, the lines 'Quicquid homo scribat,' &c., the complimentary verses of the 'philosopher,' 'Eneidos Bucolis,' &c., and (in a note to the Introduction) the poem 'O deus immense,' &c. In T. Wright's *Political Poems*, Rolls Series, 14, vol. i. the following pieces were printed: *Carmen super multiplici Viciorum Pestilencia*, *De Lucis Scrutinio*, 'O deus immense,' &c., *Cronica Tripartita*. In the Roxburghe edition of Gower's *Cinkante Balades* (1818) were printed also the pieces 'Rex celi deus,' and 'Ecce patet tensus,' and the lines 'Henrici quarti,' a variation of 'Quicquid homo scribat,' &c. (see p. 365 of this edition). Finally the last poems 'Vnanimes esse,' 'Presul, ouile regis,' 'Cultor in ecclesia,' and

'Dicunt scripture' were printed by Karl Meyer in his dissertation *John Gower's Beziehungen zu Chaucer &c.* pp. 67, 68.

Of Coxe's edition I wish to speak with all due respect. It has served a very useful purpose, and it was perhaps on a level with the critical requirements of the time when it was published. At the same time it cannot be regarded as satisfactory. The editor tells us that his text is that of the All Souls MS. 'collated throughout word for word with a MS. preserved among the Digby MSS. in the Bodleian, and here and there with the Cotton MS. [Tib. A. iv.] sufficiently to show the superiority of the All Souls MS.' The inferior and late Digby MS. was thus uncritically placed on a level with those of first authority, and even preferred to the Cotton MS. It would require a great deal of very careful collation to convince an editor that the text of the All Souls MS. is superior in correctness to that of the Cotton MS., and it is doubtful whether after all he would come to any such conclusion. As regards correctness they stand in fact very nearly on the same level: each might set the other right in a few trifling points. It is not, however, from the Cotton MS. that the Roxburghe editor takes his corrections, when he thinks that any are needed. In such cases he silently adopts readings from the Digby MS., and in a much larger number of instances he gives the text of the All Souls MS. incorrectly, from insufficient care in copying or correcting. The most serious results of the undue appreciation of the Digby MS. are seen in those passages where S is defective, as in the Prologue of the first book, and in the well-known passage i. 783 ff., where the text of D is taken as the sole authority, and accordingly errors abound, which might have been avoided by reference to C or any other good copy<sup>1</sup>. The editor seems not to have been acquainted with the Harleian MS., and he makes no mention even of the second copy of the *Vox Clamantis* which he had in his own library, MS. Laud 719.

The same uncritical spirit which we have noted in this editor's choice of manuscripts for collation appears also in his manner of dealing with the revised passages. When he prints variations, it is only because he happens to find them in the Digby MS., and he makes only one definite statement about the differences of

<sup>1</sup> It is even the case in one instance (i. 846) that a blank is left in the line for a word omitted in D which might have been supplied by reference to any other MS. which contained the passage. So difficult was communication between Oxford and London in those days.

handwriting in his authority, which moreover is grossly incorrect. Not being acquainted with Dublin or the Hatfield MSS., he could not give the original text of such passages as *Vox Clamantis*, iii. 1-28 or vi. 545-80, but he might at least have indicated the lines which he found written over erasure, and in different hands from the original text, in the All Souls and Cotton MSS. Dr. Karl Meyer again, who afterwards paid some attention to the handwriting and called attention to Coxe's misstatement on the subject, was preoccupied with the theory that the revision took place altogether after the accession of Henry IV, and failed to note the evidence afforded by the differences of handwriting for the conclusion that the revision was a gradual one, made in accordance with the development of political events.

I think it well to indicate the chief differences of text between the Roxburghe edition of the *Vox Clamantis* and the present. The readings in the following list are those of the Roxburghe edition. In cases where the Roxburghe editor has followed the All Souls or Digby MS. that fact is noted by the letters S or D; but the variations are for the most part mere mistakes. It should be noted also that the sense is very often obscured in the Roxburghe edition by bad punctuation, and that the mediæval spelling is usually not preserved.

<i>Epistola</i> 37 orgine	<i>Heading to Prol.</i> 3 somnum	<i>Prologus</i> 21
Godefri, des atque D	25 ascribens D	27 nil ut laudes D
36 sentiat D	37 Sæpeque sunt lachrymis de D	38 Humida fit
lachrymis sæpeque penna meis D	44 favent D	49 confracto D
50 At	58 Hujus ergo D	
<i>Heading to LIB. I.</i> 1 om. etiam D	3 contingebant D	4 terræ illius D
7 etiam (for et) D	LIB. I. 12. quisque	26 celsitonantes
occultam invenit SD	61 Horta	88 sorte
Cap. ii. <i>Heading</i> dicet	prima	199 geminatis
280 crabs	326 elephantinus	359 segistram
Curæ 396 Linquendo S	455 Thalia D	474 arces
551 pertenui	585 Hæc	603 Tormis
763 alitrixque D	771 dominos superos nec D	784 Recteque D
789 Cebbe D	797 Sæpe	799 Quidem
811 earum D	817 sonitum quoque verberat	821 Congestat D
822 Obstrepere	824 in (for a) D	827 stupefactus
fortificet	837 furorum D	846 conchos D
atra rubedo D	863 romphæa	873 gerunt
stetit) D	953 igne S	1173 viris (for iuris)
1241 et (for vt) S	1302 sibi tuta	1312 scit SD
1338 ipse	1361 internis D	1390 Reddidit
1431 fuit	1440 Poenis	1461 deprimere
1531 subito D	1587 per longum	1654 in medio
1662 patebit S	1695 rubens pingit gemmis	1792 dixi (for dedi)
		1794 nichil
		40 Fertilis
		92 et (for ex)
		209 possint D
		395 Culteque
		479 nemora
		743 Cumque
		803 Frendet perspumans D
		835 eorum non
		855 roserat
		947 rapit (for
		1174 aut (for siue)
		1334 Cantus
		1425 mutantia
		1525 statim S
		1656 nimis



( <i>for nil vel</i> )	1855 coniuncta	1870 imbuet S	1910 tempore
1927 et ( <i>for vt</i> )	1941 Claudit	1974 parat	1985 <i>om.</i> numen
2009 tunc	2017 inde	2118 ulla	
Lib. II. <i>Prol.</i> 10 ora	39 ore	40 fugam	iste
Lib. II. 9 obstat D	65 Desuper D	70 Et qui pauca tenet	
84 Causa tamen credo	175 continuo	191 migratrix	205 Et
( <i>for Atque</i> )	253 cum	271 Jonah	303 jam ( <i>for tam</i> )
401 lecto	461 monent	545 morte ( <i>for monte</i> )	570 prædicat
608 fœcundari	628 Dicit		
Lib. III. <i>Prol.</i> 9 sed et increpo	77 oro	90 potuit ( <i>for ponit</i> )	
Lib. III. 4* exempla D	mundus ( <i>for humus</i> ) D	18* ei D	27* poterint D
41 sensus	59 cum ( <i>for eum</i> )	76 Dicunt	141 possit ( <i>for</i>
poscit)	176 onus ( <i>for ouis</i> ) S	191 magnates	207 nimium ( <i>for</i>
nummi)	209 luxuriatio D	225 expugnareque	333 capiunt
( <i>for in</i> )	383 teli ( <i>for tali</i> )	469 <i>om.</i> est <i>after</i> amor	535 Quem
( <i>for Quam</i> )	595 terram SD	701 Sublime	845 manu
( <i>for Sicque</i> )	933 vertatur	954 nostra	969 portamus nomen
971 nobis* data D	976 renovare	989 sic ( <i>for sit</i> ) S	1214 et
1234 attulerat	1265 fallit S	1357 mundus habet	1376 et
( <i>for vt</i> ) S	1454 <i>om.</i> est	1455 Est; ( <i>for Et</i> )	1487 intendit
1538 ibi est	1541 Durius	1546 crebro	1695 sua ( <i>for si</i> ) S
1747 vovit SD	1759 et sutorem	1863 vulnere SD	1936 intrat
1960 de se	1962 Nam	2049 ese	2085 agunt
Lib. IV. 26 callidis	67 vivens ( <i>for niueus</i> )	72 esse ( <i>for ipse</i> ) S	259 Sæpe
( <i>for Sepeque</i> )	273 et ( <i>for vt</i> ) S	294 perdant	295 bona qui sibi D
336 non ( <i>for iam</i> ) S	435 quid tibi	451 Ac	453 cupiensque
531 at ( <i>for et</i> )	565 ex ( <i>for hee</i> )	567 Simpliciter	583 teneræ
588 præparat	593 ibi S	600 thalamus	610 claustra
675 Credo	769 In terra	785 ut	799 putabat S
863 sed nec ( <i>for non set</i> )	865 quem fur quasi	958 possit	1000 fratris
( <i>for patris</i> )	1038 Livorem	1081 adoptio S	1127 fallat
1214 vanis	1222* Usurpet	ipsa	
Lib. V. 1 sic D	18 ei ( <i>for ita</i> ) D	101 cernis	104 atque
159 par est	178 fuit ( <i>for sitit</i> )	217 senos ( <i>for seus</i> )	262 Carnis
281 si S	290 sonet	321 valet ( <i>for decet</i> )	338 vanis
420 Pretia ( <i>for Recia</i> )	461 At	486 redemit ( <i>for redeunt</i> )	501 non
( <i>for nos</i> ) S	508 geret	668 Si	672 Maxime
( <i>for foris</i> )	805 etenim ( <i>for eciam</i> ) S	928 est ( <i>for et</i> )	936 semine
937 pacis ( <i>for piscis</i> )	955 ubi ( <i>for sibi</i> ) S		
Lib. VI. 54 renuere	132 ipsa	133 locuples	212 ocus
( <i>for cicius</i> )	245 ibi ( <i>for sibi</i> )	319 Sæpe ( <i>for Sepius</i> )	405 in 'æque'
( <i>for ineque</i> )	411 descendat	476 quem S	488 Cesset
530 populus, væ ( <i>for populus ve</i> )	548 ipse D	646 ruat	679 legit S
746 Num	755 Nam ( <i>for Dum</i> )	789 majus ( <i>for inanis</i> )	816 Credo
971 Rex ( <i>for Pax</i> )	1016 gemmes	1033 quid ( <i>for quod</i> )	1041 Hæc
( <i>for Hic</i> )	1132 fide ( <i>for fine</i> )	1156 minuât D	1171* detangere
( <i>for te tangere</i> ) D	1172* hæc D	1182* foras D	1197 veteris
( <i>for verteris</i> )	1210* Subditus	1224 <i>om.</i> carnem	1225* decens
( <i>for docens</i> ) D	lega	1241 Hic ( <i>for Dic</i> )	1251 defunctus D
1260 ab hoc	1281 est ille pius ( <i>for ille pius est</i> )	1327 nunc moritur	

LIB. VII. 9 magnatum S	93 magnates D	96 nummis ( <i>for</i> minimis)
109 Antea	149 sic sunt	185 Virtutem
339 honorifica	350 credit S	409 servus
sinit ( <i>for</i> sunt)	555 vultum	562 ff. Quid ( <i>for</i> Quod)
602 adesse ( <i>for</i> ad esse)	635 Præceptum ( <i>for</i> Preceptumque)	665 agnoscit
707 enim ( <i>for</i> eum)	cap. ix. heading om. postea	736 decus ( <i>for</i> pecus)
750 ille ( <i>for</i> ipse)	cap. xi. heading dicitur ( <i>for</i> loquitur)	
798 capit ( <i>for</i> rapit)	828 etiam ( <i>for</i> iam)	903 om. nil
( <i>for</i> et) S	977 benefecit D	1043 frigor
1129 qui non iussa	1178 eam	1278 opes S
1369 digna	1454 hic ( <i>for</i> hinc)	1474 bona
		1479* ipsa

It will be seen that most of the above variants are due to mere oversight. It is surprising, however, that so many mistakes seriously affecting sense and metre should have escaped the correction of the editor.

In the matter of spelling the variation is considerable, but all that need be said is that the Roxburghe editor preferred the classical to the mediæval forms. On the other hand it is to be regretted that no attempt is made by him to mark the paragraph divisions of the original. A minor inconvenience, which is felt by all readers who have to refer to the Roxburghe text, arises from the fact that the book-numbering is not set at the head of the page.

In the case of the *Cronica Tripartita* we have the text printed by Wright in the Rolls Series as well as that of the Roxburghe edition. The latter is from the All Souls MS., while the former professes to be based upon the Cotton MS., so that the two texts ought to be quite independent. As a matter of fact, however, several of the mistakes or misprints of the Roxburghe text are reproduced in the Rolls edition, which was printed probably from a copy of the Roxburghe text collated with the Cotton MS.

The following are the variations of the Roxburghe text from that of the present edition.

*Introduction, margin* 2 *prosequi* (*for* *persequi*).

I. 1 om. et	per ( <i>for</i> fer)	7 bene non	15 consilium sibi
71 fraudis	93 cum ( <i>for</i> dum)	132 hos ( <i>for</i> os)	161 marg. om.
qui S	173 ausam S	182 Sic ( <i>for</i> Hic)	199 clientem
( <i>for</i> cessat)	209 Regem ( <i>for</i> Legem)	219 Qui est ( <i>for</i> est qui)	204 cepit
II. 9 sociatus ( <i>for</i> associatus)	61 manu tentum	85 marg. quia	
( <i>for</i> qui)	114 de pondere	156 sepulchrum	180 maledictum
220 Transulit	223 omne scelus	237 ipsum	266 Pontifice
271 malefecit	315 marg. derisu	330 marg. Consulat	333 adeo.
III. 109 prius S	131 viles S	177 conjunctus	188 sceleris
235 mane	239 nunc S	242 freta ( <i>for</i> fata)	250 ponere
263 Exilia	285 marg. præter ( <i>for</i> personaliter)	287 Nec	288 stanno
333 con-	341 auget	372 eo ( <i>for</i> et)	422 marg. fidelissime
428 prius S			

Of the above errors several, as we have said, are reproduced by Wright with no authority from his MS.<sup>1</sup>, but otherwise his text is a tolerably correct representation of that given by the Cotton MS., and the same may be said with regard to the other poems *Carmen super multiplici Viciorum Pestilencia*, *De Lucis Scrutinio*<sup>2</sup>, &c.

THE PRESENT EDITION. The text is in the main that of S, which is supplemented, where it is defective, by C. The Cotton MS. is also the leading authority for those pieces which are not contained in S, as the four last poems.

For the *Vox Clamantis* four manuscripts have been collated with S word for word throughout, viz. CHDL, and two more, viz. GE, have been collated generally and examined for every doubtful passage. TH<sub>2</sub> have been carefully examined and taken as authorities for the original text of some of the revised passages.

As regards the record of the results of these rather extensive collations, it may be stated generally that all material variations of C and H from the text of S have been recorded in the critical notes<sup>3</sup>. The readings of E, D and L have been printed regularly for those passages in which material variations of other MSS. are recorded, and in such cases, if they are not mentioned, it may be assumed that they agree with S; but otherwise they are mentioned only when they seem to deserve attention. The readings of G are recorded in a large number of instances, but they must not be assumed *ex silentio*, and those of T and H<sub>2</sub> are as a rule only given in passages where they have a different version of the text.

A trifling liberty has been taken with the text of the MSS. in regard to the position of the conjunction 'que' (and). This is

<sup>1</sup> e. g. i. 209 Regem 219 Qui est ii. 9 sociatus 114 de pondere 266 Pontifice.

<sup>2</sup> A few errors may be noted in the poem *De Lucis Scrutinio*, viz. l. 15 manifestus 36 oculis 66 similatam 89 Ominis (*for* O nimis): also in 'O deus immense,' l. 28 se (*for* te) 104 sub (*for* sue).

<sup>3</sup> Trifling differences of spelling are as a rule not recorded. Examples of such variations are the following in C: i. 1 ut 11 uidet 23 choruschat 120 talamum 137 sydera 139 themone 141 &c. sed (*for* set) 196 &c. amodo 234 prohdolor 311 Immundos 586 Egiptus 1056 Symonis 1219 Ocupat 1295 suppressis 1505 loquturus 1514 Obstetit 1755 opprobrium 1832 littora 1947 litora 2094 patiens ii. *Prol.* 11 etiam ii. 57 fatie 261 Moise 494 synagoga iii. 291 red-ditus, &c. Variation in the use of capital letters or in regard to the separation of 'que,' 've,' &c. from the words which they follow is usually not recorded. The spelling of H and G is almost identical with that of S.



frequently used by our author like 'et,' standing at the beginning of a clause or between the words which it combines, as

'Sic lecto vigilans meditabar plura, que mentem'  
Effudi,

or

'Cutte que Curre simul rapidi per deuia currunt,'

but it is also very often used in the correct classical manner. The MSS. make no distinction between these two uses, but sometimes join the conjunction to the preceding word and sometimes separate it, apparently in a quite arbitrary manner. For the sake of clearness the conjunction is separated in this edition regularly when the sense requires that it should be taken independently of the preceding word, and the variations of the manuscripts with regard to this are not recorded.

Again, some freedom has been used in the matter of capital letters, which have been supplied, where they were wanting, in the case of proper names and at the beginning of sentences.

The spelling is in every particular the same as that of the MS. The practice of altering the mediæval orthography, which is fairly consistent and intelligible, so as to make it accord with classical or conventional usage, has little or nothing to be said for it, and conceals the evidence which the forms of spelling might give with regard to the prevalent pronunciation.

The principal differences in our text from the classical orthography are as follows:

*e* regularly for the diphthongs *æ*, *œ*.

*i* for *e* in *periunt*, *rediat*, *nequio*, &c. (but also *pereunt*, &c.).

*y* for *i* in *ymus*, *ymago*, &c.

*i* for *y*, e. g. *mirrha*, *ciclus*, *limpha*.

*v* for *u* or *u* regularly as initial letter of words, elsewhere *u*.

vowels doubled in *hii*, *hee*, *hiis* (monosyllables).

*u* for *uu* after *q*, e. g. *equus*, *iniquus*, *sequuntur*.

initial *h* omitted in *ara* (*hāra*), *edus* (*haedus*), *ortus*, *yemps*, &c.

initial *h* added in *habundat*, *heremus*, *Herebus*, &c.

*ch* for *h* in *michi*, *nichil*.

*ch* for *c* in *archa*, *archanum*, *inchola*, *choruscat*, &c. (but *Cristus*, when fully written, for 'Christus').

*ci* for *ti* regularly before a vowel e. g. *accio*, *alcinus*, *cercius*, *distincio*, *gracia*, *sentencia*, *viciu*.

*c* for *s* or *sc*, in *ancer*, *cerpo*, *ceptrum*, *rocidus*, *Cilla*.

*s* for *c* or *sc*, in *secus* (occasionally for 'caecus'), *sintilla*, &c.

single for double consonants in *apropriat*, *suplet*, *agredior*, *resurexit*, &c. (also *appropriat*, &c.).

*ph* for *f* in *scrophæ*, *nephas*, *nephandus*, *prophanus*, &c.

\*\*\*\*

*p* inserted in *dampnum*, *sompnus*, &c.

*set* usually in the best MSS. for *sed* (conjunction), but in the Cotton MS. usually 'sed.'

It has been thought better to print the elegiac couplet without indentation for the pentameter, partly because that is the regular usage in the MSS. and must of course have been the practice of the author, but still more in order to mark more clearly the division into paragraphs, to which the author evidently attached some importance. Spaces of varying width are used to show the larger divisions. It is impossible that there should not be some errors in the printed text, but the editor can at least claim to have taken great pains to ensure correctness, and all the proof-sheets have been carefully compared with the text of the manuscripts.

For convenience of reference the lines are numbered as in the Roxburghe edition, though perhaps it would be more satisfactory to combine the prologues, as regards numbering, with the books to which they belong.

In regard to the Notes there are no doubt many deficiencies. The chief objects aimed at have been to explain difficulties of language, to illustrate the matter or the style by reference to the works of the author in French and in English, and to trace as far as possible the origin of those parts of his work which are borrowed. In addition to this, the historical record contained in the *Cronica Tripertita* has been carefully compared with the evidence given by others with regard to the events described, and possibly this part of the editor's work, being based entirely upon the original authorities, may be thought to have some small value as a contribution to the history of a singularly perplexing political situation.

## EPISTOLA

Hanc Epistolam subscriptam corde deuoto misit senex et cecus Iohannes Gower Reuerendissimo in Cristo Patri ac domino suo precipuo, domino Thome de Arundell, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, tocius Anglie Primati et apostolice sedis legato. Cuius statum ad ecclesie sue regimen dirigat et feliciter conseruet filius virginis gloriose, dominus noster Ihesus Cristus, qui cum deo patre et spiritu sancto viuuit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Successor Thome, Thomas, humilem tibi do me,  
Hunc et presentem librum tibi scribo sequentem :  
Quod tibi presento scriptum<sup>1</sup> retinere memento,  
Vt contempletur super hoc quo mens stimuletur.  
Curia diuisa que Rome stat modo visa,  
Dum se peruertit, in luctum gaudia vertit :  
Et quia lex Cristi dolet isto tempore tristi,  
Hoc ad plangendum librum tibi mitto legendum.  
Set tu, diuine qui lumen habes medicine,  
Gaudeat vt tristis, confer medicamen in istis: 10  
Dummodo lux cessit, alibique fides tenebrescit,  
Tu noster Phebus nostris da lumina rebus,  
Et quod splendesca, virtute tuaque calescas,  
Hoc magis ad lumen tibi scriptum dono volumen.  
In speculo tali de pectore iudiciali  
Si videas plane, puto non erit illud inane.  
Cecus ego mere, nequo licet acta videre,  
Te tamen in mente memorabor corde vidente.  
Corpore defectus, quamuis michi curua senectus  
Torquet, adhuc mentem studio sinit esse manentem, 20  
Et sic cum Cristo persto studiosus in isto,  
Quo mundi gesta tibi scribam iam manifesta.

*This Epistle is found in the All Souls MS. only.*

<sup>1</sup> Words written over erasure in the MS. are printed in spaced type.

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Hinc, pater, exoro, scripturis dumque laboro,  
Ad requiem mentis animam dispone studentis;  
Semper speraui, que patrem te semper amaui,  
Quo michi finalis tua gracia sit specialis.  
Nunc quia diuisus meus est a corpore visus,  
Lux tua que lucet anime vestigia ducet,  
Corpus et egrotum, vetus et miserabile totum,  
Ne conturbetur, te defensore iuuetur;  
Et sic viuentem custos simul et morientem  
Suscipe me cecum tua per suffrágia tecum.  
Lux tua morosa de stirpe micans generosa  
Condita sub cinere non debet in orbe latere.

30

Claret Arundella quasi Sol de luce nouella,  
Que te produxit, que te prius vbere succit.  
Es quia totus Mas vocitaris origine Thomas,  
Vnde deo totus sis ab omni labe remotus;  
Et sic prelatus nunc Cristi lege sacratus  
Legem conseruas, qua te sine labe reseruas.  
Stat modo segura tua lux, sine crimine pura,  
Claraque lucescit, quod eam nil turpe repressit:  
Anglia letetur, lumen quia tale meretur,  
Quo bene viuentes tua sint exempla sequentes.  
Per te succedet amor omnis, et ira recedet,  
Subque tua cura sunt prospera cuncta futura:  
Et quia sic creuit tua lux, terramque repleuit,  
Det deus vt talis tibi lux sit perpetualis.  
Hec Gower querit, qui tuus est et erit.

40

## VOX CLAMANTIS

IN huius opusculi principio intendit compositor describere qualiter seruiles rustici impetuose contra ingenuos et nobiles regni insurrexerunt. Et quia res huiusmodi velut monstrum detestabilis fuit et horribilis, fingit se per sompnum vidisse diuersas vulgi turmas in diuersas species bestiarum domesticarum transmutatas: dicit tamen quod ille bestie domestice, a sua deuiantes natura, crudelitates ferarum sibi presumpserunt. De causis vero, ex quibus inter homines talia contingunt enormia, tractat vlterius secundum distinciones libelli istius, qui in septem diuiditur partes, prout inferius locis suis euidentius apparebit.

### Sequitur prologus.

### Capitula libri Primi.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. Hic declarat in primis sub cuius Regis imperio, in quibus eciam mense et anno, ista sibi accidencia, cuius tenor subsequitur, contingebat. Commendat insuper, secundum illud quod esse solebat, fertilitatem terre illius vbi ipse tunc fuerat, in qua, vt dicit, omnium quasi rerum delicie pariter conveniunt, et loquitur vlterius de amenitate temporis, necnon et de diei serenitate, que tunc tamen sompnum nimis horribile precedebant.

*The MSS. used for the Vox Clamantis are the following:—*

S (*All Souls College, Oxford*, 98), C (*Cotton, Tiberius*, A. iv), E (*Ecton Hall*), H (*Harleian* 6291), G (*Glasgow, Hunterian Museum*, T. 2. 17), D (*Bodleian Library, Digby* 138), L (*Bodleian Library, Laud* 719), T (*Trinity College, Dublin*, D. 4. 6), H<sub>2</sub> (*Hatfield Hall*), L<sub>2</sub> (*Lincoln Cathedral Library* A. 7. 2). *The text is based on S.*

*Table of Contents not found in HLT<sub>2</sub> (H defective)*

3 velud C                      4 fingit SGD    narrat CE  
Lib. I. i. 2 eciam om. D                      7 tamen om. D

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Hic incipit sompnum, vbi quodam die Martis dicit se varias vulgi turmas vidisse, quarum primam in similitudinem asinorum mutari subito speculabatur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Hic dicit se per sompnum quandam vulgi turmam in boues vidisse mutatam.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiii. Hic dicit se per sompnum quandam vulgi turmam in porcos vidisse mutatam.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Hic dicit se per sompnum quandam vulgi turmam in canes vidisse mutatam.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Hic dicit se per sompnum quandam vulgi turmam in murelegos et vulpes vidisse mutatam: dicit murelegos vt seruus domesticos; dicit vulpes, quia fures ruptis vbique Gaiolis liberi tunc eos comitabantur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Hic dicit se per sompnum quandam vulgi turmam in aues domesticas vidisse mutatam, quibus dicit quod bubones quasi predones commixti associebantur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. Hic dicit se per sompnum quandam vulgi turmam in muscas et ranas vidisse mutatam.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Hic dicit se per sompnum vidisse quod, quando omnes predictae furie in vnum extiterant congregate, quidam Graculus auis, Anglice Gay, qui vulgariter vocatur Watte, presumpsit sibi statum regiminis aliorum, et in rei veritate ille Watte fuit dux eorum.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. Hic dicit se per sompnum vidisse progenies Chaym maledictas vna cum multitudine seruorum nuper Regis Vlaxis, quos Circes in bestias mutauit, furiis supradictis associari.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Hic dicit secundum visionem sompni qualiter audiuit nomina et eorum voces diuersas et horribiles. Dicit etiam de Iohanne Balle presbitero, qui eos ad omne scelus instigabat, et quasi propheta inter eos reputabatur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. Hic dicit secundum visionem sompni qualiter furie supradictae precones sibi et tribunos constituebant, et quomodo senes et iuuenes eorum fuerunt armati.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. Hic dicit secundum visionem sompni qualiter et quando dicte furie, instigante diabolo, Nouam Troiam, id est ciuitatem Londoniarum, ingressae sunt: nam sicut Troia nuper desolata extitit, ita ista Ciuitas protunc quasi omni consolatione destituta pre dolore penitus ignominiosa permansit.

vi. 4 comitabantur E comitebantur SCG committebantur D

vii. 3 associabantur E ix. 3 Geay D Iay E



- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. Hic tractat secundum visionem sompnii quasi per figuram de morte Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. Hic tractat vltorius secundum visionem sompnii de diuersa persecucione et occisione, quas in dicta Ciuitate quodammodo absque vlla pro tunc defensione furie supradicte, prodolor! faciebant, et qualiter huiusmodi fama vicinas perterruit ciuitates.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. Hic plangit secundum visionem sompnii quasi in propria persona dolores eorum, qui in siluis et speluncis pre timore temporis illius latitando se munierunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvii. Hic eciam secundum visionem sompnii describit quasi in persona propria angustias varias que contingebant hiis qui tunc pro securitate optinenda in Turrim Londoniarum se miserunt, et de ruptura eiusdem turris; figurat enim dictam turrim similem esse naui prope voraginem Cille periclitanti.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xviii. Hic dicit secundum visionem sompnii qualiter tanta superhabundauit tempestas quod de certo remedio absque manu diuina omnes in dicta naui hesitarunt, et deum super hoc precipue quilibet sexus ingenui deuocius exorabat.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xix. Hic dicit secundum visionem sompnii de quadam voce diuina in excelsis clamante, et quomodo deus placatus tandem precibus tempestates sedauit, et quomodo quasi in holocaustum pro delicto occisus fuit ille Graculus, id est Walterus, furiarum dictarum Capitaneus.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xx. Hic loquitur adhuc de naui visa in sompnis, id est de mente sua adhuc turbata, vt si ipse mentaliter sompniando, quasi per nauem variis ventis sine gubernaculo agitatam, omnes mundi partes pro pace mentis scrutanda inuestigasset, et tandem in partes Britannie Maioris, vbi raro pax est, dicit se applicuisse. Dicit eciam qualiter vox in sompnis sibi iniunxit quod ipse omnino scriberet ea que de mundo in illo scrutinio vidisset et audisset; et ita terminatur sompnum.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxi. Hic reddit vigilans gracias deo, qui eum in sompnis a pelago liberauit.

**Expliciunt Capitula libri primi.**

**Incipiunt Capitula libri Secundi.**

- Prologus. Hic dicit quod ipse iam vigilans, secundum vocem quam in sompnis acceperat, intendit scribere ea que de mundo vidit et audiuit, et vocat libellum istum Vox Clamantis, quia de voce et clamore quasi omnium conceptus est; vnde in huius operis auxilium spiritum sanctum inuocat.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. Hic dicit, secundum quod de clamore communi audiuit, qualiter status et ordo mundi precipue in partibus istis multipliciter in peius variatur, et quomodo vnusquisque super hoc fortunam accusat.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Hic corripit fortunam et sui euentus inconstanciam deplangit.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Hic describit fortunam secundum aliquos, qui sortem fortune dicunt esse et casum.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiiii. Hic tractat vlterius de mutacione fortune secundum quod dicunt: concludit tamen in fine, quod neque sorte aut casu, set ex meritis vel demeritis, sunt ea que hominibus contingunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Hic dicit secundum scripturas et allegat, qualiter omnes creature homini iusto seruientes obediunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Hic tractat secundum scripturas et allegat, qualiter omnes creature homini peccatori aduersantes inobediunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Hic loquitur de deo summo Creatore, qui est trinus et vnus, in cuius scientia et disposicione omnia creata reguntur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. Hic loquitur de filio dei incarnato domino nostro Ihesu Cristo, per quem de malo in bonum reformamur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Hic dicit quod quilibet debet firmiter credere, nec vltra quam decet argumenta fidei inuestigare.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. Hic tractat quod in re sculptili vel conflati non est confidendum, nec eciam talia adorari debent, set quod ex illis in ecclesia visis mens remorsa ad solum deum contemplandum cicius commoueat.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Hic dicit quod exquo solus deus omnia creauit, solus est a creaturis adorandus, et est eciam magne rationis vt ipse omnia gubernet, et secundum merita et demerita hominum solus in sua voluntate iudicet.

**Expliciunt Capitula libri secundi.**

iii. 2 et om. D  
Text follows C

iiii. S has lost a leaf (Lib. II. iiiii—Lib. III. xxii, luxurie).  
v. This heading om. D

## Incipiunt Capitula libri Tercii.

Prologus. Hic dicit quod, ex quo non a fortuna set meritis et demeritis ea que nos in mundo prospera et aduersa vocamus digno dei iudicio hominibus contingunt, intendit consequenter scribere de statu hominum, qualiter se ad presens habent, secundum hoc quod per sompnium superius dictum vidit et audiuit.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. Hic tractat qualiter status et ordo mundi in tribus consistit gradibus: sunt enim, vt dicit, Clerus, Milicies, et Agricultores, de quorum errore mundi infortunia nobis contingunt. Vnde pre aliis videndum est dē errore Cleri, precipue in ordine prelatorum, qui potenciores aliis existunt; et primo dicit de illis qui Cristi scolam dogmatizant et eius contrarium operantur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Hic loquitur de prelatis illis, qui carnalia appetentes vltra modum delicate viuunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Hic loquitur de prelatis illis, qui lucris terrenis inhiant, honore prelacie gaudent, et non vt prosint sed vt presint episcopatum desiderant.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiii. Hic loquitur de legibus eorum positiuis, que quamuis ad cultum anime necessarie non sunt, infinitas tamen constitutiones quasi cotidie ad eorum lucrum nobis grauiter imponunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Hic loquitur de prelatis illis, qui bona mundi temporalia possidentes spiritualia omittunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Hic loquitur qualiter Cristus pacem suis discipulis dedit et reliquit: dicit tamen quod modo propter bona terrena guerras saltem contra Cristianos prelati legibus suis positiuis instituunt et prosequuntur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Hic loquitur qualiter clerus in amore dei et proximi deberet pius et paciens existere, et non bellicosus.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. Hic tractat eciam qualiter non decet prelatos ex impaciencia contra populum Cristianum aliququaliter bella mouere; set tantum ex precibus absque impetu ire omnem deo adiuuante mundi deuincant maliciam.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Hic tractat quod, sicut non decet dominos temporales usur-

iiii. Hic loquitur quomodo diligentibus positiuis quasi quotidie noua instituuntur nobis peccata quibus tamen prius fiunt prelati propter lucrum dispensant et ea fieri liberi propter aurum permittunt D v. i illis om. D vi. i loquitur om. D  
2 dicit E dicitur CGD vii. i loquitur om. D viii. i eciam om. D  
2 aliququaliter om. D



pare sibi regimen in spiritualibus, ita nec decet cleri prelatos attemptare sibi guerras et huiusmodi temporalia, que mundi superbia et auaricia inducunt.

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. Hic querit quod, exquo prelati scribunt et docent ea que sunt pacis, quomodo in contrarium ea que sunt belli procurant et operantur. Ad quam tamen questionem ipse subsequenter respondet.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Hic loquitur de prelatis illis, qui nomen sanctum sibi presumunt, appropriant tamen sibi terrena, nec aliis inde participando ex caritate subueniunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. Hic loquitur de Simoniâ prelatorum, et qualiter hii delicati, dicentes se esse ecclesiam, aliis grauiora imponunt, et multociens de censura horribili laicos pro modico impetuose torquent et infestant.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. Hic loquitur qualiter prelatus non solum doctrina set etiam bonis actibus populo sibi commisso lucere deberet.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. Hic loquitur qualiter signa Anticristi in Curia Romana precipue ex auaricia secundum quosdam apparuerunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. Hic loquitur secundum commune dictum, qualiter honores et non onera prelacie plures affectant, quo magis in ecclesia cessant virtutes, et vicia multipliciter accrescunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. Postquam dictum est de illis qui errant in statu prelacie, dicendum est de errore curatorum, qui sub prelatis constituti, parochiarum curas sub animarum suarum periculo admittentes, negligenter omittunt: et primo intendit dicere de curatis illis qui suas curas omittentes ad seruiendum magnatum curiis adherent.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvii. Hic loquitur de rectoribus illis, qui ab episcopo licentiati se fingunt ire scolæ, vt sub nomine virtutis vicia corporalia frequentent.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xviii. Hic loquitur de rectoribus illis, qui in curiis residentes, curas tamen negligentes, venacionibus precipue et voluptatibus penitus intendunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xix. Hic loquitur de rectoribus in curiis residentibus, qui tamen curas animarum omittentes, quasi seculi mercatores singula de die in diem temporalia ementes et vendentes, mundi huius diuicias adquirunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xx. Postquam dictum est de errore illorum qui in ecclesia beneficiati existunt, iam dicendum est de presbiteris stipendiariis;

de talibus saltem, qui non propter mundiciam et ordinis honestatem, set propter mundi ocia gradum presbiteratus appetunt et assumunt. Et primo dicit de illis qui pro diuinis celebrandis excessiue se vendunt.

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxi. Hic loquitur de consueta presbiterorum voluptate, et qualiter hii stipendia plebis ex conuencione sumentes, indeuote pro mortuis orando non se debite ad suffragia mortuorum exonerant.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxii. Hic tractat causam, quare accidit quod laici, quasi iuris amici, luxurie presbiterorum consuetudinem abhorrentes, eam multociens castigantes grauiter affligunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiii. Hic scribit contra hoc quod aliqui presbiteri dicunt, qualiter ipsi in carnis luxuriam committendo non grauius hominibus laicis deum offendunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiiii. Hic describit qualiter omnia et singula que sacerdocii concernunt officium magne virtutis misteria designant. Et primo dicit de vestibus sacerdotalibus ex vtraque lege ob diuinam reuerenciam competenter dispositis.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxv. Hic loquitur qualiter sacrificia de veteri lege altari debita fuerunt in figura ad exemplum nunc noue legis presbiterorum: dicit vlterius qualiter eciam ex vtraque lege sacrificantes altari debent esse sine macula.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxvi. Hic loquitur quod etas sufficiens, priusquam gradum sacerdocii sibi assumat, in homine requiritur: loquitur eciam de suorum rasura pilorum, et dicit quod talia in signum mundicie et sanctitatis specialiter presbiteris conveniunt. Dicit vlterius quod presbiteri a bonis non debent esse operibus ociosi.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxvii. Hic loquitur de presbiterorum dignitate spirituali, et qualiter hii, si bene agant sua officia, plus aliis proficiunt; sin- autem, de suis malis exemplis delinquendi magis ministrant occasiones.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxviii. Postquam dixit de errore illorum qui inter seculares sacerdocii ministerium sibi assumpserunt, intendit dicere secundum tempus nunc de errore scolarium, qui ecclesie plantule dicuntur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxix. Hic querit causam, que scolarium animos ad ordinem presbiteratus suscipiendum inducit: tres enim causas precipue allegat; tractat eciam de quarta causa, que raro ad presens contingit.

### Expliciunt Capitula libri tercii.

**Incipiunt Capitula libri Quarti.**

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. Exquo tractauit de errore Cleri, ad quem precipue nostrarum spectat regimen animarum, iam intendit tractare de errore virorum Religiosorum. Et primo dicet de Monachis et aliis bonorum temporalium possessionem optinentibus : ordinis vero illorum sanctitatem commendans, illos precipue qui contraria faciunt opera redarguit.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Hic loquitur de Monachis illis, qui contra primi ordinis statuta abstinencie virtutem linquentes delicacias sibi corporales multipliciter assumunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Hic loquitur qualiter modus et regula, qui a fundatoribus ordinis primitus fuerant constituti, iam nouiter a viciorum consuetudine in quampluribus subuertuntur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiij. Hic loquitur de Monachis illis, qui contra primitiua ordinis sui statuta mundi diuicias ad vsus malos, suo nesciente preposito, appropriare sibi clanculo presumunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Hic loquitur qualiter monachi extra claustrum vagare non debent.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Hic loquitur de monachis illis, qui non pro diuino seruicio, set magis pro huius mundi honore et voluptate, habitum sibi religionis assumunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Hic loquitur qualiter paciencia vna cum ceteris virtutibus a quibusdam claustris, viciis supervenientibus, se transtulerunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. viij. Hic loquitur quod sicut monachi ita et errantes canonici a suis sunt excessibus culpandi.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Hic loquitur qualiter religiosi male viuentes omnibus aliis infelicissimi existunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. Hic loquitur qualiter vnusquisque qui religionis ingredi voluerit professionem, cuncta mundi vicia penitus abnegare et anime virtutes adquirere et obseruare tenetur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Hic loquitur qualiter religiosi consorcia mulierum specialiter euitare debent.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. Hic tractat quasi sub compendio super hiis que in religionis professione secundum fundatorum sanctiones districcius obseruanda finaliter existunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. Hic loquitur vlterius de mulieribus illis, que in habitu



Moniali sub sacre religionis velo professionem suscipientes ordinis sui continenciam non obseruant.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. Hic loquitur qualiter ordinarii ex sua visitacione, qua mulieres religione velatas se dicunt corrigere, ipsas multociens efficiunt deteriores.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. Hic loquitur de castitatis commendacione, que maxime in religione mulieribus convenit professis.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. Postquam tractauit de illis qui in religione possessoria sui ordinis professionem offendunt, dicendum est iam de illis qui errant in ordine fratrum mendicantium; et primo dicet de hiis qui sub fide paupertatis vmbra terrena lucra conspirantes quasi tocus mundi dominium subiugarunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvii. Hic loquitur de fratribus illis, qui per ypocrisim predicando populi peccata publice redarguentes, blandiciis tamen et voluptatibus clanculo deseruiunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xviii. Hic loquitur de fratribus illis, qui propter huius mundi famam, et quod ipsi eciam, quasi ab ordinis sui iugo exempti, ad confessiones audiendas digniores efficiantur, summas in studio scole cathedras affectant.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xix. Hic loquitur qualiter isti fratres inordinate viuentes ad ecclesie Cristi regimen non sunt aliqualiter necessarii.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xx. Hic loquitur qualiter isti fratres inordinate viuentes ad commune bonum vtiles aliqualiter non existunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxi. Hic loquitur de fratribus illis, qui incautos pueros etatis discrecionem non habentes in sui ordinis professionem attractando colloquiis blandis multipliciter illaqueant.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxii. Hic loquitur de Apostazia fratrum ordinis mendicantium, precipue de his qui sub ficta ypocrisis simplicitate quasi vniuersorum Curias magnatum subuertunt, et inestimabiles suis ficticiis sepiissime causant errores.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiii. Hic loquitur qualiter isti fratres mendicantes mundum circuiendo amplioresque querendo delicias de loco in locum cum ocio se transferunt. Loquitur eciam de superfluis eorum edificiis, que quasi ab huius seculi potencioribus vltra modum delicate construuntur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiiii. Hic loquitur qualiter, non solum in ordine fratrum mendicantium set eciam in singulis cleri gradibus, ea que

virtutis esse solebant a viciis quasi generaliter subuertuntur. Dicit tamen quod secundum quasdam Burnelli constitutiones istis precipue diebus modus et regula specialius obseruantur.

### Expliciunt Capitula libri quarti.

### Incipiunt Capitula libri Quinti.

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. Postquam dictum est de illis qui in statu Cleri regere spiritualia deberent, dicendum est iam de hiis qui in statu Milicie temporalia defendere et supportare tenentur. Et primo distinguit causas, ex quibus ordo Militaris cepit originem.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Hic loquitur qualiter miles, qui in mulieris amorem exardescens ex concupiscencia armorum se implicat exercicio, vere laudis honorem ob hoc nullatenus meretur. Describit eciam infirmitates amoris illius, cuius passionες variis adinuicem motibus maxime contrariantur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Hic describit formam mulieris speciose, ex cuius concupiscencia illaqueata militum corda rationis iudicio sepiissime destituuntur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiii. Hic loquitur quod, vbi in milite mulierum dominatur amoris voluptas, omnem in eo vere probitatis miliciam extinguit.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Hic loquitur de militibus illis, quorum vnus propter mulieris amorem, alter propter inanem mundi famam, armorum labores exercet; finis tamen vtriusque absque diuine laudis merito vacuus pertransit.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Hic loquitur interim de commendacione mulieris bone, cuius condicionis virtus approbata omnes mundi delicias transcendit: loquitur eciam de muliere mala, cuius cautelis vix sapiens resistit.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Hic loquitur qualiter milicia bene disposita omnibus aliis gradibus quibuscumque commune securitatis prestat emolumentum.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. Hic loquitur qualiter milicie improbitas alios gradus quoscumque sua ledit importunitate et offendit.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Postquam dictum est de illis qui in statu militari rem publicam seruare debent illesam, dicendum est iam de istis qui ad cibos et potus pro generis humani sustentacione perquirendos agriculture labores subire tenentur.

*After Cap. viii no space* CEGD

ix. 1 rem publicam S

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. Hic loquitur vltcrius de diuersis vulgi laborariis, qui sub aliorum regimine conducti, variis debent pro bono communi operibus subiugari.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Quia varias rerum proprietates vsui humano necessarias nulla de se prouincia sola parturit vniuersas, inter alios mundi coadiutores Ciuium Mercatores instituuntur, per quos singularum bona regionum alternatim communicantur, de quorum iam actibus scribere consequenter intendit. Et primo dicit quod in mutuo conciuum amore policia magis gaudet, quam omnium malorum radix auaricia ad presens, prodolor ! extirpare presumpsit.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. Hic loquitur de duabus auaricie filiabus, scilicet vsura et fraude, que in ciuitate orientes ad ciuium negociaciones secretum prestant obsequium. Set primo dicet de condicione vsure, que vrbis potencioribus sua iura specialius ministrat.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. Postquam dixit de potencia vsure, iam de fraudis subtilitate dicere intendit, que de communi consilio. quasi omnibus et singulis in emendo et vendendo ea que sunt agenda procurat et subtiliter disponit.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. Hic loquitur vltcrius quomodo fraus singula artificia necnon et vrbis victualia vbicumque sua subtili diposicione gubernat.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. Hic loquitur de Ciue illo maliuolo et impetuoso, qui Maioris ministerium sibi adoptans in conciuces suam accendit maliciam, quo magis sanum ciuitatis regimen sua importunitate perturbat et extinguit.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. Hic loquitur eciam de ciue illo, qui linguosus et Susurro inter conciuces seminator discordiarum existit. Loquitur de variis eciam periculis occasione male lingue contingentibus.

**Expliciunt Capitula libri quinti.**

**Incipiunt Capitula libri Sexti.**

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. Exquo de errore in singulis temporalium gradibus existente tractatum est, iam quia vnumquemque sub legis iusticia gubernari oportet, tractare vltcrius intendit de illis qui iuris ministri dicuntur, quamuis tamen ipsi omnem suis cautelis iusticiam confundunt, et propter mundi lucrum multipliciter



eneruant. Set primo dicet de illis qui magis practicam cum fallaciis in iuris confusionem exercent.

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Hic loquitur de causidicis et aduocatis illis, qui vicinum populum depredantes, ex bonisque alienis ditati, largissimas sibi possessiones adquirunt : de quibus tamen, vt dicitur, vix gaudet tercius heres.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Hic loquitur de causidicis et Aduocatis illis, qui quanto plures sunt in numero, tanto magis lucra sicientes patriam deuorant, et iuris colore subtilia plectentes, suis cautelis innocentem populum formidantem illaqueant.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiii. Hic loquitur qualiter isti causidici et iuris Aduocati in sua gradatim ascendentes facultate, Iudicisque aspirantes officium, iudicialis solii tandem cacumen attingunt ; vbi quasi in Cathedra pestelencie sedentes, maioris auaricie cecitate percussi, peioris quam antea condicionis existunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Hic loquitur quasi per epistolam Iudicibus illis directam, qui in caduca suarum diuiciarum multitudine sperantes deum adiutorem suum ponere nullatenus dignantur.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Hic loquitur de errore Vicecomitum, Balliuorum, necnon et in assisis iuratorum, qui singuli auro conducti diuitum causas iniustas supportantes, pauperes absque iusticia calumpniantur et opprimunt.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Hic loquitur quod sicut homines esse super terram necessario expedit, ita leges ad eorum regimen institui oportet, dummodo tamen legis custodes verum a falso discernentes vnique quod suum est equo pondere distribuunt. De erroribus tamen et iniuriis modo contingentibus innocentiam Regis nostri, minoris etatis causa, quantum ad presens excusat.
- Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. Hic loquitur quod, ex quo omnes quicumque mundi status sub regie maiestatis iusticia moderantur, intendit ad presens excellentissimo iam Regi nostro quandam epistolam in eius honore editam scribere consequenter, ex qua ille rex noster, qui modo in sua puerili constituitur etate, cum vberiores postea sumpserit annos, gracia mediante diuina, in suis regalibus exercendis euidentius instruatur. Et primo dicit quod, quamuis regalis potencia quodammodo supra leges

i. 6 enaruant C  
nearly erased G  
partly erased G

iii. 3 colore om. C  
After Cap. vii no space CEGD

vii. 5 f. innocentiam—excusat  
viii. 3 f. in and honore

extollatur, regiam tamen decet clemenciam, quod ipse bonis moribus inherendo, quasi liber sub iusticie legibus se et suos in aspectu Regis altissimi assidue gubernet.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Hic loquitur qualiter rex sibi male consulentes caucius euitare, proditoresque regni sui penitus extinguere, suorum eciam condiciones ministrorum diligencius inuestigare, et quos extra iusticiam errantes inuenerit, debita pena corrigere debet et districcius castigare.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. Hic dicit quod rex sano consilio adhereat, ecclesie iura supportet et erigat, equus in iudiciis et pius existat, suamque famam cunctis mundi opibus preponat.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Hic loquitur qualiter regiam libertatem in viciorum nullatenus decet incidere seruitutem, set sicut coram populo alios excellit potencia, ita coram deo pre ceteris ampliori virtutum clarescat habundancia.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. Hic loquitur qualiter rex a sue carnis voluptate illicebra specialiter se debet abstinere, et sub sacre legis constitutione propter diuinam offensam sue coniugis tantum licito fruatur consorcio.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. Hic loquitur et ponit magnifico iam Regi nostro Iuueni nuper serenissimi Principis patris sui exempla, dicens quod, vbi et quando necessitatis illud exigit facultas, rex contra suos hostes armorum probitates audacter exerceat, et quod ille nulla aduersitate sui vultus constanciam videntibus aliis amittat.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. Hic loquitur quod absque iusticie experta causa rex bellare non debet. Dicit insuper quod regie congruit dignitati, discreto tamen prouiso regimine, magis amore quam austeritatis rigore suos subditos tractare.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. Hic loquitur secundum Salomonis experienciam, quod ceteris virtutibus ad regni gubernaculum preualet sapiencia, que deo et hominibus regem magis reddit acceptabilem.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. Hic loquitur qualiter celi deus, qui est rex regum et dominus dominancium, a regibus terre pura mente precipue colendus est et super omnia metuendus.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvii. Hic loquitur qualiter rex in caritate dei et proximi viuens, contra superuenientem mortem, que nullo parcat regi, omni se debet diligencia prouidere.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xviii. Hic loquitur in fine istius epistole, vbi pro statu regis deuocius exorat, vt deus ipsius etatem iam floridam in omni

prosperitate conseruet, et ad laudem dei suique et sibi commisse plebis vtilitatem feliciter perducatur in eum.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xix. Hic recapitulat quodammodo sub figuris et exemplis tam veteris quam noui testamenti, in quibus pretendit quod eorum loco qui in omni sanctitate legem dei et fidem Cristi primitus augmentantes ecclesiam colebant, et a diu mortui sunt, iam resurgunt alii precipue de clero, qui illam omnium viciorum multitudine suffocantes corrumpunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xx. Hic tractat vlterius quod, sicut virtuosus nuper in ecclesia existentibus succedunt viciosi, sic et mundi proceribus omnis milicie nuper de probitate famosis succedunt modo alii, qui neque diuine neque humane laudis digni efficiuntur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxi. Hic loquitur adhuc vlterius super eodem, qualiter loco eorum qui nuper casti fuerunt et constantes, surrexerunt modo alii, qui huius seculi vanitatem concupiscentes pudoris constanciam penitus amiserunt.

### Expliciunt Capitula libri sexti.

### Incipiunt Capitula libri Septimi.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. Postquam de singulis gradibus, per quos tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus error quasi vbique diffunditur, tractatum hactenus existit, iam secundum quorundam opiniones tractare intendit de pedibus statue quam Nabugodonosor viderat in sompnis, quorum videlicet pedum quedam pars ferrea, quedam fictilis, in figura deterioracionis huius mundi extiterat, in quam nos ad presens tempus, quod est quodammodo in fine seculi, euidentius deuenimus. Et primo ferri significacionem declarabit.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Hic loquitur contra istos auaros omni ferro in hoc saltem tempore duriores, quorum diuicie nisi participantur, nullius, vt dicit, possunt esse valoris.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Hic loquitur de statue secunda parte pedum, que fictilis et fragilis erat, et de eiusdem partis significacione.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiii. Hic loquitur adhuc vlterius de miseriis que in pedum statue diuersitate nouissimo iam tempore eueniendis figurabantur:

xix. 4 adiu C  
ferri D

Lib. VII. i. 4 Nabugonosor C

8 significacionem



dicit enim quod ea que nuper condicionis humane virtuosa fuerant, in suum modo contrarium singula diuertuntur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Quia vnusquisque ad presens de mundi conqueritur fallaciis, intendit hic de statu et condicione mundi, necnon et de miseria condicionis humane, tractare consequenter.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Hic loquitur de principio creacionis humane: declarat eciam qualiter mundus ad vsum hominis, et homo ad cultum dei creatus extitit; ita quod, si homo deum suum debite non colat, mundus que sua sunt homini debita officia vlterius reddere non teneatur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Hic loquitur quod, exquo creator omnium deus singulas huius mundi delicias vsui subdidit humano, dignum est quod, sicut homo deliciis secundum corpus fruitur, ita secundum spiritum deo creatori suo gratum obsequium cum graciaram accione toto corde rependat.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. Hic tractat qualiter homo dicitur minor mundus; ita quod secundum hoc quod homo bene vel male agit, mundus bonus vel malus per consequens existit.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Hic loquitur qualiter homo, qui minor mundus dicitur, a mundo secundum corpus in mortem transibit; et sicut ipse corporis sui peccato huius mundi corrupcionis, dum viuit, causat euentum, ita in corpore mortuo postea putredinis subire corrupcionem cogetur. Et primo dicet de mortui corporis corrupcione secundum Superbiam.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corrupcione secundum Inuidiam.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corrupcione secundum Iram.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corrupcione secundum Auariciam.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corrupcione secundum Accidiam.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corrupcione secundum Gulam.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corrupcione secundum Luxuriam.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. Exquo tractauit qualiter variis peccati deliciis humanum corpus in hoc mundo putredine consumitur, interrogat vlterius de homine peccatore, quomodo mundi voluptates

vi. 3 suum CEGD sum S vii. 4 gratum] congruum D xvi. 3 mundi  
om. C

\*\*\*\*

tam fallibiles in sui preiudicium ita ardentem sibi appetit et conspirat.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvii. Hic loquitur qualiter omnia et singula mundi huius sicut vestimentum veterascunt, et quasi sompnifera in ictu oculi clauduntur: loquitur etiam de mortis memoria et eiusdem nominis significacione.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xviii. Hic loquitur quod, quamvis iustis et iniustis vnus sit naturaliter interitus, mors tamen iusti omnes exsoluens miseras eius spiritum glorie reddit sempiternae.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xix. Hic loquitur de duplici morte peccatoris, vna ex qua corpus hic resoluitur, alia ex qua digno dei iudicio penis perpetuis anima cruciatur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xx. Postquam de gaudiis et penis que bonis et malis debentur tractauit, consulit vltius quod vnusquisque ad bonos mores se conuertat, et de hiis que negligenter omisit, absque desperatione contritus indulgenciam a deo confidenter imploret.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxi. Hic loquitur quod sunt modo pauci, qui aut propter celi affectum aut gehenne metum huius vite voluptatibus renunciant; set quecunque caro concupiscit, omni postposita ratione ardentius perficere conantur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxii. Hic loquitur de variis vindictis occasione peccati in hoc seculo iam quasi cotidie contingentibus, que absque iustorum virorum meritis et oracionibus nullatenus sedari poterunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiii. Hic loquitur sub compendio recapitulando finaliter de singulis mundi gradibus, qui singillatim a debito deuiantes ordine virtutes diminuendo extinguunt, et ea que viciorum sunt augmentando multipliciter exercent.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiiii. Iam in fine libri loquitur magis in speciali de patria illa in qua ipse natus fuerat, vbi quasi plangendo conqueritur qualiter honores et virtutes veteres a variis ibidem erroribus superuenientibus, vt dicitur, ad presens multipliciter enervantur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxv. Hic loquitur qualiter ea que in hoc presenti libello quasi sompnando de mundi scripsit erroribus, non ex se tantum, set ex plebis voce communi concepit. Consulit tamen finaliter quod, si quis inde se culpabilem senciatur, priusquam nobis peiora succedant tempora, suam ex humili corde culpam penitens emendet.

xvii. 3 etiam S etiam in speciali CED xviii. 1 quod quamvis] quomodo D  
 xix. 2 S has lost two leaves (resoluitur—Lib. I. i. 18). Text follows C xxiii. 4  
 excercet CE xxiiii. 2 ipse] ille D 4 enervantur C xxv. 5 penitus CE

AD MUNDUM MITTO MEA IACULA, DUMQUE SAGITTO;  
 AT VBI IUSTUS ERIT, NULLA SAGITTA FERIT.  
 SED MALE VIUENTES HOS VULNERO TRANSGREDIENTES;  
 CONSCIUS ERGO SIBI SE SPECULETUR IBI.

*These four lines (with picture below) are found here in CEG. L has them later,  
 Lib. III. cap. i.*



## Incipit Cronica que Vox Clamantis dicitur.

In huius opusculi principio intendit compositor describere qualiter serviles rustici impetuose contra ingenuos et nobiles regni insurrexerunt. Et quia res huiusmodi velut monstrum detestabilis fuit et horribilis, narrat se per sompnum vidisse diuersas vulgi turmas in diuersas species bestiarum domesticarum transmutatas: dicit tamen quod ille bestie domestice, a sua deuantes natura, crudelitates ferarum sibi preſumpserunt. De causis vero, ex quibus inter homines talia contingunt enormia, tractat vltcrius secundum distinciones libelli istius, qui in septem diuiditur partes, prout inferius locis suis euidentius apparebit.

## Incipit prologus libri Primi.

Scripture veteris capiunt exempla futuri,  
 Nam dabit experta res magis esse fidem.  
 Vox licet hoc teneat vulgaris, quod sibi nullum  
 Sompnia propositum credulitatis habent,  
 Nos tamen econtra de tempore preteritorum  
 Cercius instructos littera scripta facit.  
 Ex Daniele patet quid sompnia significarunt,  
 Nec fuit in sompnis visio vana Ioseph:  
 Angelus immo bonus, qui custos interioris  
 Est hominis, vigili semper amore fauet;  
 Et licet exterius corpus sopor occupet, ille  
 Visitat interius mentis et auget opem;  
 Sepeque sompnifero monstrat prenostica visu,  
 Quo magis in causis tempora noscat homo.  
 Hinc puto que vidi quod sompnia tempore noctis  
 Signa rei certe commemoranda ferunt.  
 Visio qualis erat, quo tempore, cuius et anno  
 Regis, in hiis scriptis singula scire potes.  
 Scribentis nomen si queras, ecce loquela  
 Sub tribus implicita versibus inde latet.

10

20

Primos sume pedes Godefridi desque Iohanni,  
 Principiumque sui Wallia iungat eis :  
 Ter caput amittens det cetera membra, que tali  
 Carmine compositi nominis ordo patet.  
 Tu tamen ad scribe laudem nil pone, sed illam  
 Concipe materiam quam tibi scripta dabunt.  
 Nam nichil vt lauder scribam, curamque futuri  
 Nominis vt queram non meus actus habet.  
 Quos mea terra dedit casus nouitatis adibo,  
 Nam pius est patrie facta referre labor. 30  
 Quod michi flere licet scribam lacrimabile tempus,  
 Sic quod in exemplum posteritatis eat.  
 Flebilis vt noster status est, ita flebile carmen,  
 Materie scripto conueniente sue.  
 Omne quod est huius operis lacrimabile, lector  
 Scriptum de lacrimis censeat esse meis :  
 Penna madet lacrimis hec me scribente profusus,  
 Dumque feror studiis, cor tremit atque manus.  
 Scribere cumque volo, michi pondere pressa laboris  
 Est manus, et vires subtrahit inde timor. 40  
 Qui magis inspiciet opus istud, tempus et instans,  
 Inueniet toto carmine dulce nichil.  
 Si vox in fragili michi pectore firmior esset,  
 Pluraque cum linguis pluribus ora forent,  
 Hec tamen ad presens mala, que sunt temporis huius,  
 Non michi possibile dicere cuncta foret.  
 Pectora sic mea sunt limo viciata malorum,  
 Quod carmen vena pauperiore fluet.  
 Poplice contracto restat grandis via Rome,  
 Et modico sensu grande libellus opus. 50  
 Sic veniam pro laude peto, mea namque voluntas  
 Est bona, sit quamuis sensus ad acta minor.  
 Adde recollectis seriem, mea musa, Latinis,

21 Godefridi des atque D *margin* Nota de nomine Iohannis Gower  
 CE Nota nomen L Nomen compilatoris est Iohannes Gower vt patet in  
 his tribus versibus T om. GD 25 adscribe EL ascribens D 27 nil  
 vt laudes D nichil vt laudes L 32 Sicque DL 36 censeat C  
 sensiat GEH<sub>2</sub> senceat T senciati D(p. m.)L 37 Penna madet  
 C (ras.) E Sepeque sunt GDLTH<sub>2</sub> hec] de D 38 Text C (ras.)E  
 Humida fit lacrimis sepeque penna meis GDLTH<sub>2</sub> 44 fauent DH<sub>2</sub>  
 49 contracto DLH<sub>2</sub>

Daque magistra tuo congrua verba libro.  
 Sompnia vera quidem, quorum sententia cordis  
 Intima conturbat, plena timore canam :  
 Insula quem Pathmos suscepit in Apocalipsi,  
 Cuius ego nomen gesto, gubernet opus.

Hic declarat in primis sub cuius regis imperio, in quibus eciam mense et anno, ista sibi accidencia, cuius tenor subsequitur, contingebat. Commendat insuper, secundum illud quod esse solebat, fertilitatem illius terre vbi ipse tunc fuerat, in qua, vt dicit, omnium quasi rerum delicie pariter conueniunt. Et loquitur vterius de amenitate temporis, necnon et de diei serenitate, que tunc tamen sompnium nimis horribile precedebant.

### Incipit liber Primus.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. **C**ontigit vt quarto Ricardi regis in anno,  
 Dum clamat mensem Iunius esse suum,  
 Luna polum linquens sub humo sua lumina condit,  
 Sponsus et Aurore Lucifer ortus erat;  
 Surgit ab occasu noua lux, Aurora refulget  
 Orbis ab occidua parte, paritque diem;  
 Luce diem reparat mirandaque lumina prebet,  
 Dum fuga dat noctem, luxque reuersa diem.  
 Clara repperusso radiabant lumina Phebo,  
 Et facies celi leta refulsit humo :  
 Splendida mane videt pulsus Aurora tenebris,  
 Quam spectans hilarem quisquis in orbe colit :  
 Purpureas splendore fores et plena rosarum  
 Atria glorificat de nouitate sua.  
 In curru Phebus claris rutilante smaragdis  
 Estuat in Cancro feruidus igne nouo.  
 Omnia fecundat, nutrit, fouet, auget, habundat,  
 Cunctaque viuificat, que mare, terra creat.  
 Que melius poterant ornant redolencia currum,

10

56 conturbat D conturbant CEGLT 58 Huius ergo DL  
 Cap. i. *Heading* 1 eciam om. D 3 contingebant DL 4 terre  
 illius D 5 omnium E quod omnium CGDLT 7 nimis horribile om. L  
 Cap. i. 12 hilarem D hillarem CEL 19 S resumes here



Gloria, lux renitens, splendor et omne decus.

20

Aureus axis erat, nec temo fit alter ab auro,

Splendet et in curuis aurea pompa rotis.

Per iuga gemmatus argenteus ordo choruscat,

Crisolitis radios prebuit vnde suos;

Ignitique suum currum post terga vehentes

Aera discurrunt celsitonantis equi.

Purpurea residens velatus veste refulsit,

Cuius in aspectu secula cuncta patent.

Ante suum solium gradiuntur quatuor anni

Tempora, que variis compta diebus erant:

30

Tunc tamen a dextris stetit alba propinquior estas

Serta gerens, et eam cuncta creata colunt.

Omnia tunc florent, tunc est noua temporis etas,

Ludit et in pratis luxuriando pecus.

Tunc fecundus ager, pecorum tunc hora creandi,

Tunc renouatque suos reptile quodque iocos;

Prataque pubescunt variorum flore colorum,

Indocilique loquax gutture cantat auis;

Queque diu latuit tunc se qua tollat in auras

Inuenit occultam fertilis herba viam;

40

Tuncque pruinosos mollitur Lucifer agros,

Inque suos pullos concitat ales opus.

Tunc glacialis yemps canos hirsuta capillos

Desefit, et placidi redditus orbis erat:

Quicquid yemps operit gelido de frigore cedit,

Et periunt lapse sole tepente niues.

Arboribus redeunt detonse frigore frondes,

Regnat et estatis pompa per omne nemus:

Rore refudit humum, dat terre gramina, siluis

Frondes, arboribus pomaque grata satis:

50

Mille fuit variis florum renouata coronis,

Herbifer in cuius lege virescit ager.

Flos sua regna petit, florumque coloribus amplus

Ludit ager, que suos gaudia vultus habet.

Iam legit ingenua violas sibi compta puella

Rustica, quas nullo terra serente vehit.

21 themo CE      40 Text CEGT      fertilis occultam inuenit herba  
viam SD      fertilis inuenit occultam herba viam L      41 pruinosos  
om. E (blank)

Tot fuerant illuc quot habet natura colores,  
 Pictaque dissimili flore superbit humus :  
 O quia digestos volui numerare colores,  
 Nec potui, numero copia maior erat.

60

Orta fragrant clausis sicut paradisus in ortis  
 Candida cum rubeis lilia mixta rosis :  
 Deforis in campis stat primula cincta ligustris,  
 Omnis et hec herba quam medicina probat :  
 Herbarum vires fuerant, que semine, succo,  
 Seu radice queunt ferre salutis opem :  
 Purpureum viridi genuit de cespite florem,  
 Quam natura suis legibus ornat, humus :  
 Balsama, pigmentum, cum nardo cassia, mirra  
 Cum gutta sedes hic statuere suas.  
 Purpuree viole, rosa rocida, candida semper  
 Lilia certabant hunc habitare locum.  
 Ille locus solus sibi vindicat omne quod aer,  
 Quod mare, quod tellus, nutrit habetque bonum :  
 Hic decus est orbis, flos mundi, gloria rerum,  
 Delicias omnes, quas petit vsus, habet ;  
 Insitus arboribus, herbis plantatus, et omni  
 Munere prepollens, que sibi poscit homo.

70

Est alter paradisus ibi, nam quicquid habere

Mens humana cupit, terra beata parit,  
 Fontibus irriguis fecundus, semine plenus,  
 Floribus insignis fructiferisque bonis ;

80

Terraque cum rore dulces commixta vigores  
 Concipit, et varia gramina nata fouet.  
 Frondibus inde nemus vestitur, floribus ortus,  
 Graminibus campus, seminibusque solum ;  
 Siluaque fronde suo renouatur, et omne virescit  
 Pratum, quod lutea sorde subegit yemps.

Mulcebant zephiri natos sine semine flores,  
 Et calor a superis lucidus ornat humum.

90

Tempus et in volucres cantum fundebat, et altis  
 Vocibus ex variis personat omne nemus :  
 Semper idem repetens cuculus de gutture plano  
 Clamat, et est testis temporis ipse noui :

Nuncius Aurore modulans volutabat Alauda

Desuper, et summi cantat in aure dei;  
 Turtur et ex viridi congaudens tempore fidum  
 In maris obsequium cor vouet ipsa suum;  
 Amissamque sue suplet Philomena loquele  
 Naturam, que suis predicat acta notis:  
 Concinit et Progne de virginitate sororis  
 Lesa, dum tanti sunt in amore doli.  
 Milia mille sonant volucrum velut organa cantus,  
 Et totidem flores lata per arua fragrant:  
 Inter eos certant, ferat vtrum cantus ad aures  
 Aut odor ad nares de bonitate magis:  
 Lis tamen ipsa pia fuit et discordia concors,  
 Dum meriti parilis fulsit vterque status.

100

Cum natura sue legis dulcedine siluas  
 Replet, et ex omni parte resultat auis;  
 Cum decus et florum vastos sic induit agros,  
 Ac herbosa coma florida prata colit;  
 Flat leuis in ramis resonans quam dulciter Euris,  
 Dulcis et in ripa murmure plaudit aqua;  
 Omneque sic animal placido de tempore gaudet,  
 Piscis et ob solem fluminis alta petit;  
 Non fuit hoc viuens, cui non renouata voluptas  
 Temporis ex aura dulciter huius erat.  
 Talia cumque videns oculus letatur, et illa  
 In thalamum cordis ducit ad yma viri;  
 Auris et auditu cordis suspiria pulsat,  
 Quo Venus in iuvene poscit amoris opem.  
 Ecce dies talis fuit, in qua tempus amenum  
 Me dabat in lusum girouagare meum.

110

120

Omnia finis habet: aderat sic vespere tandem  
 Cum solet occasus intitulare diem:  
 Illa quieta dies solitas compleuerat horas,  
 Dulcibus atque silent organa clausa notis:  
 Merserat in tenebris nox feruida lumina solis,  
 Et sopor ad lectum strinxerat ire virum:  
 Deficiente die tunc flexi corpus ad ymum,  
 Quo lassata solet membra fouere quies.

130

100 sue ... vocis D    101 Progne *om.* D    106 ad] aut S    113 quam]  
 qui DH<sub>2</sub>    117 veniens D    cui] cum DH<sub>2</sub>    voluptas *om.* D  
 124 girovagando D    girouogare L



Tristia post leta, post Phebum nebula, morbi  
 Tempora post sana sepe venire solent :  
 Non ita clara dies fuerat transacta per ante,  
 Quin magis obscura noctis ymago venit.  
 Ecce tegunt nigre latitancia sidera nubes,  
 Aurea luna fugit, nox caret igne suo.  
 Flexerat obliquo plaustrum temone Boetes,  
 Nec via directa tunc fuit acta poli ;  
 Infortunata set constellacio centrum  
 Dissoluens rabide tartara misit humo.

140

Prima quies aberat, nec adhuc mea lumina mulcet  
 Sompnus, quem timide mentis origo fugat :  
 En coma sponte riget, tremit et caro, cordis et antrum  
 Soluitur, et sensus fertur ad instar aque ;  
 Sic magis assidua iactatus mente reuolui,  
 Quid michi tam subiti causa timoris erat :  
 Sic lecto vigilans meditabar plura, que mentem  
 Effudi, variis corde vagante modis.  
 Tempus erat quo cuncta silent, quo mente sopita  
 In vaga nonnulla sompnia corda ruunt ;  
 Set neque sompnus adhuc neque sompnia me laquearunt,  
 Dum pavor ex subito spondet adesse malum.  
 Noctis erat medium, grauis et palpebra querelas  
 Ponderat ex oculis, set mora tardat opem.  
 Sic vigil in curis consumpsi tempora noctis,  
 Nescius ex quali sorte propinquat opus :  
 Tempora preterita vidi, metuique futura ;  
 Tandem sic oculos clauserat vmbra meos.  
 Sic, vbi decepte pars est michi maxima noctis  
 Acta, subit subito lumina fessa sopor :  
 Exiguam subii requiem, dum Lucifer ignem  
 Prouocat Aurore, sompnia tuncque fero.

150

160

**Hic incipit sompnium, vbi quodam die Martis dicit se varias  
 vulgi turmas vidisse, quarum primam in similitudinem asinorum  
 mutari subito speculabatur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Dumque piger sompnus inmotos fixerat artus,  
 Iam fuerat raptus spiritus ipse meus :

145 in antrum D    163 om. L    165-2150 om. L    165 Cumque DT

Vt flores legerem me campis ire putabam,  
Quando suam propriam Mars colit ipse diem.  
Nec michi longa via fuerat, dum proxima vidi  
Innumerabilia monstra timenda nimis, 170  
Diuersas plebis sortes vulgaris iniquas  
Innumeris turmis ire per arua vagas:  
Dumque mei turbas oculi sic intuerentur,  
Miror et in tanta rusticitate magis,  
Ecce dei subito malediccio fulsit in illos,  
Et mutans formas fecerat esse feras.  
Qui fuerant homines prius innate rationis,  
Brutorum species irrationis habent:  
Diuersas turmas diuersaque forma figurat,  
Quamlibet et propria condicione notat. 180  
Sompnia pondus habent, hinc est quod mira reuoluam,  
Vnde magis vigilans sum timefactus adhuc.

Elatos asinos subita nouitate rebelles  
Vidi, nec frenis quis moderauit eos;  
Viscera namque sua repleta furore leonum  
Extiterant predas in repetendo suas.  
Perdidit officium capitis sine lege capistrum,  
Dum saltant asini cuncta per arua vagi;  
Terruit en cunctos sua sternutacio ciues,  
Dum geminant solita voce frequenter yha. 190  
Sunt onagriue rudes asini violenter, et omnis  
Que fuit vtilitas vtilitate caret.  
Amplius ad villam saccos portare recusant,  
Nec curuare sua pondere dorsa volunt;  
Set neque rurales curant in montibus herbas,  
Ammodo set querunt deliciosa magis;  
A domibus alios expellunt, ius et equorum  
Iniuste cupiunt appropriare sibi.

Presumunt asini gemmatis ammodo fungi  
Sellis, et comptas semper habere comas: 200  
Vt vetus ipse suam curtam Burnellus inepte  
Caudam longari de nouitate cupit,  
Sic isti miseri noua tergaque longa requirunt,  
Vt leo de cauda sint et Asellus idem.  
Pelle leonina tectum se pinxit Asellus,  
Et sua transcendit gloria vana modum:

Cauda suo capiti quia se conferre nequibat,  
 Contra naturam sorte requirit opem.  
 Attemptant igitur fatui, poterint vt aselli  
 Quod natura vetat amplificare sibi :  
 Quam sibi plantauit caudam qui contulit aures  
 Non curant, set eam vilius esse putant.

210

Voluere plura solet animi meditacio stulta,  
 Que magis impediunt quam sua vota ferunt :  
 Omnes stulticia stultis innata dolores  
 Parturit, et finem prestat habere malum.  
 Magnos magna decent et paruos parua, set illi,  
 Qui sunt de minimis, grandia ferre volunt.  
 Mens oritur subito, diuturnos que parat actus,  
 Incipit et leuiter que sine fine grauant :  
 Sic asini fatui, quos fastus concitat, omni  
 Postposita lege condita iura negant.

220

Hos intemperies sic aeris inficiebat,  
 Quod transformati sunt quasi monstra michi :  
 Auribus in longis potui quos noscere dudum  
 In frontis medio cornua longa gerunt.  
 Ille biceps gladius non scindit forcus illis,  
 Vulneris atque noui fusa cruore madent.  
 Qui de natura pigri tardare solebant,  
 Precurrunt ceruis de leuitate magis.

230

Nonne leui saltu vincit Leopardus Asellum?  
 Tunc tamen ad saltum vicit Asellus eum.  
 Longior in cauda fuerat tunc vilis Asellus  
 Quam fuit insignis, prodolor! ipse leo.  
 Quicquid velle iubet asinorum legis habebat  
 Vires, et nouitas ius vetus omne fugat.  
 Vt stolidos tamen atque rudes hos mos asininus  
 Signabat, quod eis nil rationis erat :  
 Et quia sic fatuos vidi timui magis ipsos,  
 Nec dabat vlterius pes michi fidus iter.

240

**Hic dicit se per sompnum secundam vulgi turmam in boues  
 vidisse mutatam.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Cum quibus ecce boues veniunt quos cuspide nullus  
 Pungere tunc ausit, immo timebat eos :

209 possint D

231 Non leuiter D

232 vincit D



Contra iura bouis bos spernit habere bubulcum,  
Ammodo nec duci de nouitate sinit.

Cornutando furit hodie bos qui fuit heri

Per cornu leuiter ductus vt arua colat:

Qui fuerant domiti nuper, modo fronte minaci

Cornibus elatis debita iura negant:

Amplius ex aratro se dicunt nolle iugari,

Colla set erecta libera ferre volunt:

250

Ammodo non comedunt paleas neque stramina grossa,

Est vbi set granum de meliore petunt.

Sic transformatas formas natura reliquit,

Et monstris similes fecerat esse boues;

Vrsinosque pedes caudas similesque draconum

Gestant, quo pauidus omnis abhorret eos:

Sulphureas flammās emittunt oris ab antro,

Quas, vbi disperse sunt, aqua nulla fugat:

Sit lapis aut lignum, fuerit set quicquid ab estu

Tactum, comminuens ignea flamma vorat.

260

Hec armenta nequit aliquis defendere pastor,

Quin magis in dampnum ruris et vrbis agunt.

In Colchos thauri, quos vicit dextra Iasonis,

Non ita sulphureis ignibus ora fremunt,

Quin magis igne boues isti crepitancia tecta

Incendunt, que suis flatibus illa cremant.

Non Minos taurus, quem Neptunus dedit illi,

Sic nocuit campis, dum furibundus erat,

Quin magis arua boues isti vastant, et in vrbe

Horrida rite suo dampna furore parant.

270

Nessus et in tauri specimen mutatus et armis

Victus ab Eacide, dum sibi bella mouet,

Tam neque Centauri nec et ipse ferox Minotaurus

Hoc metuenda viris tempore bella dabant,

Quin magis ecce boues isti violenter aratra

Linquentes, hominum constituere necem.

Arma sui vacuos operis dispersa per agros

Linquent, nec solitum ius sibi vomer habet;

Ecce iacent rastri, sic sarcula sicque ligones,

Buris, trabs, crapulus sunt neque restis eis;

280

Nil iuga, nil torquis, nichil aut retinacula prosunt,  
 Nil sibi paxillus, temo vel ansa iuuant :  
 Vsus abest aratri, vacat et dentale relictum,  
 Nec sua tunc crates debita ferre sinunt :  
 Currus et auriga cessant, cessatque carecta,  
 Que nichil vltcrius vtilitatis habent :  
 Agricoleque bonis iter vnum legibus absque  
 Restat, et indomiti sunt rationis idem.  
 Sic, vbicumque vides, campi cultore carentes,  
 Vastaque, que nemo vendicat, arua iacent :  
 Expectant frustra promissas horrea messes,  
 Annua si talis regula seruet agros.  
 Bos leo, bos pardus, bos vrsus, set bouis ipsum  
 Constat naturam non meminisse suam.  
 Sic ego pestiferos errare boues quia vidi  
 Indomitos sulco, mens mea mota fuit.  
 Prodolor ! o ! dixi, cessabit cultus agrorum,  
 Quo michi temporibus est metuenda fames.

290

**Hic dicit se per sompnum terciam vulgi turmam in porcos vidisse transmutatam.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiii. Sompnus adhuc creuit, et lassos occupat artus,  
 Auget et vltcrius sompnia plura michi.  
 Cristatos porcos, furiosos, demone plenos,  
 Post ea percepi stare frequenter ibi :  
 Associata simul fuit horum concio multa,  
 Aera stercoribus inficiendo suis.  
 Porculus en porcum furiens et aperculus aprum  
 Consequitur, nec eos amplius artat ara.  
 Federa cum socio dat verres iuncta nefrendo,  
 Vt magis euertant congradiuntur humum ;  
 Scrophæ que Sus sociam porcæ sibi consociarunt,  
 Que magis vt noceant, plura maligna mouent.  
 Inmundos porcos sic vidi ledere mundum,  
 Vix quod erat mundus tutus vt obstat eis :  
 Non erat aque bladis hominum porcarius vllus,  
 Qui tunc de solito more fugauit eos ;  
 Non erat in nares torques qui posset eorum

300

310

Ponere, quin faciunt fossa timenda nimis;  
 Nullus et hirsuta nexus constringere colla  
 Tunc potuit, set eis omne licebat iter.  
 Deuia natura sic errat ab ordine, mores  
 Porcus quod porci non habet, immo lupi.

320

Inter eos aper vnus erat quem Kancia duxit;  
 Terra sibi similem ducere nulla potest.  
 Emicat ex oculis, spirat quoque pectore flammæ,  
 Cuius ab igne procul vix fuit vna domus:  
 Fulmen ab ore volat, vrbis afflatibus ardet,  
 Ac elephantinis dentibus arma parat:  
 Feruida cum rauco latos stridore per armos  
 Spuma, set humano sanguine mixta, fluit;  
 Stridentemque nouo spumam cum sanguine fundit,  
 Quem fera de iugulo plebis in arua ruit:  
 Que ferit ex capite fortissima subruit ipse,  
 Preualet insultus vincere nemo suos:  
 Erigit ad bellum se signifer horrida ceruix,  
 Inque furore suo tigridis instar habet;  
 Et sete rigidis similes hastilibus horrent,  
 Que magis inferni noxia signa gerunt.  
 Sicut onusta carecta fremit, seu frendet aquarum  
 Cursus, sicque suus murmura passus habet:  
 Hec fera crescentes segetes proculcat in herba,  
 Et cererem paleas triuerat inque leues.  
 Creuit aper quod eo maiores herbida monstro  
 Educat agrestes pascua nulla feras.

330

340

Non locus est tutus in quem fera tanta minatur,  
 Sit nisi celestis, quo mala ferre nequit.  
 Ira fere mota furias excedit abissi,  
 Cuius in aduentu patria tota fremit:  
 Ex aquilone tamen verres venit alter, et apro  
 Conuenit, vt pariter fossa parare queant.

Tegia silua ferum talem non protulit aprum,  
 Quamuis in Archadia maximus ille fuit:  
 Non ita commouit in montibus Herculis iram,  
 Gentibus aut aliis obstitit ipse viis,  
 Quin magis hii porci, per sompnia quos ego vidi,

350



Dampna ferunt variis milia mille modis.  
 Non aper ille ferox, agitabat quem Meleager  
 In nemorum latebris, tam violentus erat,  
 Quin magis in porcis furit et violentius istis  
 Ira nocet, que suis dentibus arma parat.  
 Nil sedimen vel amurca placet, nichil atque segistrum  
 Confert, vt dictis sint alimenta feris; 360  
 Non siliquas silue quercinas aut sibi glandes  
 Querunt, set rapiunt que meliora vident;  
 Spisse nil feces, aqua nec communis eorum  
 Sufficit ad potum, set bona vina vorant.  
 Rustica natura, dum fert incognita vina,  
 Mortuus vt truncus ebrietate iacet:  
 Sic gula porcorum viguit, quod in vrbe quietos  
 Vix poterat proprios diues habere cibos.  
 Amplius hospicium porcorum non ara fertur,  
 Sordidus aut puluis lectus habendus eis: 370  
 Immo sua sorde calcarunt regia tecta,  
 Urbis et in medio nobiliora petunt.  
 Nuper deformes modo transformantur, et illos  
 Qui fuerant porci forma superba colit:  
 Vt leo qui rugit fuerat grunnitus eorum,  
 Ad quorum sonitus concutit Eccho nemus.  
 Hii fuerant porci, maledictus spiritus in quos  
 Intravit, sicut. leccio sancta refert.

**Hic dicit se per sompnum quartam vulgi turmam in canes vidisse mutatam.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Post vidique canes stantes quasi millia dena  
 Latrantes, que suis vocibus arua tremunt. 380  
 En dederat cantus lucis prenuncius ales,  
 Aera iam furiens verberat ira canum.  
 Mica set a mensa dominorum que cadit esca  
 Non fuit hiis canibus, ossa nec ulla placent;  
 Faucibus immo suis meliora cibaria poscunt,  
 Ac vbi perueniunt singula crassa vorant.  
 Gentiles tamen ecce canes hiis associati  
 Non sunt, set viles quos scola nulla docet:

Hii neque venatu spaciantur, set neque gaudent  
De cornu, nec eis quid nisi vile manet :  
Non nemus vt leporem capiant transcurrere querunt,  
Nec ceruos agitant de leuitate sua ;  
Set magis ad talos retro latrare virorum  
Affectant, et eis tedia multa ferunt.

390

Cutte que Curre simul rapidi per deuia currunt,  
Linquentes miseras degenerando casas :  
En pastoris adest canis, et qui nocte latrando  
Atria conseruat, hii duo sepe grauant :  
Omnis pistrine proprium pariterque coquine  
Rupta cathena suum laxat abire canem :  
Carnificum grandes vidique venire molosos,  
Atque molendini nec manet ipse domi ;  
Nec stabulum veteres poterat retinere latrantes,  
Quin veniunt sociis et sociantur eis.  
Est ibi monoculus, set et ille tripes quasi furtim  
Claudicat a retro, latrat et ipse comes :  
Voce sua rauca tunc rinx ringendo finumque  
Deserit, atque loca spirat habere noua.  
Hii sunt quos dorsa nullus planare valebit,  
Tangere nec caudas, nec retinere caput ;  
Irati semper denudant nam tibi dentes,  
Nec sua rusticitas quicquid amoris habet.

400

410

Omnes conueniunt iuuenes que senes, et in vnum  
Concurrunt, que sua morsibus ora parant :  
Erectis caudis gradiuntur more superbo,  
Est nichil hiis sanum quod lacerare queunt.  
Aprini dentes deformant ora canina,  
Est quorum morsus pestifer atque grauis :  
Quanto plus escas sumunt minus hii saturantur,  
Insaciata fames semper inheret eis.  
Hii quibus in nocte solito finus extitit hospes,  
Mollibus in lectis sordida membra fouent.  
Copia tanta fuit, quod eorum nullus habebat  
Respectum proprii quomodocumque status.  
O tunc si quis eos audisset, quomodo mundus  
Vocibus attonitus hic et vbique fremit,  
Dicere tunc posset similes quod eis vlulatus

420

Auribus audiuit nullus ab ante status.

Cumque canum strepitus Sathane descendit in aures,  
 Gaudet et infernus de nouitate soni, 430  
 Cerberus ecce canis baratri custosque gehenne  
 Prebuit auditum letus et inde furit;  
 Aque suo collo, quibus extitit ipse ligatus,  
 Ignea disrupit vincla furore suo;  
 Exiliensque statim centri penetrauit abissos,  
 Promptus et in terras accelerauit iter.  
 Sic socius sociis, sic par paribus sociatur,  
 Prefuit et canibus dux malus ipse malis;  
 Dux ita tartareus violens violencius omne  
 Vertit, et ex homine conficit ipse canem. 440

Dumque canis rabidi sumpsit mutata figuram,  
 Ipsa dolens Hecuba non ita seua fuit,  
 Quin magis in canibus istis furit ira, que morsus  
 Figere quo poterant singula membra terunt.  
 Tale canes, Cadmi qui dilaniare nepotem  
 Acteon instabant, non coluere nephas.  
 Ille gigas Gereon ingens, Hispania dudum  
 Quem genuit, capita trina canina gerens,  
 Non ita sanguineos dentes de morte virorum  
 Exacuit, nec ita pestifer ille fuit, 450  
 Quin magis humana strages madefacta cruore  
 Fertur ab hīs canibus de quibus ipse loquor.  
 Bestia pestifera, nuper quam misit Athenas,  
 Destruat vt ciues, mota Diana palam  
 Vrbis in exilium, neque talia bella parauit,  
 Nec sub ea tanti procubuere viri:  
 Nec Cephali canis ipse, feram qui prorsus ab vrbe  
 Depulit, in nullo robore talis erat,  
 Sicut erant isti, de quorum morsibus omnis  
 Ciuis et ingenuus contremuere magis. 460

**Hic dicit se per sompnum quintam vulgi turmam in mure-  
 legos et vulpes vidisse mutatam: dicit murelegos, vt seruos  
 domesticos; dicit vulpes, quia fures ruptis vbique Gaiolis liberi  
 tunc eos comitabantur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Taliter in sompnis cum me vidisse putassem,  
 Visio discurrens en noua monstra dabat.



Vulpes, murelegos, numero sine post venientes  
 Vidi, qui canibus se tribuere pares.  
 Quod super est terram nichil aut quod subtus eisdem  
 Occultum latuit, set magis omne vident:  
 Discurrunt campis, scrutantur et inde cauernas,  
 Et nemus et pratum quid sit vbique petunt:  
 Vrbs neque castellum lapidum nec in ordine murus  
 Denegat introitum, quando venire volunt: 470  
 Hii penetrant cameras fortes, sine clauaque cistas  
 Intran, vt preda stet patefacta sua.  
 Dentibus ex ferro longis que ferocibus omnes  
 Corrodunt artes, quod nichil obstat eis.  
 Hoc tamen in morsu viuens quod virus eorum  
 Lecerat, ad vitam non medicina iuuat:  
 Mortis habent morsum, nec scorpio plus grauatur illis;  
 Quo veniunt tales, mors venit ipsa comes.

En statuunt cani nemoris dimittere vulpes  
 Antra, que gentiles vrbis adire domos: 480  
 Que nocturna solent latitanter furta parari,  
 Illa dies clara tunc manifesta parat.  
 Ammodo quid sibi sunt nec ouis nec pauper ouile,  
 Nec sibi de predis pullus et agna placent,  
 Que tamen existunt maioris in vrbe valoris,  
 Hec rapiunt, nec eis lex aliqualis obest.  
 Qui suberat terra seruilis vulpis in aulas  
 Scandit, et hospicium liber vbique petit:  
 Qui prius extiterant canibus vulpes inimici,  
 Mutua concordēs federa pacis habent: 490  
 Fit lupus, atque fere rapidus vestigia seruat,  
 Qui solet ante magis esse bidente pius.

Hiis quoque murelegus sociatur, et horrea linquens  
 Nititur in vetitum rusticus ipse malum.  
 Ammodo murelegus desistit prendere mures,  
 Nec natura suum curat habere modum:  
 Qui solet a domibus expellere rite nociua,  
 Tunc nocet, et nocuas prouocat esse domos.  
 Non ita mordebant mures, qui nuper in vrbem  
 Accharon intrarunt, quo fuit archa dei, 500

465 super est S superest CED  
 caui (?) C canis D

468 sit CEDH<sub>2</sub> sic SGT 479

Illa nec hos rabies sic terruit Accharonitas,  
 Hoc neque vindicta tempore talis erat,  
 Quin furor ex istis que vidi lurida monstis,  
 Plus grauat et ciues terret vbique magis.

**Hic dicit se per sompnium sextam vulgi turmam in aues  
 domesticas vidisse mutatam, quibus dicit quod bubones, id  
 est predones, commixti associebantur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Res michi mira fuit, dum talia prospiciebam,

Et stupor in mente cordis ad yma ruit.

Non erat ex brutis animal quodcunque creatum,

Quod de seruili condicione fuit,

Quin genus in campis vidi de talibus omne,

Mixtaque sic pariter sunt metuenda magis.

510

Per iuga, per colles, per deuia queque locorum

Diruptis stabulis soluitur omne pecus:

Ex omni genere venit incola rusticitatis,

Maior et est subito quam seges orta solo.

Nunc huc nunc illuc trepidus dum lumina volui,

Aspiciendo suis singula monstra locis,

Affuit en auium mutata domestica turba,

Quorum ductores gallus et ancer erant.

Qui residere domi que fimum calcare solebant,

Presumunt aquile sumere iura sibi:

520

Falconis rostrum rapuit sibi gallus et vngues,

Ancer et ex alis sidera tacta cupit:

Et sic de bassis succumbunt alta, que cara

Vilibus ex causis exule lege cadunt:

Nam quo non poterant animalia figere gressus,

Vt predas capiant, hii super omne volant.

Mutatos subito vidi variare colores

Anceris et galli, quos noua forma rapit:

Transformat corui noua penna nigredine gallum,

Ancer et in Miluum vertitur ecce statim.

530

Non tantum pennas sibi sumunt sic alienas,

Immo modos similes condicione pares:

Quos natura prius pascebat ad horrea granis

502 MS. Harl. 6291 (H) begins here

Cap. vii. *Heading* 2 idest HGD 3 associebantur SGH associabantur  
 CED associantur T

Contentos minimis, alterat error eos;  
 Nam magis vt comedant sibi grossa cadauera poscunt  
 Corporis humani, que sibi sola placent.  
 Qui patuere pii dudum cuicumque vocanti,  
 Spectabantque manus que tribuere cibos,  
 Hii magis ecce feri falconibus atque rapaces  
 Pretendunt predas vi rapuisse suas.

540

Qui solet in nocte gallus cantare, quod omnes  
 Eius in auditu gaudia ferre solent,  
 Clamat vt infernus, superatque tonitrua vocis  
 Horrida terribilis eius ab ore sonus;  
 Multociensque suum fera Coppā pedisseca gallum  
 Prouocat ad varia que putat esse mala;  
 Quod nequit in factis ex dictis garrula suplet,  
 Ad commune nephas milleque sola mouet.  
 Ancer et ipse suam, cum qua se miscuit, aucam  
 Linquit, et in predam spirat vbique nouam:  
 Sibula per tenua nuper qui terruit ancer  
 Infantes tantum simplicitate sua,  
 Nunc nimis horribili sonitu perterret adultos,  
 Atque magis fortes dilacerare cupit.

550

Nuper et hec volucrum bubones que solet ira  
 Spernere, cessat, et est tunc amor inter eos.  
 Esse dies licitos statuunt, quibus atra frequenter  
 Furtiuas dederat noctis ymago vias:  
 Conuolat vt socius auium de carcere bubo,  
 Liber et in campis associatur eis.  
 Hoc fuerat tempus, quo bubo per aera pennas  
 Colligat, vt predas tuta mouere potest:  
 Ista tamen turma pennata suas acuebat  
 Pennas cum ferro, quo moreretur homo.

560

**Hic dicit se per sompnum septimam vulgi turmam in muscas  
 et ranas vidisse mutatam.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. Sompnus continuus mea sompna continuauit,  
 Et dabat vltcrius plura videre noua.  
 Amplior vt rabies monstrorum multiplicetur,  
 Et quod iniqua magis sit manus aucta malis,  
 En venit omne genus muscarum, que lacerare  
 Morsibus et stimulis omne salubre vouent;

570



En redeunt vaspe que nuper Vaspasianum  
Torquebant, varia dantque nouata mala.  
Horrida muscarum furiens tunc copia tanta  
Creuit, vt a stimulo vix latitauit homo :  
Vt furit infernus, agitant hinc inde dolores,  
Omnia prestimulant, omnia lesa dolent.

Rana quidem musce plures sociata pervrget,  
Hec volat ad facinus, saltat et illa sequens.  
Verterat in ranas quos Latona turba colonum  
Ecce redit, que nouo dampna furore parat.  
Vlcio ranarum fuit horrida valde nouarum,  
Omnibus in domibus non nocuere parum :  
Omnia fercula, cuncta cibaria rana comedit,  
Fudit et in variis dira venena locis.

580

Hee fuerant rane, sterilis quas nuper abhorret  
Egiptus, que pari iam grauitate nocent :  
Non erat in terra sapiens illesus ab istis,  
Plangunt philosophi vulnera facta sibi.  
Rana grauat, set musca magis, violencia cuius  
Spergitur et cuncta torquet vbique loca.  
O vindicta grauis, grauior qua nulla perante  
Contigit, vnde viri plus doluere boni !

590

Non fuit horridior Egipti musca nociua,  
Nec magis ingenuos terruit ipsa viros,  
Quin magis hee furie penetralia cuncta volantes  
Scrutantur que viris dant nocumenta probis.  
Nil seruile tamen ledunt, set ledere querunt  
Quos magis ingenuus ornat in orbe status :  
Sic similis similem, sic rustica rusticitatem  
Turba iuuat, quod eis sint mala mixta malis.  
Conueniunt musce, vaspe glomerantur in vnum,  
Aera conturbant improbitate sua.

600

Toruuus oester adest, ciniphesque, cynomia, bruchus,  
Est quibus vt noceat ipsa locusta comes.  
Vrbibus et villis volutant sine lege vagantes,  
Obstabantque suis recia nulla viis :  
A musca carnes tunc servans non fuit olla,  
Vas ita nec clausum, quin noua rima patet,

Muscarum veniens princeps exercitus huius  
 Belzebub accessit, heeque sequuntur eum :  
 Ex vario genere muscarum tunc variatur  
 Pena, que diuersis dant nocumenta modis :  
 Hec ferit, illa rapit, hec mordet et altera pungit,  
 Hec saltat que sua de pugione nocet.

610

Musca grauis pestis, qua nulla nociuior vnquam  
 Exstitit, aut mundo plus violenta lues :  
 Tanta fuit rabies tantus feruorque diei,  
 Tutus vt in nullo quis valet esse loco.  
 Ex nimio musce subito feruore calescunt,  
 Quas prius oppressit cana pruina gelu :  
 Sic calor estatis subito feruore per agros  
 Spersit, yemps modica quas retinere solet.  
 O res mira nimis, vaga dumque locusta labores  
 Formice proprios vendicat esse suos !  
 O res mira nimis, cum musca rapacior omni  
 Niso de predi feruet vbique suis !  
 O res mira nimis, pennati quando superbe  
 Pauonis fastum sordida musca tulit !  
 O res mira nimis, cum sit velocior alis  
 Musca volans minimis, quam sit Alauda suis !  
 O res mira nimis, dum viribus atque volatu  
 Debilis attemptat vincere musca gruem !  
 O res mira nimis, aquilam dum musca supremam  
 Precellit, que suum spirat habere gradum !

620

630

Hec erat illa dies, que muscas dente caninas  
 Misit, et ex viciis conviciauit humum :  
 Hec erat illa dies, qua vix fortuna iuuabat,  
 Vel loca que musca tangere nulla potest :  
 Hec erat illa dies, asino dextrarius in qua  
 Succubuit, que suo victus honore caret :  
 Hec erat illa dies, in qua fera corda leonum  
 Subduntur, que boum pressa vigore pauent :  
 Hec erat illa dies, qua porcus sordidus omnes  
 Sorde sua mundos commaculauit agros :  
 Hec erat illa dies, canis in qua forcior vrsu

640

Fit, neque murelego pardus obesse potest :  
 Hec erat illa dies, mediis qua liber in aruis  
 Ad predas rapidus errat vbique lupus.

Hec erat illa dies, fortem qua debilis, altum  
 Infimus, et magnum paruus vbique terit :  
 Hec erat illa dies, subito qua maxima quercus  
 A modico leuiter stramine vulsa cadit :  
 Hec erat illa dies, fragilis qua tegula vires  
 Marmoreas vicit viribus illa suis :

650

Ecce dies, in qua sua stramina stramen habebat,  
 Que nullo precio grana valere putant :  
 Hec erat illa dies, qua libertate dolente,  
 Gaudet rusticitas rusticitate sua :

Hec erat illa dies, seruos que duxit in altum,  
 Subdidit et procures, nec sinit esse pares :  
 Hec erat illa dies, virtutum dira nouerca  
 Que fuit et cuncti mater in orbe mali :  
 Hec erat illa dies, qua preterisse futuram  
 Est qui vir sapiens omnis in orbe cupit.

660

Hec erat illa dies, manifestam numinis iram  
 Qua pro peccatis quisque venire timet :  
 Hec erat illa dies, que sola tremenda per orbem  
 Tanquam iudicii plena timoris erat :

Hec erat illa dies, de qua, si vera fatemur,  
 Cronica consimilem nulla per ante docet.  
 Heu quam terribilis ! heu quam tristis vel amara !  
 Quam districta malis tunc fuit illa dies !

670

Vlcio celestis grauis et velox et aperta  
 Destruat hos per quos sic fuit illa dies.  
 Tarda sit illa dies, nostro redeat nec in euo,  
 Absit et hec causa qua reditura foret :  
 Si prius est aliquid nobis hac luce petendum,  
 In loca ne redeat amplius ista rogo.

**Hic dicit se per sompnum vidisse, quod, quando omnes  
 predictae furie in vnum extiterant congregatae, quidam Graculus**

666 viuere quisque D

Cap. ix. *Heading.* 2 *After* Graculus H<sub>2</sub> has sibi statum regiminis presumpsit  
 aliorum et in rei veritate ille Graculus fuit dux eorum, qui Graculus anglice  
 vocatus est a gaye et secundum vulgare dictum appellatur Watte.



auis, anglice Gay, qui vulgariter vocatur Watte, presumpsit sibi statum regiminis aliorum, et in rei veritate ille Watte fuit dux eorum.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Copia dum tanta monstrorum more ferarum

Exstitit vnita, sicut arena maris, 680

Graculus vnus erat edoctus in arte loquendi,

Quem retinere domi nulla catasta potest.

Hic, licet indignus, cunctis cernentibus, alis

Expansis, primum clamat habere statum.

Prepositus baratri velut est demon legioni,

Sic malus in vulgo prefuit iste malo.

Vox fera, trux vultus, verissima mortis ymago,

Eius in effigiem tanta dedere notam.

Murmura compressit, tenuere silencia cuncti,

Eius vt auditus sit magis ore sonus: 690

Arboris in summum conscendit, et oris aperti

Voce suis paribus talia verba refert:

'O seruite genus miserorum, quos sibi mundus

Subdidit a longo tempore lege sua,

Iam venit ecce dies, qua rusticitas superabit,

Ingenuosque suis coget abire locis.

Desinat omnis honor, periat ius, nullaque virtus,

Que prius extiterat, duret in orbe magis.

Subdere que dudum lex nos de iure solebat,

Cesset, et vltcrius curia nostra regat.' 700

Singula turba silet, notat et sibi verba loquentis,

Et placet edictum quicquid ab ore tulit:

Vocibus ambiguus deceptam prebuit aurem

Vulgus et in finem nulla futura videt.

Exaltatus enim cum sic de plebe fuisset,

Ad se confestim traxerat omne solum:

Nam sine consilio cum plebs sibi colla dedisset,

Conuocat hic populum iussaue verba dedit.

Vt solet ex magno fluctus languescere flatu,

Et velut a vento turbinis vnda tumet, 710

Vocis in excessu reliquos sic commouet omnes

Graculus, et mentes plebis ad arma trahit:

Stultaque pars populi que sit sua curia nescit,

Que tamen ipse iubet iura vigoris habent.

Cap. ix. *Heading* 3 Gay SH Geay CT a Geay D Iay E

Dixerat ille, 'Feri,' ferit ille;—'Neca,' necat alter;—  
 'Solue nephas,' soluit, quis neque fata vetat.  
 Auribus extensis quemcumque vocat furor ille  
 Audit, et ad vocem concitus vrget iter:  
 Sic homo tunc multus suadente furore coactus  
 Sepe suam posuit mestus in igne manum. 720  
 Omnes, 'Fiat ita,' proclamant vocibus altis;  
 Est maris vt sonitus, sic fuit ille sonus.  
 Ex nimio strepitu concussus vocis eorum  
 Vix potui tremulos ammodo ferre pedes;  
 Attamen a longe prospexi qualiter ipsi  
 Complexis manibus mutua pacta ferunt.  
 Hoc etenim dicunt, quod quicquid perstat in orbe  
 Ingenui sexus rustica turba ruet.

Hiis dictis pariter omnes gradiuntur in vnum,  
 Ductor et inferni ducit iniquus iter. 730  
 Nubes nigra venit furiis commixta gehenne,  
 Cordibus infusum que scelus omne pluit;  
 Roreque sic baratri fuerat tellus madefacta,  
 Crescere quod virtus ammodo nulla potest:  
 Omne tamen viciū, quod homo perfectus abhorret,  
 Crescit, et ex illo tempore corda replet.  
 Fecerat incursus tunc demon meridianus,  
 Inque dolente die torta sagitta volat:  
 Ipse solutus adest Sathanas omnisque caterua  
 Pauperis inferni preuaricata simul. 740  
 Perditur ecce pudor indocti cordis, et vltra  
 Criminis aut culpe nulla verenda timet:  
 Dumque duces Herebi sic vidi ducere mundum,  
 Celica nullius iura valoris erant.  
 Cum magis hos vidi, magis hos reor esse timendos,  
 Ignorans qualis finis habendus erit.

**Hic dicit se per sompniū vidisse progenies Chaym male-  
 dictas vna cum multitudine seruorum nuper regis Vluxis, quos  
 Circes in bestias mutauit, furiis supradictis associari.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. Estus erat nimius, rabies fera, turmaque magna,  
 Dum furit infernus associatus humo.

725 alonge CE      730 iniquus CED      731 Iehenne C      733 Rore  
 quidem baratri D      Cap. x. Heading 2 Vluxis CED      747 turbaque CE

Sicut arena maris, monstrorum concio feda  
Vndique progrediens innumeranda fuit.

750

Demonis ex stirpe furiens fuit illa propago,  
Horrida facta viris et violenta deo ;

Contemptrix superum, seueque audissima cedis,  
Vt lupus est, ouium dum furit ipse fame.

Protinus irrupit vene peioris habundans  
Omne nephas, que viros inficit aura probos.

Septem progenies, quas ipse Chaym generauit,  
Cum furiis socii connumerantur ibi.

Terribilis, fedus, celer ad scelus, ad bona tardus,  
Quilibet arte sua deteriora parat.

760

Praua creatura spernit metuenda futura,  
Omne quod imponunt sub paritate ferunt :

Semper amans crimen fuit hec, actrixque ruine,  
Moreque carnificis aspera cede furit.

Narrat Ysaïas, Ysidorus, Apocalipsis,  
Tangit et in titulis magna Sybilla suis :

Gog erat atque Magog dictum cognomen eorum,  
Actibus in quorum stat magis omne scelus.

Quid sit rex vel lex furiis nescitur ab illis,  
Regula nulla ligat ordo nec vlus eos :

770

Non homines metuunt, superos cultu nec adorant,  
Sed quod habet mundus turpius illud agunt.

Carnibus humanis solet hec gens sordida vesci,  
Taleque dat populo vita ferina forum :

Turpia sunt plura quibus vtitur atra figura,  
Quo capit exemplum turba maligna malum.

Hec etenim rabies furiens connexa malignis  
Conuenit hiis furiis, de quibus ante loquor :

Conueniunt eciam socii quos nuper Vlaxis  
Mutauit Circes, et sociantur eis :

780

Nunc facies hominum, nunc transformata ferarum  
Gestabant capita, que ratione carent.

**Hic dicit secundum visionem sompni qualiter audiuit nomina  
et eorum voces diuersas et horribiles. Dicit eciam de Iohanne**

757 Caym HDT      766 S has lost one leaf containing ll. 766-856. Text  
follows C      sybilla C      sibilla EHD      771 dominos superos nec adorant D  
779 Vlaxis HT      Vlixis CE      Alixis D



Balle, qui eos ad omne scelus tunc instigabat, et quasi propheta inter eos reputabatur.

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Watte vocat, cui Thomme venit, neque Symme retardat,  
 Bette que Gibbe simul Hykke venire iubent :  
 Colle furit, quem Geffe iuuat, nocumenta parantes,  
 Cum quibus ad dampnum Wille coire vouet.  
 Grigge rapit, dum Dawe strepit, comes est quibus Hobbe,  
 Lorkyn et in medio non minor esse putat :  
 Hudde ferit, quos Iudde terit, dum Tebbe minatur,  
 Iakke domos que viros vellit et ense necat : 790  
 Hogge suam pompam vibrat, dum se putat omni  
 Maiorem Rege nobilitate fore :  
 Balle propheta docet, quem spiritus ante malignus  
 Edocuit, que sua tunc fuit alta scola.  
 Talia quam plures furias per nomina noui,  
 Que fuerant alia pauca recordor ego :  
 Sepius exclamant monstrorum vocibus altis,  
 Atque modis variis dant variare tonos.  
 Quidam sternutant asinorum more ferino,  
 Mugitus quidam personuere boum ; 800  
 Quidam porcorum grunnitus horridiores  
 Emittunt, que suo murmure terra tremit :  
 Friendet aper spumans, magnos facit atque tumultus,  
 Et quiritat verres auget et ipse sonos ;  
 Latratusque feras vrbis compresserat auras,  
 Dumque canum discors vox furibunda volat.  
 Vulpis egens vlulat, lupus et versutus in altum  
 Conclamat, que suos conuocat ipse pares ;  
 Nec minus in sonitu concussit garrulus ancer  
 Aures, que subito fossa dolore pauent : 810  
 Bombizant vaspe, sonus est horrendus eorum,  
 Nullus et examen dinumerare potest :  
 Conclamant pariter hirsuti more leonis,  
 Omneque fit peius quod fuit ante malum.  
 Ecce rudis clangor, sonus altus, fedaque rixa,  
 Vox ita terribilis non fuit vlla prius :

Cap. xi. *Heading* 3 tunc om. T

784 Betteque CEHG Recteque DT hykke C hikke E hicke HGD  
 788 Lorkin HGD 789 Cebbe D 790 Iacke HGD 792 fore] sua E  
 795 quamplures HGD 811 eorum CEHGT earum D

Murmure saxa sonant, sonitum que reuerberat aer,  
 Responsumque soni vendicat Eccho sibi:  
 Inde fragore grauis strepitus loca proxima terret,  
 Quo timet euentum quisquis adire malum. 820  
 Contigerat plures infamia temporis huius,  
 Que velut ex monstis obstipuerunt magis.  
 Terruerat magnas nimio pre turbine gentes  
 Graculus, a cuius nomine terra tremit.  
 Rumor it et procures sermonibus occupat omnes,  
 Consilium sapiens nec sapientis erat.  
 Casus inauditus stupefactas ponderat aures,  
 Et venit ad sensus durus ab aure pavor.  
 Attemptant medicare, sed inmedicabile dampnum,  
 Absque manu medici curaque cessat ibi. 830

**Hic dicit secundum visionem sompni qualiter furie supra-  
 dicte precones sibi et tribunos constituebant, et quomodo  
 senes et iuuenes eorum fuerunt armati.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. Inter eos statuunt precones atque tribunos,  
 Et pro lege suum velle licere iubent.  
 Hoc sua iura ferunt precons voce, quod omnis  
 Sit domus exusta que maledicit eis:  
 Qui scelus illorum non fortificat sceleratus,  
 Decapitatus erit, et domus igne perit.  
 Constituunt socios sceleris comitesque furoris,  
 Ex quorum manibus pendeat istud opus.  
 Hac quoque de causa vidi quam plurima dampna,  
 Dum preco fatui clamat in aure fori: 840  
 Rusticus intonuit, datus est celer ignis in edes,  
 Rustique repente sonus, plena fit igne domus.  
 Hec sibi rusticitas furiens statuebat, vt omnis  
 Et vetus et iuuenis que valet arma ferat:  
 Hii palos veteres gestant, qui sunt veterani,  
 Aut contos cicius quam sibi desit onus.  
 Membra leuant baculis fessique senilibus annis,  
 Quos, velut est ouium, tussis eundo notat.  
 Rusticus hic veniens fert euersamque pharetram,

817 sonitum quoque verberat D    821 Congestat D    822 obstupuerunt C  
 824 in cuius DT    837 celeris C    furorum D    846 conchos D  
 sibi om. D (*marg. rubr.* Deficit in copia)

Hic fractos arcus, hic sine luce facem ; 850  
 Quique colum baiulat non se reputauit inermem,  
 Debilis armatus sic furit ipse senex.

Rusticitate tamen iuuenilis quos furit etas  
 Quicquid adest manibus asperiora gerunt ;  
 Ascia, falx, fede quos roderat atra rubigo,  
 Gestantur, que suo cuspile colla secant.  
 Quem vagina tegit ensem vix dimidiata,  
 Gestat et ingenuos rusticus inde ferit :  
 Est ibi vanga loco gladii, baculus velut hasta  
 Vibratur, que simul prompta securis adest : 860  
 Arcus ibi multus fumo que etate retortus,  
 Et sine tunc pennis multa sagitta volat :  
 Tribula, furcula tunc quasi rumphea rite feruntur,  
 Fertur et vt gladius malleus ipse ferus.  
 Dixerat, 'Ista decent humeros gestamina nostros,'  
 Rusticus, et tali murmure transit iter.  
 Sic saltant iuuenes catulorum more per arua,  
 Et transire feras de leuitate putant.  
 Est ibi funda manu lapides quoque limpidiores,  
 Vnde dedit varias rusticus ipse minas. 870  
 Hii glebas, hii direptos et ab arbore ramos,  
 Est vbi nil aliud, de feritate ferunt :  
 Pars gerit et silices, ne desint tela furori,  
 Menteque mortifera dant fera bella sua :  
 Perfusam multo sapientum sanguine terram  
 Hoc genus insipiens inaduisse ferunt.  
 Hii gradibusque suis iter arripuere gradatim,  
 Quo sibi non ratio velle set ire iubet.

Hic dicit secundum visionem sompni qualiter et quando  
 dicte furie instigante diabolo, nouam Troiam, id est ciuita-  
 tem Londoniarum, ingresse sunt: nam sicut Troia nuper  
 desolata extitit, ita ista ciuitas protunc quasi omni consolacione  
 destituta pre dolore penitus ignominiosa permansit.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. A dextrisque nouam me tunc vidisse putabam

Troiam, que vidue languida more fuit : 880

855 roderat CEHGTH<sub>2</sub> roserat D rubedo D 857 S resumes  
 868 de S se CEHD 872 ibi ED

Cap. xiii. Heading 2 idest HD 4 pro tunc CEH



Que solet ex muris cingi patuit sine muro,  
 Nec potuit seras claudere porta suas.  
 Mille lupi mixtique lupis vrsi gradientes  
 A siluis statuunt vrbis adire domos:  
 Non erat in terris monstrosum quicquid abortum,  
 Seu genus, vnde furor ledere posset humum,  
 Quin venit et creuit, spersus velut imber ab austro,  
 Qualibet ex parte parsque furoris adest.  
 Tunc in aperta loca que monstra prius latuerunt  
 Accedunt, paribus suntque recepta suis:  
 Belua vasta, ferox, siluis que palustribus exit,  
 Qui tantum rabie non furit, immo fame;  
 Plus tamen ex rabie dispersam seuit in urbem,  
 Que stupet ignotum tale venire malum.  
 Agresti furia iurat siluestris, vt vno  
 Legibus excussis iura furore ruent:  
 Tantus adest numerus seruorum perdicionis,  
 Cingere quod murus vix valet vllus eos.

890

Cum furor vrget opus, remanet moderacio nulla,  
 Set magis in vetitum quodlibet ipse ruit:  
 Sponte sua properant, nichil est prohibere volentes,  
 Sic valet inceptam tollere nemo viam:  
 Omnia traduntur, postes reserauimus hosti,  
 Et fit in infida prodicione fides.  
 Vt fremit acer equus, qui bellicus ere sonoro  
 Saltat, et ignorat proximiora mala,  
 Sic fera rusticitas incircumspecta malorum  
 Incipit, et finem non videt inde suum:  
 Victricem repetit dextre coniungere dextram  
 Concio seruilis, quam furor omnis habet.  
 Sic adeunt vrbem turbe violenter agrestes,  
 Et maris vt fluctus ingrediuntur eam.  
 O quam magna nimis res et spectabile mirum  
 Creuit in introitu de nouitate mali!  
 Aula palentina grandis mutatur in vrbe,  
 Omnis et in formam vertitur ipsa case;  
 Atque casas minimas subito mutauit in aulas  
 Sors, que iudiciis tunc fuit egra magis.

900

910

Ecce Iouis festiua dies de Corpore Cristi,

Cum furor accinxit vrbis vtrumque latus : 920  
 Precedens alios Capitaneus excitat vnus  
 Rusticus, vt cuncti consequerentur eum.  
 Ipse viris multis prefultus conterit vrbem,  
 Ense necat ciues, concremat igne domos :  
 Non solus cecinit, set secum milia traxit,  
 Involuitque malo milia multa suo ;  
 Colligit os rabiem seueque cupidine cedis  
 Auribus in vulgi concinit, 'Vre, feri.'  
 Que via salua fuit, furit ignibus impetuosa,  
 Quo longum castrum ductile nescit iter ; 930  
 Baptisteque domus, sponso viduata, per ensem  
 Corruit, et flammis mox fuit illa cinis ;  
 Flagrabant sancte sceleratis ignibus edes,  
 Mixtaque fit flamme flamma proterua pie.  
 Attoniti flebant trepido de corde ministri,  
 Abstulerat vires corporis ipse timor.

Qui fera terribili iaculatur fulmina dextra,  
 Iussit vt igne polus torqueat orbis humum.  
 Si qua domus mansit poteratque resistere tanto  
 Indeiecta malo, dat pia vota deo. 940  
 Est nichil vt queram dominans si vulgus in vrbis  
 Spirat opes et eo tempore furta parat :  
 Vt multe gracili terrena sub horrea ferre  
 Limite formice grana reperta solent,  
 Sic vehit examen furiarum furta per vrbem,  
 Nec valet in numero quis recitare forum.  
 Hic tenet, iste trahit, stetit ille que circuit alter,  
 Fit cito per multas predaque lecta manus.  
 Hos Bachus attingens tandem precordia vino  
 Mersit, et in finem clauserat ipse Iouem : 950  
 Nox erat, et vinis oculi mentesque natabant,  
 Membra mouent, nec habent quo sibi ferre pedes.

Postera sidereos Aurora fugauerat ignes,  
 En dolor excrescens iam noua dampna parat.  
 Si prius ira Iouis nocuit violenta, sequenter  
 Mota Venus duplo facta furoris agit.  
 Discurrunt agiles furie, quasi fulgur ab austro ;

920 vtrumque latus] vbique loca D      947 stetit] rapit D      948 preda  
 peracta D      953 igne S

Sunt, vbi perueniunt, prodolor, heuque! pares.  
 Tunc simul vnanimis lupus et canis vrsus in vrbe  
 Depredant, que suas constituere moras. 960  
 Ecce senem Calcas, cuius sapiencia maior  
 Omnibus est, nullum tunc sapuisse modum:  
 Anthenor ex pactis componere federa pacis  
 Tunc nequit, immo furor omne resoluit opus:  
 A vecorde probum non tunc distancia nouit,  
 Fit cor Tersitis et Diomedis idem:  
 Lingue composite verbis nil rethor Vluxes  
 Tunc valuit, nec ei sermo beatus erat:  
 Et quoniam tantis fatum conatibus obstat,  
 Quisque sua sorti frena relaxat homo. 970  
 Tunc neque bella iuuant, nec tela, nec vsus equorum,  
 Nec probitas veteris quid probitatis habet:  
 Vt lactante furit catulo priuata Leena,  
 Et ruit in pecora proximiora sibi,  
 Sic fera rusticitas iuris priuata salute  
 Irruit in procures de feritate magis.  
 Omnibus est casus communis, non tamen vnum  
 Omnibus attribuit vna ruina locum.  
 O denaturans vrbs natura prioris,  
 Que vulgi furias arma mouere sinis! 980  
 O quam retrograda res est, quod miles inermis  
 Expauit, que ferus vulgus ad arma vacat!  
 Prelia Thebarum, Cartaginis, illaque Rome  
 Non fuerant istis plena furore magis.  
 Non hic Capanëus valuit, nec et ille Tidëus,  
 Non facit excursus iste vel ille ferox:  
 Non hic Palamades superat, neque nobilis Aiax,  
 Nec regimen gladius Agamenontis habet.  
 Subdita Troiana cecidit victoria victa,  
 Troiaque preda fero fit velut agna lupo. 990  
 Rusticus agreditur, miles nec in vrbe resistit,  
 Hectore Troia caret, Argos Achille suo:  
 Hectoris aut Troili nil tunc audacia vicit,  
 Quin magis hii victi rem sine corde sinunt;  
 Nec solito Priamus fulsit tunc liber honore,

967 retor CEHG  
 deficit versus in copia)

979 vrbs S orbis CEHD  
 retro grada C

981 om. D (margin)



Set patitur dominus quid sibi seruus agat.  
 Vix Hecube thalami poterant tunc esse quieti,  
 Quin dolor interius languida corda mouet;  
 Set neque tunc poterat in turribus Ilion altis  
 A furiis clausum fortificare virum.

1000

**Hic tractat secundum visionem sompni, quasi per figuram,  
 de morte Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. O qui palladium Troie seruabat ab ara,

Helenus Antistes raptus in ense perit:  
 Predicat ipse satis prius vt sibi vita daretur,  
 Nec tamen in melius corda ferina mouet.  
 Est satis hoc quod ait, si gracia tangeret aures,  
 Set sua pro nullo pondere verba ferunt:  
 Quicquid in exemplis ibi dixit ab aure recessit,  
 Et magis in facinus credula turba fuit.  
 Tunc resonat murmur ingensque tumultus ad horam  
 Tollitur, et multum sedicionis habet:  
 Litibus agreditur virtutes plebs viciorum,  
 Conturbatque sacrum sordida turba forum:  
 Bella mouet cum fraude fides, cum crimine virtus,  
 Cum pietate scelus, cum ratione furor:  
 Affectus de corde pios non suscipit hospes  
 Impietas, mentem deserit exul amor.

1010

Scit deus hos homines siluestres igne perhenni  
 Dignos et reprobos a ratione vagos.  
 O dolor in gestis, O gesta nephanda doloris!  
 Sunt magis hec baratri quam malefacta viri.  
 Non fuit humanum scelus hoc, quod demon agendum  
 Duxit ab inferno tam violenter humo.  
 Plebs furit in tanto, Cristi quod amore relicto  
 Turba rudis patrem nescit habere deum.

1020

999 ylion CE Olion (*rubr.* ylion) D 1019-1023 *Text over erasure*  
 SCHG *without erasure* E *As follows in D*

Non pungens ramnus, sed oliua nitens, sed adornans  
 Ficus, sed blanda vitis, abhorret eos:  
 Non summus dominus regit hos, non spiritus almus,  
 Nec lex nec Cristus tunc dominatur eis;  
 Namque creatorem nullo venerantur honore,

1020\*

TH<sub>2</sub> *also have this text, but in l. 1021 these read*

Summus demon enim regit hos nam spiritus almus

Deficit hic virtus, viciorum copia surgit,  
Et quem deseruit hec, rapit illa locum :  
Inde cadit bonitas, pietas perit, omnis honestas  
Exulat, atque fugam consulit omne bonum :  
Hinc amor et requies, pax et concordia mentis,  
Spesque fidesque suas deseruere domos : 1030  
Sobrietatis amans modus et moderacio rerum  
Et pudor a longe constituere moram :  
Transtulit ad sedem paciencia se meliorem,  
Mens humilis sequitur eius vbique comes :  
Agmine virtutum sublato surgit in illum  
Plebs inimica, manus impia, turba grauis.

Undique concursus ingens conuentus, ad istum  
Conflictum mortis plurima turba ruit :  
Qui simul astabant spectantes vltima cause  
Longius, ex illis vnus et alter ait, 1040  
'Hic reus est mortis, sententia sit capitalis,  
Sit cruor in nobis inque perhenne suus.'  
Verbaque dicuntur dictis contraria verbis,  
Mutua vox tandem garrula dampnat eum.  
Presulis in mortem, violatis numinis aris,  
Prosiliunt hostes, et latus omne tenent :  
Clamant carnifices nulla pietate miserti,  
'Hic manibus nostris interimendus erit.'  
Impositis manibus collum cum falce secabant,  
Nulla fides Cristi iura veretur ibi ; 1050  
Ipse tamen facinus pacienter sustulit omne,  
Cum mala tanta ferat, ipse quietus erat.  
Non ignorat eos maledicchio debita Cristi,  
Qui cum sint membra, sic coluere caput.

Quatuor in mortem spirarunt federa Thome,  
Simonis et centum mille dedere necem :  
De vita Thome rex motus corde dolebat,  
Simonis extremum rex dolet atque diem :  
Ira fuit regis mors Thome, mors set ab omni  
Vulgari furia Simonis acta fuit : 1060  
Disparilis causa manet et mors vna duobus,  
Inmerito patitur iustus vterque tamen.  
Illeso collo gladiis periit caput vnum,  
Quod magis acceptum suscipit ara dei ;

Alterius capite sano fert vulnera collum,  
 Cuius erat medio passio facta foro:  
 Miles precipue reus est in sanguine Thome,  
 Simonis inque necem rusticus arma dedit:  
 Ecclesiam Cristi proceres qui non timuerunt,  
 Martirii Thome causa fuere necis;  
 Iusticie regni seruire genusque repugnans  
 Simonis extremum causat in vrbe diem:  
 Corruit in gremio matris Thomas, medioque  
 Natorum turba Simon in ense cadit:  
 Thomam rex potuit saluasse, set illa potestas  
 Simonis ad vitam regia posse caret:  
 Vlta fuit Thome mors, et nunc vlcio mortis  
 Simonis ante fores cotidiana grauat.

1070

Fecerat exiguas iam sol altissimus vmbras,  
 Fitque die media sanguine tinctus Ephot:  
 Candida sic paciens collum percussa securi  
 Victima purpureo sanguine pulsat humum.  
 Qui pater est anime, viduatur corporis experts,  
 Pastor et a pecude cesus abhorret agros:  
 Qui custos anime fuerat, custode carebat,  
 Huncque necant nati, quos colit ipse pater.  
 Qui fuerat crucifer que patrum Primas in honore,  
 Hic magis abiectus et cruciatus erat:  
 Qui fuerat doctior legum, sine lege peribat,  
 Cesus et atteritur pastor ab ore gregis.  
 Ante diem moritur sine culpis et sine causa,  
 Quo tam natura quam Deus ambo dolent:  
 Sit licet ex falsa seruorum lege subactus,  
 Liber perpetuas ambulat ipse vias.  
 Fortitudo quidem virtus, licet exteriora  
 Perdidit, affirmat interiora deo;  
 Temperiesque sibi, quicquid furor egerit extra,  
 Interius patitur simplicitate sua.  
 Tollitur a mundo quamuis sapiencia, virtus  
 Prouidet in celo cum sapiente locum:  
 Obruta iusticia quamuis videatur, ad astra  
 Se leuat et summum permanet ante deum.  
 Viuere fecerunt quem mortificare putarunt,

1080

1090

1100



Quem tollunt mundo, non potuere deo.

O probra transacto quis tempore talia nouit,  
 Que necis in speculo presulis acta patent?  
 Multa per ante bona communia fecerat ultro,  
 Sponteque pro meritis vulgus abhorret eum.  
 Tale patrasse malum non norunt Nestoris anni,  
 Fitque magis mira res, quia raro cadit. 1110

Non michi tam grauia sunt que prius acta fuerunt,  
 Set magis ad presens cogniciora grauant;  
 Nam quod adesse meo iam vidi tempore dampnum  
 Horrida maioris facta doloris habet.

O quid agit viciū de longo continuatum,  
 Hoc docet in vulgo res patefacta modo.  
 Hii sunt credo Chaym peiores, hic nisi tantum  
 Occidit fratrem, set pater iste fuit.

Nescio quis laudem facinus per tale meretur,  
 Hoc scio quod crimen diruta Troia sinit: 1120

Iste iuuat quod et ille facit, consentit et alter,  
 Vt malus et peior pessimus inde forent:  
 Iura volunt quod homo facinus qui mittit, et alter  
 Qui consentit ei, sint in agone pares.

O tibi commissos vrbs que lapidare prophetas  
 Audes, quo doleas est tibi causa satis.

Agrestes tamen hoc facinus specialius omni  
 Plebe dabant furie, dum mala prima mouent.  
 O maledicta manus caput abscisum ferientis!  
 Culpa fit horribilis, pena perhennis erit. 1130

O qui tale deo crimen prohibente parasti,  
 Perfide, qua pena, qua nece dignus eris?  
 O furor insane, gens rustica, plebs violenta,  
 Quam tua fraus sceleris est super omne scelus!  
 Dic qua fronte potes discrimina tanta patrare;  
 Equiperat fraudem, perfida, nemo tuam.

Huc properate senes, huc florida confluat etas,  
 Cernite que sceleris rusticus arma tulit.  
 Tundite pectus, fundite fletus, plangite funus,  
 Cuius inaudita mors perhibetur ita: 1140

Vtque salire solet mutulati cauda colubri,

Palpitat et moritur qui solet esse caput.  
 Mors etenim sacris fuit, heu! furiosior aris,  
 Et minor a pecude presulis extat honor.  
 Venturi memores estote, que temporis huius  
 Casus inauditus instruat omne solum:  
 Exemplo caueant qui spiritualia seruant,  
 Ne simul officium det sibi terra suum.  
 Que Cassandra solet predicere more prophete,  
 Eueniunt vrbi pondere valde graui. 1150  
 Hec manus alma dei mala permittendo sinebat,  
 Que tamen inde fuit causa scit ipse deus.  
 Insolita cuncti tali de morte stupebant,  
 Saltem quos ratio stringit amore dei.  
 Non Heleno potuit Priamus succurrere, Regis  
 Imperii set eo tempore iura silent;  
 Rex tamen vt sciuit quod sic fuit ordine rerum,  
 Plangit et hinc doluit cordis amore sui:  
 Rex doluit factum, nec habet quo frangere fatum,  
 Iura nec ecclesie debita ferre sacre. 1160  
 Ante sacras vidi proiecta cadauera postes,  
 Nec locus est in quo desinit esse nephas.

**Hic tractat vltierus secundum visionem sompni de diuersa  
 persecucione et occisione, quas in dicta ciuitate quodammodo  
 absque vlla protunc defensione furie supradicte, prodolor!  
 faciebant, et qualiter huiusmodi fama vicinas perterruit ciuitates.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. Quique magis celebres fuerant hoc tempore ciues,  
 Sicut oues mortis procubuere manu.  
 Corpora missa neci nullo de more feruntur,  
 Immo iacent patulis vndique spersa viis:  
 Et quod nulla viris, rabies, monumenta manerent,  
 Mortua membratim corpora scissa terit:  
 Corpora cesorum muris suspensa reponunt,  
 Brutaque brutorum more sepulta negant. 1170  
 Horrida plaga fuit dum sanguine terra madescit,  
 Fons vbicumque tumet, sanguinitate rubet:  
 Mors furit in foribus, mors pulsatur ad ostia iuris,  
 Viuere siue mori rusticus ipse iubet.

1159 frangeret actum D	1160 subdita C
Cap. xv. Heading 3 pro tunc CED	4 huius ED
1170 sepulcra D	1173 hostia CE

Quicquid erat forte manibus succumbit eorum,  
 Vrbs que summa fuit, cede repressa ruit :  
 Turribus euersis inuenta cibaria vastant,  
 Omnia diripiunt que meliora sciunt.

Fit nouus ergo dolor, fit planctus, luctus invndat,  
 Deuiat a cultu regis iniquus homo : 1180

Annos per centum veteres quos duxerat etas,  
 Flebant de casu quem dedit vna dies.  
 Plus quam piscis aquam rabies cupit ipsa cruorem,  
 Pacis in auxilium nec miserere iuuat :  
 Pro nato genitor si verba precancia dixit,  
 Corruit ex verbo cesus vterque simul :  
 Si veniam peteres, fleres et ad hoc maris vndas,  
 Non tamen hee lacryme pondera vocis habent.  
 Tunc magis indomitas ardescit vulgus in iras,  
 Vt rediat pietas nil valere preces : 1190

Consumptis precibus furiens violencior extat  
 Rusticus, et peius quod valet ipse facit.  
 Sic nec aper media silua tam seuus in ira  
 Fulmineo rapidos conrotat ore canes ;  
 Quin cicius verbo, furiis quod dixeris, vno  
 Sensissies lesum in caput arma tuum.

Confusum tanto subite terrore ruine,  
 Vix genus ingenuum scit genus esse suum.  
 Diffugit ingenuus, vagat, et nec menibus vrbis  
 Aut nemorum latebris fert loca tuta satis : 1200

Mille domos adiit sortem repetendo salutis,  
 Set potuit nullo ferre quieta loco :  
 Nunc huc, nunc illuc, quasi mocio nubis aquose,  
 Se mouet ingenuus, fit neque firma salus :  
 Vir cubat in puteis, latebras magis optat Auerni,  
 Quam periturus erat, dum latitare queat.  
 A siluis silue, set ab aruis arua timescunt,  
 Vrbs et ab vrbe, locus nescit habere loca.  
 Quam subito positas aspergit sanguine mensas  
 Ille furor, cuius horruit acta deus ! 1210  
 Spersaque sanguineis maduerunt pabula guttis,  
 Nec locus aut thalamus dat loca salua viris.



Tunc nisi sub centro res aut super ethera nulla  
 Salua potest fieri proprietate loci.  
 Aduena preda fuit, quam rusticus inchola mortis  
 Morsibus exagitans ensis in ore terit.  
 O dolor in sponsa mortis cum viderit ensem,  
 Quo caderet sponsus, nec fuit ipse reus!  
 Occupat amplexu lacrimasque per oscula siccant,  
 'O pariter celi summa petamus,' ait: 1220  
 Accipiunt lacrymas spersi per colla capilli,  
 Oraque singultu concuciente sonant.  
 Sic magis orbatas quam sepe rigare maritis  
 Femineas vidi corde dolente genas;  
 Sepe manus stringi, dirumpere sepeque crines,  
 Vngues et propriam dilaniare cutem.  
 Qui tamen est omnis auctor feritatis, ob ipsos  
 Gaudia fert luctus et magis auget eos;  
 Monstraque sic hominum calido de sanguine gaudent,  
 Quod nichil impietas de pietate sapit. 1230

Sperserat ambiguas huius vaga fama per vrbes  
 Rumoris sonitum, cordaque firma mouet;  
 Euentuque graui recitatur publica clades,  
 Nec de fortuna quo cadet ipse sapit.  
 Sic magis ecce viros perterruit impius ensis,  
 Cuius non redimunt aurea dona manum:  
 Vrget amara sitis, que torrida viscera torquet,  
 Dum timor exsiccat pectoris antra viri:  
 Inuictumque virum potuit quem nullus ab ante  
 Vincere, tunc vicit de grauitate paor: 1240  
 Ymber vt ipse cruor rubefactaque sanguine tellus  
 Tunc magis audacis interiora mouet.  
 Set tamen vt curet morbum lex nulla medetur,  
 Nec sibi pre manibus quis properauit opem:  
 Auxilium nullus rebus prestabat amaris,  
 Lance suam reputat quisque tenere necem:  
 Est inmotus manus procerum nec temporis obstat  
 Ire, set paciens sustulit omne malum:  
 Nulla potentis erat hominis tunc salua potestas,  
 Deprimit immo suum cauda maligna caput: 1250

Tunc sua cuique domus homini funesta videtur,  
Nec fuit a mortis vlcere certus homo.

In nimio tinxit elatos sanguine cultros,  
Dum sua ruralis rusticus arma gerit:  
Parcere nec pueris vult impius aut mulieri,  
Vastat cunctorum res, loca, iura, forum.  
Nemo potest veniam sub ea feritate mereri,  
Impetus illorum terruit omne solum:

Omnis enim vulgi furiis tunc turba fauebat,  
Nec fuit ingenuus vnus vt obstat eis:

1260

Non fuit in toto gladius vel lancea regno  
Militis in manibus, quo tueatur opus:  
Dum furor excrescit, dum rustica turba tumescit,  
Miles vt ambiguus fit magis inde pius.  
Milicies cessit paciensque locum dedit ire,  
Dum terit improbitas que probitatis erant:  
Occupat en talus loca cordis, iuris et error,  
Nec medicus morbo quis reputauit opem.

Sic neque nobilium scutum vel lancea quicquam  
Obstitit, vnde vetus fortificetur honor;

1270

Cassaque iusticia cessat, nec cordis agresti  
Amplius indomiti debita iura tenet.

Spacia nulla sinunt medicamina ferre furori,  
Set furit ebrietas maior ad omne scelus:  
Hec mala corripere qui vellent nec potuerunt,  
Hii lacrimas animi signa dedere sui:

Quisque suas lacrymas alto de corde petitas  
Edidit, et finem spectat adesse suum.

Lumina que fuerant prius arida letaue risu,  
Erumpunt lacrimae more fluentis aque;

1280

Qui prius ex nullo casu deflere solebant,  
Vt flerent oculos erudiere suos:

Flebat auus flebatque soror flebantque gemelli,  
Que videant oculi nil nisi triste ferunt.

Vox fuit 'Heu! ve! ve!' sunt, prodolor! omnia luctus,

Omnia solliciti plena timoris erant;

Omnis habens lacrimas, 'Quis me manet exitus?' inquit,

Nescius ad mane que sibi sero foret.

'Fer, precor,' inquit, 'opem, nostroque medere timori,  
 Egraque sors abeat, o deus!' omnis ait. 1290  
 Rusticus ingenuis, 'Stat magna potencia nobis,'  
 Dixerat, 'et vester ammodo cesset honor.'  
 O genus attonitum gelide formidine mortis,  
 Quam variata tibi sors dedit ista mali!  
 Est in thesauris abscondita causa supremis,  
 Cur ruit ingenuos tanta procella viros.

Pax perit atque quies, animalia namque pusilla  
 Intrepido corde bella tremenda ferunt:  
 Que fuerant prede nuper, sibi querere predas  
 Vidi, set preda nulla resistit eis. 1300  
 Vidi nam catulos minimos agitare leonem,  
 Nec loca tuta sibi tunc leopardus habet:  
 Aspera grex ouium pastori cornua tendunt,  
 Cordis et effuso sanguine tincta madent:  
 Postpositaque fide Cristi, furientibus illis,  
 Ecclesiam reputant atque lupanar idem.  
 Perfida stulticia tunc temporis omne negavit,  
 Quod natura sibi vel deus ipse petit:  
 Non timet ipsa deum neque mundi iura veretur,  
 Set statuit licitum criminis omne malum: 1310  
 Ordine retrogrado sic quilibet ordo recessit,  
 Nec status ipse sapit quid sit habere statum.

Frumenti spicas tribulus vastauit, et ipsas  
 Cardio supercreuit et viciauit agros.  
 Loth capitur, pastor rapitur, locus expoliatur,  
 Et qui cuncta videt secula ceca sinit.  
 Tunc pro peccatis populi fit pena beatis,  
 Cunctaque sacra furor esse nephanda putat:  
 Demonibus homines subici culpis meruerunt,  
 Tunc quia non hominem nec timuere deum. 1320  
 Murmurat ex more plebs improba digna dolore,  
 Murmur et in populo iurgia multa mouet:  
 Iura sacerdotum presumentes, et honores  
 Tollentes, iram commeruere dei.  
 Fulgurat interius dolor huius turbine pestis,  
 Intonat exterius horrida turba sonis:  
 Conclamant furie, respondet flebile tellus,



Heu, quod in hoc fient tempore tanta mala !

Leticie facies tunc nulla videtur in vrbe,

Compatitur vultus cordis amara sui :

1330

Nulla quies mentis lese nullumque iuuamen

Exstitit, vt sanum tempus habere queat.

Sic amor ecce vetus Troie mutatur in iram,

Cantus et ex planctu victus vbique silet :

In lacrimas risus, in dedecus est honor omnis

Versus, et in nichilum quod fuit ante satis.

Ora rigant fletus, tremit et formidine pectus,

Gaudia que fuerant deuorat ipsa dolor :

Aspiceres alios flentes terraque iacentes,

Quos dolor alterius proprius atque dolet,

1340

Et sua multociens ad celum brachia tendunt,

Si magis ex superis sit medicina malis.

Qui bonus extiterat magis est bonitate remorsus,

Planctus erat celebris, meror vbique nouus.

'Omnia perdidimus,' dicunt, quia nullus in vrbe,

Quem status expectat, quicquid honoris habet.

Qui de lege magis florebant tunc sapientes,

Impositis gladiis colla secantur eis :

Quos magis et furie reputabant esse peritos,

Vulneribus paribus corpora cesa ruunt.

1350

Garrula culpa volat, timidasque perhorruit aures,

Nec sciuit sapiens quid sibi iura valent :

Floruit omne scelus, bonitas perit, egraque iura

Deveniunt, que regens non habet vnde regat.

Hec et plura ferox rabies, que nullus ab ante

Viderat, insolita fecit in vrbe mala :

Vrbes non tantum generaliter, immo per omnem

Iste furor patriam subpeditauit humum.

**Hic plangit secundum visionem sompnii quasi in propria  
persona dolores illorum, qui in siluis et speluncis pre timore  
temporis illius latitando se munierunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. Hec ita cum vidi, me luridus occupat horror,

Et quasi mortifera stat michi vita mea ;

1360

Semper in interius precordia mortis ymago

Pungit, et vt gladius viscera tota mouet.

Iamque dies medius tenues contraxerat umbras,  
 Iamque pari spacio vesper et ortus erat :  
 Ter quater affligi sociorum corpora terre  
 Vidi, datque sua mors michi signa mori.  
 Aspiciens vultus aliorum cede madentes,  
 De propria timui morte remorsus ego ;  
 Crudelesque manus, orbem sine lumine iuris  
 Percipiens dixi, 'Iam cadit ordo viri'; 1370  
 Bestia cum regimen hominum rapuisset et arma,  
 Et quod nulla suis legibus equa forent.  
 Hoc michi solliciti certissima causa timoris  
 Extitit et sortis peior origo mee ;  
 Nam quia sic procures vidi succumbere seruis,  
 Spes magis in fatis nulla salutis erat.  
 Est michi rupta domus per eos, quos rupta gehenna  
 Miserat, ut leges perderet ordo suas :  
 Sic fugiens abii subite contagia cladis,  
 Non ausus lese limen adire domus. 1380  
 Tuncque domum propriam linquens aliena per arua  
 Transcurri, que feris saltibus hospes eram.  
 Morsus ego linguis a dorso sepe ruebar,  
 Et reus absque meo crimine sepe fui :  
 Sic reus infelix agor absens, et mea cum sit  
 Optima, non villo causa tuente perit.  
 Inde ferens lassos aduerso tramite passus,  
 Quesiui tutam solus habere viam :  
 Attamen ad tantam rabiem pedibus timor alas  
 Addidit, et volucris in fugiendo fui. 1390  
 Sic vagus hic et ibi, quo sors ducebat euntem,  
 Temptauit varia cum grauitate loca :  
 Pes vagat osque silet, oculus stupet et dolet auris,  
 Cor timet et rigide diriguere come.  
 Sicut aper, quem turba canum circumsona terret,  
 Territus extrema rebar adire loca.  
 Ha, quociens certam sum me mentitus habere  
 Horam, proposito que foret apta meo !  
 Si qua parte michi magis expediens foret ire,  
 Perstetit in media pes michi sepe via : 1400

1369 limine S  
 1392 Girauit D

1377 Iehenna C  
 1395 turba D

1386 ullo om. D (marg. deficit)

Excidit omne decus michi tristi, nulla tuebar  
Rura, nec in precio fertilis ortus erat.

Mens agitur, que diu pugnat sententia mecum,  
Quis locus ad vitam fert pociora meam;  
Vixque michi credens solo quasi vota momento  
Millesies varians corde vagante tuli.

Si loca tuta forent, loca tuta libenter adissem,  
Set quo non potui corpore, mente feror;  
Cumque domum volui quandoque redire diebus,  
Vt me prepediat, occupat hostis iter.

1410

Si progressus eram, caperer ne nocte timebam;  
Sic michi de nullo tempore tempus erat:  
Hostis adest dextra, surgit de parteque leua,  
Vicinoque metu terret vtrumque latus.  
Ha, quociens furiis visis cessi, que sub vmbris  
Auris ad extrema semper aperta fuit!  
Ha, quociens siluis latui vix ausus in antris,  
Desperans sero quid michi mane daret!

Ha, quociens mentem pavor incutit hec michi dicens,  
'Quid fugis? hic paruo tempore viuus eris!'

1420

Ha, quociens fuerat mea mens oblita quid essem,  
Dum status anterior posteriora tenet!  
Sepius inque die dum sol clarissimus esset,  
Nox oculis pauidis venit aborta meis.

Sompnia me terrent veros imitancia casus,  
Et vigilant sensus in mea dampna mei:  
Sic mea sompniferis liquefiunt pectora curis,  
Ignibus appositis vt noua cera solet:

Aut nisi restituar melioris ymagine sompni,  
Aspicio patrie tecta relictia mee.

1430

Concaua vallis vbi fuerat nemorosa, per vmbras  
Vt lepus obliquas sepe viator eram:

Purus ab arboribus spectabilis vndique campus  
Tunc michi pro nullo tempore fidus erat;

Silua vetus densa nulla violata securi

Fit magis ecclesiis tunc michi tuta domus.

Tunc labor insolitus sic me lassauit, vt egros

Vix passus potui ferre vel hic vel ibi:

Sic fugiendo domos proprias mens horruit antra;



Peius vt effugiat, sustinet ipsa malum. 1440  
 Absque supercilio michi nubis sub tegumento  
 Copula cum foliis prebuit herba thorum.  
 Si potui, volui sub eodem cortice condi,  
 Nulla superficies tunc quia tuta fuit;  
 Perque dies aliquot latitans, omnemque tremescens  
 Ad strepitum, fugi visa pericla cauens.  
 Glande famem pellens mixta quoque frondibus herba  
 Corpus ego texi, nec manus vna mouet:  
 Cura dolor menti fuerat, lacrimaeque rigantes  
 In fundo stomachi sunt alimenta quasi. 1450  
 Tunc cibus herba fuit, tunc latis currere siluis  
 Impetus est, castra tunc quia nulla iuuant:  
 Rore meo lacrimisque meis ieiunia paui,  
 Fert satis ad victum langor in ore meum.  
 Plura dolens timui tunc temporis, et super omne  
 Ira dei magni causa timoris erat:  
 Tristis eram, quia solus, egens solamine, cogor  
 Tunc magis ignotas vt vagus ire vias:  
 Sic loca secretos augent secreta dolores,  
 Vt releuet luctus quisque sodalis abest: 1460  
 Fert tamen, vt possum mestos depromere vultus,  
 Solus in exilio gaudia magna dolor.  
 Sic lacrimae lacrimis, sic luctus luctibus assunt,  
 Dum queror, et non est qui medicamen agat;  
 Pectoribus lacrimaeque genis labuntur aborte,  
 Dum fuerat fati spes inimica michi.  
 Fine carent lacrimae, nisi cum stupor obstitit illis,  
 Aut similis morti pectora torpor habet:  
 Tunc pariter lacrimas vocemque introrsus abortas,  
 Extasis exemplo comprimit ipse metus. 1470  
 Brachia porrexì tendens ad lumina solis,  
 Et, quod lingua nequit promere, signa ferunt;  
 Cumque ferus lacrimas animi siccauerat ardor,  
 Singultus reliquas clamat habere vices.  
 Pallidiora gerens exhorruit equoris instar  
 Multa per interius mens agitata malis;  
 Discolor in facie macies monstauerat extra,  
 Que magis obtruse mentis ad yma latent:

Nam pauor et terror, trepidoque insania vultu,  
Me magis ignotum constituere michi. 1480

Dum mens egra fuit, dolet accio corporis, in quo  
Ossa tegit macies, nec iuuat ora cibus:

Iam michi subducta facies humana videtur,  
Pallor et in vultu signa reportat humi;  
Sanguis abit mentemque color corpusque reliquit,  
Pulcrior est et eo terra colore meo.

Sic magis a longo passum quod corpus habebam,  
Vix habuit tenuem qua tegat ossa cutem;  
Sicque diu pauidus pariter cum mente colorem  
Perdideram, que fui sic nouus alter ego. 1490

Vix fuerat quod ego solida me mente recepi,  
Dum bona promisit sors michi nulla fidem:  
Non michi libertas cuiquam secreta loquendi  
Tunc fuit, immo silens os sua verba tenet.

Si michi quem casus socium transduxerat illuc,  
Miscuimus lacrimas mestus vterque simul:  
Raro fuit quod ego verbis solabar amicis,  
Vix quia tunc fidus vnus amicus erat:  
Illud erat tempus dubium, quo nullus amicum  
Certum certus habet, sicut habere solet. 1500

Qui prius attulerat verum michi semper amorem,  
Tunc tamen aduerso tempore cessat amor:

Querebam fratres tunc fidos, non tamen ipsos  
Quos suus optaret non genuisse pater.

Memet in insidiis semper locuturus habebam,  
Verbaque sum spectans pauca locutus humum:

Tempora cum blandis absumpsi vanaque verbis,  
Dum mea sors cuiquam cogerat vlla loqui.  
Iram multociens frangit responsio mollis,  
Dulcibus ex verbis tunc fuit ipsa salus; 1510

Sepeque cum volui conatus verba proferre,  
Torpuerat gelido lingua retenta metu.

Non meus vt querat noua sermo quosque fatigat,  
Obstitit auspiciis lingua retenta malis;

Sepe meam mentem volui dixisse, set hosti  
Prodere me timui, linguaque tardat ibi.

Heu! miserum tristis fortuna tenaciter vrget,

1485 corpusque reliquit *om. D (marg. deficit)*

Nec venit in fatis mollior hora meis.

Si genus est mortis male viuere, credo quod illo  
Tempore vita mea morsque fuere pares.

1520

Sic vbi respexi, nichil est nisi mortis ymago,  
Quam reputo nullum tollere posse virum:  
Sepe mori volui ne quicquid tale viderem,  
Seu quod ab hiis monstris tutus in orbe forem;  
Velle mori statui, quia scribitur, 'Omnia soluit  
Mors et ab instanti liberat ipsa malo.'

'Fortune,' dixi, 'dolor, vndique parce dolenti,  
Da michi vel plene viuere siue mori.'  
Set michi pro fine spem tantum mortis habebam,  
Plusque nec ausus eram limen adire domus.

1530

Murmura tunc subite subeunt habitacula mentis,  
Talia pro luctu sepeque verba ferunt:  
'O tibi quem presens spectabile non sinit ortus  
Cernere, quam melior sors tua sorte mea est!  
Heu! mea consueto quia mors nec erit michi lecto,  
Depositum nec me qui fleat vllus erit:  
Spiritus ipse meus si nunc exhibet in auras,  
Non positos artus vnget amica manus.  
Si tamen impleuit mea sors quos debuit annos,  
Et michi viuendi tam cito finis adest,  
Ecce, deus, tu scis quia non tua fata recuso;  
Dum feris, en pacior que meruisse reor.'

1540

Cumque mei luctus torrens michi maior invndat,  
Et magis ex sterili sorte volutus eram,  
Ecce Sophia meis compassa doloribus inquit,  
'Siste, precor, lacrimas et pacienter age.  
Sic tibi fata volunt non crimina, crede set illud  
Quo deus offensus te reparando vocat.  
Non merito penam pateris set numinis iram:  
Ne timeas, finem nam dolor omnis habet.'  
Talibus exemplis aliis quoque rebus vt essem  
Absque metu pociens sepe Sophia monet;  
Conscia mensque michi fuerat, culpe licet expers,  
Spes tamen ambigue nulla salutis adest.  
Non fuerant artes tanti que numinis iram  
A me tollentes tempora leta ferunt.

1550



Tanta mee lasse fuerat discordia mentis,  
 Quod potui sensus vix retinere meos.  
 Quid michi tunc animi fuit aut quid debuit esse,  
 Cum michi rem certam mors neque vita tulit? 1560  
 Nunc id, nunc aliud, dubitata mente reuolui,  
 Quo michi nulla quies fit neque leta dies.  
 Cum fuit in sompnis mea desperacio maior,  
 Exiguo dixi talia verba sono:  
 'Crudeles sompni, cur me tenuistis inermem?  
 Quin prius instanti morte premendus eram.'  
 Arguit ergo meos ita mens quam sepe dolores,  
 'Quid fles? hic paruo tempore,' dixit, 'eris.'  
 Sic tenuant vigiles corpus miserabile cure,  
 Quas vigili mente sompnia ferre dabant: 1570  
 Me timor inuasit, stabam sine lumine mestus,  
 Et color in vultu linquit habere genas:  
 Attonitus tanto miserarum turbine rerum,  
 Vt lapis a mente sepe remotus eram.  
 Mens tamen vt rediit, pariter rediere dolores,  
 Mortem dum menti vita negare nequit:  
 Sic mortem cupiens timui presagia mortis,  
 Nec fore quid melius mens michi fida refert.  
 Verbis planxissem, set viscera plena dolore  
 Obsistunt, nec eo tempore verba sinunt; 1580  
 Obice singultu vocis stetit impetus horrens  
 Aduentum lacrimae, lingua refrenat iter.  
 Est michi vita mori, mors viuere, mors michi vita  
 Dulcior est, redolet viuere mortis amor:  
 Solus, inops, expes, vite peneque relictus,  
 Attendi si que sors mea certa foret.  
 Talia mira nimis longum narranda per annum,  
 Que modo vix recolo, tunc paciebar ego.  
 Scire meos casus si quis desiderat omnes,  
 Quo loquar hos finem non breue tempus habet: 1590  
 Sic tamen in variis mea lassa doloribus ipse  
 Tempora continuans asperiora tuli.

1575 redire EHD  
 1591 Si S

1588 Que modo SGD Quo modo H Quomodo CE



Anchora non poterat vlla iuuare ratem.  
 Extra se positus madidis Nothus euolat alis,  
 Cuius enim gutte dampna furoris agunt:  
 Quas sibi non poterat terre comprehendere virtus,  
 Pendula celestes libra mouebat aquas;  
 Sic defrenato voluuntur in equora cursu,  
 Quo maris vnda nimis aucta subegit humum.  
 Seuiit in nauem ventis discordibus aura,  
 Et maris in remos vnda coacta ruit;  
 Fit fragor, et densi funduntur ab ethere nimbi,  
 Nauis et est variis exagitata malis.

1630

Nuncia Iunonis varios tumefacta colores  
 Induit, et vario more refudit aquas:  
 Nulla set est gutta dulcis quam fuderat, immo  
 Turpis, amara, rudis, vilis, acerba, grauis;  
 Nil valet ad gustum liquor hic, qui corda bibentum  
 Perforat, et quassat viscera tota simul.  
 O felix, tales qui tunc euaserat ymbres,  
 Qui sunt Stige magis et Flegetonte graves!  
 Ipse tamen naui turbatus semper adhesi,  
 Quam furiens pelagi meraserat ira quasi.  
 Huius aque fluuio bubo natat inter alaudas,  
 Nat lupus inter oues, inter honesta nephas.  
 Huius aque subite magis insulcata carina  
 Forcia que subiit tecta que castra ruit.  
 Pre nimia rabie timuerunt grandia cete,  
 Dum magis atque magis aucta fit ira maris.  
 Ecce cadunt largi resolutis nubibus ymbres,  
 Aeris et medio fulminis ira tonat;  
 Inque fretum credas totum descendere celum,  
 Terruit et terras Iris vbique minis;  
 Inque plagas celi tumefactus scandit et equor,  
 Vt si de proprio vellet abire loco.  
 Sternitur interdum spumisque sonantibus albet,  
 Et redit in subtus quod fuit ante super;  
 Et modo cum fuluas ex ymo vertit arenas,  
 Tincta superficies fulua patebat aquis.

1640

1650

1660

Que freta seu venti poterant tormenta parare,  
 Fluctibus et grauibus flatibus illa parant:

1662 potuit C

1662 patebit S



Equoree miscentur aque celestibus auris,  
 Mixtaque cum pluuiâ salsa tumescit aqua.  
 Vela madent nimbis, tegumenta nec vlla iuuabant,  
 Vnus vt in sicco contegat inde caput;  
 Pugnaque ventorum spumantes mouerat vndas  
 Vertit et in variis fluctibus Auster eas. 1670  
 Desuper emissi tenuerunt equora venti,  
 Est ita naualis regula ceca magis;  
 Tetraque nox premitur, tenebrisque micancia lumen  
 Fulmina fulmineis ignibus ipsa dabant.  
 Cum mare sub noctem tumidis albescere cepit  
 Fluctibus, et preceps Eurus ad arma furit,  
 'Ardua iam dudum dimittite cornua naui,'  
 Clamat, 'et ad velum currite,' rector ait.  
 Hic iubet, impediunt aduerse iussa procelle,  
 Nec fragor auditum tunc sinit esse maris; 1680  
 Sponte tamen properant alii subducere remos,  
 Pars munire latus quisque labore suo.  
 Egerit hic fluctus equorque refundit in equor,  
 Hic rapit antemnas, que sine lege vagant:  
 Bella gerunt venti fretaque indignancia miscent,  
 Cassus et vltius fit labor ille viris.  
 Tanta mali moles classem compresserat audax,  
 Vt vecors animum laxat abire vagum;  
 Ipse pauet nec se quis sit status ipse fatetur,  
 Dum timor ex mentis frigore corda gelat. 1690  
 Quippe sonant clamore viri, stridore rudentes,  
 Rector et in remis fert nichil ipse magis.  
 Omnia pontus erat, deerant quoque litora ponto,  
 Regis et ad solium fert sua monstra fretum.

Hic dicit secundum visionem sompni qualiter tanta super-  
 habundauit tempestas, quod de certo absque manu diuina  
 remedio omnes in dicta naui hesitarunt, et deum super hoc  
 precipue quilibet sexus ingenui deuocius exorabat.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xviii. Ceruleus, rubeus, pingit geminus color arcum,  
 Et furor ethereus vndique spersus adest;

1669 Pugnaque CEDH: Pungnaque SHGT  
 1693 erant ED

1675 tumidus EH

Cap. xviii. *Heading* 2 de certo remedio absque manu diuina CEHD

Desuper ira tonat, subtus rumpuntur abissi,  
 Et de visceribus terra fluenta vomit;  
 Insolitas pluuias nubes effundit et vndas,  
 Sustinet innumeras vndique nauis eas. 1700  
 Nescia sicque vagans nauis qua sorte fruatur,  
 Equoris et pluuiæ sic natat inter aquas;  
 Et mare terribili confundit murmure mentes,  
 Quod timor ex solo terret vbique sono.  
 Tristius et celum tenebris obducitur atris,  
 Vix videt ex oculis iste vel ille manus.  
 De celo veniunt tunc signa minancia mortem,  
 Omnis et expectat quid sibi fata volunt:  
 Desuper impletur flammis vltricibus aer,  
 Et furor ex omni parte perurget aquas: 1710  
 Ignea tunc sonitus diffundit flamma feroces,  
 Et scintilla quasi fulmina spersa volat.  
 Igniuomus fluuius sic nos torquebat, vt omnis  
 Submisso capite mutus in ore silet:  
 Deficit ars animique cadunt viresque fatescunt,  
 Nec fuit vlterius spes aliqualis eis.

En super hoc veniens inmensus belua ponto  
 Eminent, ex cuius naribus vnda tonat:  
 Ipse velut nauis prefixus concita rostro  
 Sulcat aquas, et eum cuncta propinqua timent: 1720  
 Ipse ferox latum sub pectore possidet equor,  
 Et propria sibi iura marina petit:  
 Frater erat Cille, furiens magis ipse Caribdi,  
 Et velut os Herebi, que voret ipse petit.  
 Perdidit hiis visis audacior intima cordis  
 Robora, que subito surripit ille pavor;  
 Iamque gubernator, tollens ad sidera palmas,  
 Exposcit votis inmemor artis opem:  
 Vincitur ars vento, neque iam moderator habenis  
 Vitur, immo vaga per freta nauis arat. 1730  
 Tunc quasi febricitans os omnes horruit escas,  
 Mensque vomit sensus absque salute suos:  
 Brachia cum palmis, oculos cum menteque tristi  
 In celum tendens, postulat omnis opem:  
 Non tenet hic lacrimas, stupet hic, vocat ille beatos,  
 1706 ille vel iste CE 1724 quem D

Proque salute sua numina quisque vocat.  
 Rector cuncta deo commendans talia dixit,  
 'Celestis celerem det michi rector opem.'  
 Rima patet, que viam prebet letalibus vndis,  
 Nec stat qui mortis non reputaret iter.  
 Visa michi Cilla fuit et tunc visa Caribdis,  
 Deuoret vt nauem spirat vtrumque latus.

1740

O quam tunc similis huic navi Londoniarum  
 Turris erat, quod eam seua procella quatit ;  
 Turris egens muris, vbi sumpsit petra papiri  
 Formam, quam penetrans sordida musca terit ;  
 Turris, vbi porta sibi seras ferre recusat,  
 Quo patitur thalamus ingredientis onus ;  
 Turris, vbi patula furiis via restat, et omnis  
 Rusticus ingrediens res rapit atque loca ;  
 Turris, vbi vires succumbunt debilitati,  
 Turris, vbi virtus non iuuat vlla viros ;  
 Turris in auxilium spirans, custode remoto,  
 Et sine consilio sola relicta sibi ;  
 Turris in obprobrium patricida que sanguine feda,  
 Cuius ineternum fama remorsa volat ;  
 Turris, vbi rupta spelunca fuit leopardi,  
 Ipseque compulsus vt pius agnus abit ;  
 Turris, vbi pressit vi tegula feda coronam,  
 Quo cecidit fragili sub pede forte caput ;  
 Turris, non thuris olefacta salute set egra,  
 Lugens non ludens, tedia queque ferens ;  
 Turris diuisa linguis Babilonis ad instar,  
 Turris, vt est nauis Tharsis in ore maris.  
 Sic patitur pressa vicii sub gurgite turris,  
 Nescia qua morum parte parare viam.  
 Quisque dolet, set non vt ego, dum talis amarum  
 Spectat ad interitum naufraga Cilla meum.  
 Hec ita sompnifero vigilans quasi lumine signa  
 Vidi, quo timui dampna futura rei.

1750

1760

1770

Nimirum quod ego, dum talia ferre putabam,  
 Territus in sompnis et timefactus eram :  
 Ductus in ambiguis dixi quam sepe periclis,  
 Quod michi naue mea tucius equor erat.  
 Sic ego concussus Euros Zephirosque timebam,





Et gelidum Boream precipitemque Nothum :  
 Quatuor hii venti partes per quatuor orbis  
 Flant, nec obesse suis flatibus vlla queunt.  
 Nostra per aduersas agitur fortuna procellas,  
 Sorte nec vlla mea tristior esse potest. 1780  
 Talia fingebam misero michi fata parari,  
 Demeritoque meo rebar adesse malum.  
 Sic mecum meditans, tacito sub murmure dixi,  
 'Hec modo que pacior propria culpa tulit.'  
 Non latuit quicquam culparum cordis in antro,  
 Quin magis ad mentem singula facta refert :  
 Cor michi commemorat scelerum commissa meorum,  
 Vt magis exacuat cordis ymago preces.  
 Non fuit ex sanctis quem non mea lingua precatur,  
 Dum maris interitum preuia signa parant : 1790  
 Accensam summi precibus mulcere paratus  
 Iram, cum lacrimis sic mea verba dedi.

'Conditor O generis humani, Criste redemptor,  
 Est sine quo melius nil vel in orbe bonum,  
 Dixisti, que tuo sunt omnia condita verbo,  
 Mandasti, que statim cuncta creata patent ;  
 Inque tuo verbo celi formantur, et omnem  
 Spiritus ornatum fecerat inde tuus.  
 Per te sunt et aque, certus quoque terminus illis,  
 Est per te piscis et maris omne genus : 1800  
 Aera cum genere volucrum sermone creasti,  
 Quatuor et vento partibus ora dabas :  
 Cunctipotensque tuo fundasti numine terram,  
 Fixit quam stabilem prouidus ordo tuus :  
 Cunctaque terrigena viuunt animalia per te,  
 Subque tua lege reptile quodque mouet.  
 Sicut ymago tua tandem fuit et rationis  
 Factus homo, quod opus sit super omne tuum ;  
 Qui precepta tua veteri serpente subactus  
 Preterit, et pomi mors sibi morsus erat. 1810  
 Set pietate tibi quod eum de morte resumas,  
 Virginis ex carne tu caro factus eras ;  
 Sicque parens nostri generis de carnis amore

Efficeris, nobis graciosior vnde fores.  
 Vt te credo deum sic esse meumque parentem,  
 Micius, oro, pater, tu mea fata rege!  
 Vt de morte crucis te non pudet esse cruentum,  
 Hoc ita, Criste meis tempore parce malis!  
 Qui Paulum pelago, Petrum de carcere, Ionam  
 Eripis a piscis ventre, memento mei! 1820  
 Nescit abesse deus in se sperantibus, egros  
 Visitat, elisos erigit, auget opem.  
 Peccaui, redeo, miserere precor miserendi!  
 Tempus adest, miseros te refouere decet.  
 Parce, precor, fulmenque tuum tua tela reconde,  
 Que michi nunc misero tristitia tanta parant.  
 'O! cui fundo preces, te deprecor, intret in aures  
 Hec mea diuinas vox lacrimosa tuas!  
 Iam prope depositus sum mundo, frigidus, eger,  
 Seruatus per te, si modo seruer, ego. 1830  
 O superi, fractis,' dixi, 'succurrite remis,  
 Et date naufragio litora tuta meo!  
 Que genus humanum curauit origine Cristi,  
 Materiam cure prebeat illa mee!  
 Te precor, alme deus, sit vt illa michi mediatrix,  
 Que peperit florem flore manente suo.  
 Cur mala que pacior nullo michi tempore soluis?  
 Ecce simul morimur, respice, plaga monet!'

Cum magis in precibus prostratus proxima dampna  
 Expectans timui speque salutis egens, 1840  
 Impetus en subito ruit, et concussit ad ymum  
 Nauem, quam Cille deuorat ira prope:  
 Vis tamen alma precum sitibunda voraginis ora  
 Obstruxit, nec ea fit saciata vice.  
 Semper in incerto fuimus quid fata parent,  
 Nec spes pro nobis, nec timor equus adest.  
 Micius ille perit subitis qui mergitur vndis,  
 Quam sua qui timidus brachia iactat aquis.  
 Absque quiete tamen rogat omnis vota que suplex  
 Impendit, que pias fundit ad alta preces. 1850

Hic fingit secundum visionem sompni de quadam voce diuina in excelsis clamante, et quomodo deus placatus tandem precibus tempestates sedauit, et quomodo quasi in holocaustum pro delicto occisus fuit ille Graculus, id est Walterus, furiarum Capitaneus.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xix. Clamor in excelsis, lacrimae gemitusque frequentes,  
 Non veniam cassi preteriere dei;  
 Attamen ipse maris Neptunus qui deus extat,  
 At mare pacificet, tunc holocausta petit.  
 Dona valent precibus commixta, per hec deus audit  
 Micius, et votis annuit ipse precum:  
 Cum magis ergo furit tumidi maris aucta procella,  
 Et magis in mortem visa pericla patent,  
 Vnus erat Maior Guillelmus, quem prohibetis  
 Spiritus in mente cordis ad alta mouet; 1860  
 Iste tenens gladium quo graculus ille superbus  
 Corruit, ex et eo pacificauit opus.  
 Vna peribat auis, quo milia mille reuiuunt,  
 Et furibunda deus obstruit ora maris.  
 Sit licet hoc tarde, tunc nauis post scelus actum  
 Induit infelix arma coacta dolor,  
 Graculus en moritur! sic non moriuntur invlti,  
 Quos prius ex rostro lesit ad arma suo:  
 Qui ferit ex gladio perit gladiator in illo,  
 Et magis infelix imbuet auctor opus: 1870  
 In scelus addendum scelus est, in funera funus,  
 Sic luet exactor quod tulit ante malum;  
 Inque leues abiit morientis spiritus auras,  
 Si petat inferius antra scit ipse deus.  
 Sic quia miliciam transumpsit ymagine monstri,  
 Irrita decepti vota colonis erant.  
 Cum magis est quicquid superi voluere peractum,  
 Desinit a furiis sors maledicta suis:  
 Forsitan illa dies erroris summa fuisset,  
 Si deus in tali morte negasset opus. 1880  
 O michi quanta tulit tantus solacia victor,  
 Obruta qui tante sortis ad alta leuat!  
 O benedicta manus, tam sufficiens holocaustum



Que dedit, vnde maris victa procella silet!  
 Nam deus vt voluit, plus dum furit equoris vnda,  
 Grata superveniens hora salutis adest.  
 Quod deus ipse suam pro tempore distulit iram,  
 Vocis ab excelso protulit ista sonus;  
 Aeris e medio diuina voce relatum  
 Tunc erat et nostris auribus ista refert: 1890  
 Dixit, 'Adhuc modicum restat michi tempus, et ecce  
 Differo iudicium cum pietate meum.'  
 Cilla per hoc verbum paciens restrinxit hiatum,  
 Quod prius exhaustit protinus illa vomit;  
 Sicque iubente deo naui, quam seua vorago  
 Sorbuit, erigitur equoris alta tenens:  
 Sic prius austerus stat sub moderamine motus,  
 Tantus celesti venit ab ore vigor:  
 Et iam deficiens sic ad sua verba reuixi,  
 Vt solet infuso vena redire mero. 1900

Conclamant naute, surgunt pariter properantque  
 Quilibet officium fortificare suum:  
 Sic inter medium vite mortisque reformant  
 Cursum, quo breuiter tucius ire putant:  
 Exiguam veli, que tunc tamen integra mansit,  
 Extollunt partem, ducat vt ipsa ratem.  
 Tanta fit ingluuies et aquarum fluxus habundans,  
 Vix quod sedatas terra resumpsit aquas:  
 Set mare qui pedibus calcavit in orbe misertus,  
 Horrida compescens tempora leta dedit: 1910  
 Equora constrinxit celique foramina clausit,  
 Et minus iratas cedere iussit aquas:  
 Nebula deiecit nimbis aquilone remotis,  
 Nec fragor vltius voce tonante furit:  
 Equoris arcet aquas, iubet vt sit terminus illis,  
 Ne maris infirmam plus terat ira ratem.  
 Tunc celo terras ostendit et ethera terris,  
 Et pelagi furias pescuit ipse feras:  
 Tunc loca concrescunt, quia decrescentibus vndis  
 Pax redit, atque probis fit renouata salus. 1920

Fusca repurgato fugiebant numina celo,  
 Fulsit et optata clarior illa dies;  
 Ortaque lux radiis solidum patefecerat orbem,

Cessit et anterior sors tenebrosa malis.  
 Sic mare litus habet, plenos capit alueus ampnes,  
 Legibus atque noue tunc patuere vie:  
 Sic, deus vt voluit, cum sit moderacior vnda,  
 Leticie mixti convaluere metus.  
 Omnes tunc Cristum laudant, quod ab ore procelle  
 Non sinit extinctos, set reparauit eos. 1930  
 Tunc ego, deflexis genibus set ad ethera palmis  
 Tensis, sic dixi: 'Gloria, Criste, tibi!'  
 Hoc iterans gelida formidine frena resolui,  
 Leticieque noue spes michi mulcet iter.  
 Dum mare pacatum, dum ventus amicier esset,  
 Spes redit et nautis corda subacta leuat.  
 Viribus ergo suis pauidus sibi nauta resumptis  
 Nauigat, vt portum pacis adire queat.  
 Carbasa mota sonant, iubet vti nauita ventis,  
 Subque noue sortis spe noua vela dari. 1940

Hic loquitur adhuc de naui visa in sompnis, id est de mente  
 sua adhuc turbata, vt si ipse mentaliter sompniando, quasi per  
 nauem variis ventis sine gubernaculo agitatum, omnes partes  
 mundi pro pace mentis scrutanda investigasset, et tandem in  
 partes Britannie maioris, vbi raro pax est, dicit se applicuisse.  
 Dicit eciam qualiter vox in sompnis sibi iniunxit quod ipse  
 omnino scriberet ea que de mundo in illo scrutinio vidisset et  
 audisset; et ita terminatur sompnum.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xx. Clausit adhuc oculos sompnus, quo sompnia nauem  
 Semper pretendunt, que loco tuta petit,  
 Nec timor ambigue poterat cito cedere menti,  
 Quam prius ad portum salua venire queat.  
 Deficiunt remi iam ventis vndique fracti,  
 Ac vbi sors duxit nauis habebat iter:  
 Littora pacifica scrutans temptabat in omnem  
 Partem, nec poterat pacis habere locum;  
 Turbo set equoreis hanc tandem, prodolor! vndis  
 Expulit in portum quo furit omne malum. 1950  
 Sic Cillam fugiens minus est nec lesa periclis,  
 Dum Cilla grauior Insula cepit eam.

Between 1939 and 1940 D inserts Nauigat vt portum queat habere bonum  
 (marg. Deficit versus in copia).

Cap. xx. Heading 1 idest H et D 7 scrutineo CE

Insula lata quidem fuit hec vallata rotundo,  
 Que maris Occiani cincta redundat aquis.  
 Ad portum veniens de naui concito litus  
 Egressus pecii, turbaque magna michi  
 Plebis in occursum iam venerat, ex quibus vnum  
 Pre reliquis dignum contigit esse virum:  
 A quo quesivi, 'Dic, Insula qualis, et vnde  
 Tantus adest populus, quis sit et inde modus?' 1960  
 Ecce senex ille, portu qui stabat in illo,  
 Reddidit ista meis horrida verba sonis.

'Exulis hec dici nuper solet Insula Bruti,  
 Quam sibi compaciens ipsa Diana dabat.  
 Huius enim terre gens hec est inchola, ritus  
 Cuius amore procul dissona plura tenet.  
 Nam quia gens variis hec est de gentibus orta,  
 Errores varie condicionis habet:  
 Egregie forme sunt hii, set condicione  
 Ecce lupis seue plus feritatis habent. 1970  
 Non metuunt leges, sternunt sub viribus equum,  
 Victaque pugnaci iura sub ense cadunt:  
 Legibus inculta fraudes, scelus, arma, furores,  
 Pluraque pestifera plebs nocumenta parit:  
 Que gestant homines terre de partibus huius  
 Pectora, sunt ipso turbidiora mari.  
 Hec humus est illa vario de germine nata,  
 Quam cruor et cedes bellaque semper habent:  
 Tristia deformes pariunt absinthia campi,  
 Terraque de fructu quam sit amara docet. 1980  
 Non magis esse probos ad finem solis ab ortu  
 Estimo, si populi mutuus esset amor.'

Pluribus auditis que singula displicuerunt,  
 Heu! michi corda dolor iam renouatus agit:  
 Dulcius ipse michi numen nunc quando putabam,  
 Fortune species obstat acerba mee.  
 Cum video quam sunt mea fata tenacia, frangor,  
 Spesque levis magno victa timore silet:  
 Sic ego fortune telis confixus iniquis  
 Pectore concipio nil nisi triste meo: 1990



Attigeram portum, portu terrebar ab ipso,  
 Plus habet infesta terra timoris aqua.  
 Sic magis in terris dubiis iactatus et vndis,  
 Nescio quo possum tutus habere fugam :  
 Sic simul insidiis hominum pelagique laboro,  
 Et faciunt geminos ensis et vnda metus.  
 Cur ego tot gladios fugii, tociensque minata  
 Obruit infelix nulla procella caput ?  
 Iam mea spes periit, tali dum sors mea portu,  
 Est vbi nulla quies, duxit habere moram. 2030  
 Fugerat ore color, macies subduxerat artus,  
 Sumebant minimos ora subacta cibos ;  
 Vtque leui Zephiro graciles vibrantur ariste,  
 Frigida populeas vt quatit aura comas,  
 Pergere cum volui, tremulus magis ipse iacebam,  
 Et dolor in corde parturientis erat :  
 Sic ego dumque queror, lacrimae mea verba sequuntur,  
 Deque meis oculis terra recepit aquam.  
 Viderit ista deus qui nunc mea pectora versat ;  
 Nescio quid terris mens mea maius agat : 2040  
 Sic iterum corde nouiter spasmatum ab infra  
 In terram cecidi mortis ad instar ego.  
 Tandem cumque leuans oculos et corpus ab ymo  
 Erexì, vidi post et vtrumque latus,  
 Ecce nichil penitus fuerat, velut vmbra set omnis  
 Turba que nauis abest, solus et ipse fui.  
 Cum me perpendi solum, magis vnde dolebam,  
 Fit contristatus spiritus atque meus,  
 Ipsa michi subito vox celica, quam prius ipse  
 Audieram, verbi more sequentis ait. 2050

' Nil tibi tristitia confert ; si dampna per orbem  
 Circuendo mare te timuisse liquet,  
 Immo tibi potius modo prouideas, quia discors  
 Insula te cepit, pax vbi raro manet.  
 Te minus ergo decet mundanos ferre labores,  
 Munera nam mundus nulla quietis habet :  
 Si tibi guerra foris pateat, tamen interiori  
 Pace, iuuante deo, te pacienter habe.

Dum furor incurrit, currenti cede furori,  
 Difficiles aditus impetus omnis habet; 2030  
 Desine luctari, referant tua carbasa venti,  
 Vtque iubent fluctus sic tibi remus eat.  
 Siue die laxatur humus seu frigida lucent  
 Sidera, prospicias que freta ventus agit:  
 Tempora sicut erunt sic te circumspice, nulla,  
 Sint nisi pre manibus, secula visa cape:  
 Ludit in humanis diuina potencia rebus,  
 Et certam presens vix habet hora fidem.  
 Semper agas timidus, et que tibi leta videntur,  
 Dum loqueris fieri tristia posse putes: 2040  
 Qui silet est firmus, loquitur qui plura repente,  
 Probra satis fieri postulat ipse sibi.  
 Ocia corpus alunt, corpus quoque pascitur illis,  
 Excessusque tui dampna laboris habent:  
 Gaudet de modico natura, set illud habundans  
 Quod nimis est hominem semper egere facit:  
 Te tamen admoneo, tibi cum dent ocia tempus,  
 Quicquid in hoc sompno visus et auris habent,  
 Scribere festines, nam sompnia sepe futurum  
 Indicium reddunt.' Vocis et ecce sonus 2050  
 Amplius hiis dictis non est auditus, et illo  
 Contigit vt gallus tempore more suo  
 Lucis in aurora cantum dedit, vnde remoto  
 Euigilans sompno sic stupefactus eram,  
 Vix ego quod potui cognoscere si fuit extra  
 Corpus quod vidi, seu quod abintus erat.  
 Nunc quia set vigilo viuens terrore remoto,  
 Est mea cum domino spes magis aucta meo.

**Hic reddit vigilans gracias deo, qui eum in sompnis a pelago liberauit.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxi. Clarius aspiens oculis vigilantibus orbem,  
 Nubeque depulsa convaluisse diem, 2060  
 Percipiens furias veteri de lege repressas,  
 Et noua quod fractum lex reparasset iter,  
 Illesosque mei nunc palpans corporis artus,  
 Exultans humeros sustinuisse caput,  
 Creuit amicitia vetus et fugit impetus ire,

Et renouantur eo tempore iura viri.

Tunc prius ad dominum cordis nouitate reuiuens

Cantica celsithrono laudis honore dedi:

Non tamen ad plenum fateor mea corda redisse,

Qui mala tam subito tanta per ante tuli.

2070

Qui semel est Iesus fallaci piscis ab hamo,

Sepe putat reliquis arma subesse cibus;

Vix satis est hodie tutus qui corrui heri,

Tranquillas etiam naufragus horret aquas:

Sic ego dum recolo steteram quibus ipse periclis,

Dampna priora michi posteriora timent:

In pelago positus sic me meminisse procellam

Nosco, quod a mentis non cadet ipsa viis.

Me miserum! quanto cogor meminisse dolore

Temporis illius, quo dolor omnis erat!

2080

Nunc tamen euasus, quia viuo furore remoto,

Cum laudis iubilo cantica soluo deo.

Stella Maria maris, michi que mulcebat amarus

Fluctus ne periam, laudo quietus eam.

Gaudeo pre cunctis quia non me Cilla vorauit,

In cuius positus gutture totus eram:

Hostibus in mediis interque pericula versor,

Set pietate dei sum modo liber ego:

Sic ego transiui latebras horrenda ferarum

Oraque, nec mortis morsus habebam eis.

2090

Vt rosa per spinas non nouit acumine pungi,

Eripior gladio sic ferientis ego.

Sic cum rusticitas fuerat religata cathenis,

Et pociens nostro subiacet illa pede,

Ad iuga bos rediit, que sub aruis semen aratis

Creuit, et a bello rusticus ipse silet.

Sic ope diuina Sathane iacet obruta virtus,

Que tamen indomita rusticitate latet;

Semper ad interitum nam rusticus insidiatur,

Si genus ingenuum subdere forte queat.

2100

Nam fera rusticitas nullo moderatur amore,

Corde set aduerso semper amara gerit:

Subditus ipse timet nec amat seruilis arator,

2070 perante H

2073 hodie tutus S tutus hodie CEHGD

2082 soluo] psallo D

2094 ipsa C



Fedat et hunc cicius qui magis ornat eum.  
 Forcius ergo timor stimulans acuatur in ipsos,  
 Et premat hos grauitas quos furit illa quies:  
 Qui premunitur non fallitur ingeniosus,  
 Per mala preterita dampna futura cauēt.  
 Dextra tamen domini virtutem fecit, vt illa  
 A me transiret plena furore dies:  
 Contritus laqueus est, a quo liber abiui,  
 Et velut a sompno sum renouatus homo.  
 Vt cecidi subito, subiti releuamina casus  
 Dat deus, et lapsum subleuat ipse pedem:  
 Viuere nunc video michi sompnum, nunc puto vitam  
 Esse meam, nouitas cor michi tanta tenet:  
 Me polus absoluit, quamuis sua fulmina misit,  
 Terret nec nocuit illa procella michi.

2110

Qui michi consilium viuendi mite dedisti,  
 Cum foret in misero pectore mortis amor,  
 Est michi, quod viuens tibi iam pro munere laudes  
 Reddo, quod vltius sis michi vita deus:  
 Gaudia posco michi renoues, deus, est quia longo  
 Tempore leticie ianua clausa mee.

2120

O mea si tellus, quam non absorbuit equor,  
 Debita sciret eo reddere vota deo!  
 Castigauit eam dominus, nec in vlcera mortis  
 Tunc tradidit, set adhuc distulit ira manum.  
 Quicquid agant laudis alii, non ipse tacebo,  
 Quem deus in furiis vulsit ab ore maris:  
 Set quia tunc variis tumidis iactabar in vndis,  
 Que mea mens hausit, iam resoluta vomet.  
 Me licet vnda maris rapuit, mea numina laudo,  
 Fluctibus ingenium non cecidisse meum.

2130

Dum mea mens memor est, scribens memoranda notabit,  
 In specie sompni que vigilando quasi  
 Concepi pavidus, nec dum tamen inde quietus  
 Persto, set absconso singula corde fero.  
 Non dedimus sompno quas sompnus postulat horas,  
 Tale licet sompnis fingo videre malum.  
 O vigiles sompni, per quos michi visio nulla  
 Sompniferi generis set vigilantis erat!

2140

2123 renoues est et quia D

O vigilēs sompni, qui sompnia vera tulistis,  
In quibus exemplum quisque futurus habet!  
O vigilēs sompni, quorum sententia scriptis  
Ammodo difficilis est recitanda meis!  
Vt michi vox alias quę vidi scribere iussit,  
Amplius ex toto corde vacare volo:  
Quod solet esse michi vetus hoc opus ammodo cedat,  
Sit prior et cura cura repulsa noua.

2150

Hic dicit quod ipse iam vigilans, secundum vocem quam in sompnis acceperat, intendit scribere ea que de mundo vidit et audiuit, et vocat libellum istum *Vox Clamantis*, quia de voce et clamore quasi omnium conceptus est; vnde in huius operis auxilium spiritum sanctum inuocat.

Incipit prologus libri Secundi.

Multa quidem vidi diuersaque multa notauī,  
 Que tibi vult meminsens scribere penna sequens:  
 Non tamen inceptis ego musas inuoco, nec diis  
 Immolo, set solo sacrificabo deo.  
 Spiritus alme deus, accendens pectore sensus,  
 Intima tu serui pectoris vre tui:  
 Inque tuo, Criste, laxabo nomine rethe,  
 Vt mea mens capiat que sibi grata petit.  
 Inceptum per te perfecto fine fruatur  
 Hoc opus ad laudem nominis, oro, tui. 10  
 Qui legis hec eciam, te supplico, vir, quod honeste  
 Scripta feras, viciis nec memor esto meis:  
 Rem non personam, mentem non corpus in ista  
 Suscipe materia, sum miser ipse quia.  
 Res preciosa tamen in vili sepe Minera  
 Restat, et extracta commoditate placet:  
 Hoc quod in hiis scriptis tibi dat virtutis honestas  
 Carpe, nec vlla tumens vltiora pete.  
 Si te perstimulet stilus hic stillatus in aure,  
 Sit racio medicus mulceat inde graue: 20  
 Et si compositis verbis non vtar, vt illis  
 Metra perornentur, cerne quid ipsa notant:  
 Et rudis ipse rude si quid tractauero, culpe  
 Qui legis hoc parce, quod latet intus habe:

Heading L resumes here 1 vocem] visionem DH<sub>2</sub> 2 acceperat  
 et ex plebis voce communi concepit L  
 Incipit prologus &c. om. L 20 Sic EDL Set T



Et si metra meis incongrua versibus errent,  
 Que sibi vult animus congrua vota cape.  
 Rethorice folia quamuis formalia desint,  
 Materie fructus non erit inde minor:  
 Sint licet hii versus modice virtutis ad extra,  
 Interior virtus ordine maior erit.

30

Quamuis sensus hebes obstet, tamen absque rubore  
 Que mea simplicitas sufficit illa dabo.

In sene scire parum multum solet esse pudori  
 Temporis amissi pre grauitate sui;  
 Set modo siqua sapit docet aut prouisa senectus,  
 Vix tamen hec grata vox iuuenilis habet.

Que scribunt veteres, licet ex feruore studentes,  
 Raro solent pueris dicta placere satis;

Obloquioque suo quamuis tamen ora canina  
 Latrent, non fugiam quin magis ista canam.

40

De saxis oleum, de petra mel tibi sugge,  
 Deque rudi dociles carmine sume notas.

Quicquid ad interius morum scriptura propinat,  
 Doctrine causa debet habere locum:

Verba per os asini qui protulit, hic mea spes est,  
 Eius vt ad laudem cercius ore loquar.

Ergo recede mee detractor simplicitati,  
 Nec mea scripta queat rodere liuor edax:

Lite vacent aures lectoris et obuia cedant  
 Murmura, differ opus, inuida turba, tuum.

50

Si tamen incendat Sinon Excetraque sufflet,  
 Non minus inceptum tendo parare stilum.

Est oculus cecus, aurisque manet quasi surda,  
 Qui nichil vt sapiat cordis ad yma ferunt;

Et si cor sapiat quod non docet, est quasi pruna  
 Ignea, sub cinere dummodo tecta latet.

Nil fert sub modio lucens candela reconsa,  
 Pectoris aut sensus ore negante loqui.

Quid si pauca sciam, numquid michi scribere pauce  
 Competit, immo iuuat alter vt illa sciat.

60

De modicis igitur modicum dabo pauper, et inde  
 Malo valere parum quam valuisse nichil.

Non miser est talis, aliquid qui non dare possit;

29 Sunt C

51 Symon excetraque L si non excetraque D

Si dare non possum munera, verba dabo.  
 Attamen in domino credenti nulla facultas  
 Est impossibilis, dum bene sentit opus.

Gracia quem Cristi ditat, non indiget ille;  
 Quem deus augmentat possidet immo satis:  
 Grandia de modico sensu quandoque parantur,  
 Paruaque sepe manus predia magna facit:  
 Sepius ingentes lux pellit parua tenebras,  
 Riuulus et dulces sepe ministrat aquas.  
 Constat difficile iustum nichil esse volenti;  
 Vt volo, sic verbum det deus ergo meum.  
 Non tamen ex propriis dicam que verba sequuntur,  
 Set velut instructus nuncius illa fero.  
 Lectus vt est variis florum de germine fauus,  
 Lectaque diuerso litore concha venit,  
 Sic michi diuersa tribuerunt hoc opus ora,  
 Et visus variis sunt michi causa libri:  
 Doctorum veterum mea carmina fortificando  
 Pluribus exemplis scripta fuisse reor.  
 Vox clamantis erit nomenque voluminis huius,  
 Quod sibi scripta noui verba doloris habet.

70

80

Hic dicit, secundum quod de clamore communi audiuit,  
 qualiter status et ordo mundi precipue in partibus istis in  
 peius multipliciter variantur; et quomodo super hoc vnus-  
 quisque fortunam accusat.

### Incipit liber Secundus.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. **I**ncausti specie lacrimas dabo, de quibus ipse  
 Scribam cum calamo de grauitate nouo.  
 Esse virum vanum Salomon dat et omnia vana,  
 Datque nichil firmum preter amare deum.  
 Quotquot nascuntur vox illis prima doloris,  
 Incipit a fletu viuere quisquis homo:  
 Omnes post lauacrum temptacio multa fatigat,  
 Demonis ars, carnis pugna, cupido grauis:

Nunc stat et abstat homo, flat et efflat, floret et aret,  
Nec manet vllus ei firmus in orbe gradus. 10  
Incipit ecce mori vir, cum iam fuderit aluo  
Mater eum, quem post terminat hora breuis:  
Infantem fletus, puerum scola, luxus adultum,  
Ambicioque virum vexat auara senem;  
Sola nec vna dies homini tam leta ministrat,  
Quin dolor ex aliqua parte nocebit ei.

Si tamen esse potest quod felix esset in orbe,  
Dudum felices nos dedit esse deus:  
Quicquid summa manus potuit conferre creatis,  
Contulit hoc nobis prosperitatis opus. 20  
Huius erat vite, si que sit, gloria summe,  
Nobis pre reliquis amplificata magis.  
Tuncque fuisse deum nobis specialius omni  
Conuersum plebe clamor vbique fuit:  
Famaque sic mundi, nobisque beacius omni  
Tempus erat populo nuper; et ecce modo  
Turpiter extincta sunt nostra beata vetusta  
Tempora, nam presens torquet amara dies.  
Quam cito venerunt sortis melioris honores,  
Tam cito decasum prosperitatis habent: 30  
Nos cito floruimus, set flos erat ille caducus,  
Flammaque de stipula nostra fit illa breuis;  
Set labor et cure fortunaque moribus impar,  
Quod fuit excelsum iam sine lege ruunt.  
Nostra per immensas ibant preconia gentes,  
Que modo mutata sorte pericla ferunt.

Querunt propterea plures cur tempus et aura  
Stat modo deterius quam solet esse prius:  
Querunt cur tanta nobis quasi cotidiana  
Assunt insolita nunc grauiora mala: 40  
Nam nichil in terra contingens fit sine causa,  
Sicut Iob docuit, qui mala multa tulit.  
Se tamen immunes cause communiter omnes  
Dicunt, vt si quis non foret inde reus;  
Accusant etenim fortunam iam variatam,  
Dicentes quod ea stat magis inde rea.  
Fortunam reprobat nunc omnis homo, quia mutat



Et vertit subito quod fuit ante retro ;  
 Hocque potest speculo quisquis discernere nostro,  
 Que fuerat dulcis nunc fit amara nimis.

50

**Hic corripit fortunam et sui euentus inconstanciam  
 deplangit.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. O tibi que nomen fortune concipis, illos  
 Quos prius exaltas cur violenta premis?  
 Hiis quibus extiteras pia mater dira nouerca  
 Efficeris, vario preuaricata dolo :  
 Quos conformasti tua sors dissoluit in iram,  
 Quos magis vnisti spergis in omne malum.  
 Si pudor in facie fallente tua foret vllus,  
 Te quibus associas non inimica fores.  
 Dudum flore rosa fueras, set mole perurens  
 Nunc vrtica grauas quos refouere soles :  
 Mobilis est tua rota nimis, subito quoque motu  
 Diuitis ac inopis alterat ipsa status.  
 Malo set a fundo conscendere summa rotarum,  
 Quam quod ab excelso lapsus ad yma cadam :  
 De super in subtus absit, de sub michi supra  
 Adueniat, namque prospera lapsa nocent.  
 Est nam felicem puto maxima pena fuisse,  
 Quam miser in vita posset habere sua.

60

Est o quam verum, quod habenti multa dabuntur,  
 Qui tenet et pauca perdere debet ea !  
 Hoc patet in nobis, quibus olim magnificatis  
 Gens quasi tota simul subdita colla dabat.  
 Patria nulla fuit, vbi nos in honore locati  
 Non fuimus, set nunc laus vetus exul abest :  
 Omnis enim terra nobis querebat habere  
 Pacem, nunc guerras hostis vbique petit.  
 Qui plana fronte dudum comparuit, ecce  
 Cornua pretendens obuius ipse venit ;  
 Et qui cornutus fuerat, nunc fronte reflexa,  
 Cornibus amissis, vix loca tutus habet.  
 Que fuerat terra bene fortunata per omne,  
 Dicunt fortunam iam periisse suam.

70

80

Dic set, fortuna, si tu culpabilis extas;  
 Credo tamen causa nulla sit inde tua:  
 Det quamuis variam popularis vox tibi famam,  
 Attamen ore meo te nichil esse puto.  
 Quicquid agant alii, non possum credere sorti,  
 Saltem dumque deus sit super omne potens.  
 Non te fortunam quicquid michi ponere credam,  
 Vt gens que sortem murmurat esse tuam: 90  
 Hac tamen in carta, que sit sibi ficta figura,  
 Scribere decreui, set nichil inde michi.

**Hic describit fortunam secundum aliquos, qui sortem fortune dicunt esse et casum.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. O fortuna, tibi quod aperte dicitur audi,  
 Inconstans animi, que nec es hic nec ibi:  
 Es facie bina, quarum deformiter vna  
 Respicit, ex et ea fulminat ira tua;  
 Altera felici vultu candescit, et ipsi  
 Hanc qui conspiciunt, prospera cuncta gerunt.  
 Sic odiosa tua facies et amabilis illa  
 Anxia corda leuat sepeque leta ruit: 100  
 Ex oculo primo ploras, ridesque secundo,  
 Ac econuerso, te neque noscet homo.  
 Dum geris aspectum duplum variata per orbem,  
 Non te simplicibus constat inire viis.  
 Prosperitate tua stetero si letus in orbe,  
 Dum puto securo stare, repente cado;  
 Et timet incerta cor sepe doloris in vmbra,  
 Cum michi leticia cras venit ecce noua.  
 Omnia suntque tuo tenui pendencia filo,  
 Qui plus credit eis fallitur atque magis; 110  
 Sique leues oculi sint ictus, sunt leuiora  
 Ordine precipiti pendula fata tua.

Munera nulla iuuant vt te possint retinere,  
 Nec domus est certa que stat in orbe tua.  
 Tu grauior saxis, leuior tu quam leuis aura,  
 Asperior spinis, mollior atque rosis:  
 Tu leuior foliis tunc cum sine pondere siccis  
 Mobilibus ventis arida facta volant;  
 Et minus est in te, quam summa pondus arista,

Que leuis assiduus solibus vsta riget. 120  
 Tu modo clara dies, modo nox terrore repleta ;  
 Tu modo pacifica, cras petis arma tua :  
 Nunc tua deliciis sors fulget, nunc et amaris  
 Pallet, vt incerta des bona desque mala :  
 Parca que larga manu tu singula premia confers,  
 Ac aufers cui vis, sic tua fata geris.

Non Iris tot diuersos in nube colores,  
 Marcius aut varia tempora Mensis habet,  
 Quin magis in mille partes tua tempora scindis,  
 Omnia dissimili tincta colore gerens. 130  
 Est meretrice tuus amor et fallacior omni,  
 Et velut vnda maris sic venis atque redis :  
 Nemo sciet sero que sit tua mane voluntas,  
 Nam tua mens centri nescit habere locum :  
 Omne genus lustras, nec in villo firma recumbis,  
 Turbinis et vento te facis esse parem.  
 Non tua conceptam michi firmant oscula pacem,  
 Nam tua principia finis habere negat :  
 Est sine radice tua plantula, nec diuturni  
 Floris habet laudem, namque repente cadit. 140  
 Quod sibi permaneat tua nil sapientia confert,  
 Set sunt ambigua singula dona tua ;  
 Est tua prosperitas aduersis proxima dampnis,  
 Et tua, si que sit, gloria rite breuis.

**Hic tractat vltcrius de mutacione fortune secundum quod  
 dicunt: concludit tamen in fine, quod neque sorte aut casu,  
 set ex meritis vel demeritis sunt, ea que hominibus contingunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiii. Frustrantur cuncti querentes gaudia mundi,  
 Nam fortuna nequit mel sine felle dare :  
 Invidie comes est melior fortuna, nec vmquam  
 Fida satis cuiquam, mobilis immo manet.  
 Quis miser ignarus fortune nesciat actus ?  
 Quod dat idem tollit, infima summa facit. 150  
 Fert vt luna suam fortuna perambula speram,  
 Decrescit subito, crescit et illa cito :  
 Crescit, decrescit, stabilis nec in ordine sistit,

152 Crescit decrescit/crescit D      153 Crescit, decrescit] Decrescit  
 subito D



Est nunc subtus ea, nunc et in orbe supra.  
Regnabo, regno, regnaui, sum sine regno,  
Omnes sic breuiter decipit illud iter.  
Motibus innumeris variare momenta dierum,  
Omne quod instituunt fata perire sinunt.

Quando fauet fortuna caue, rota namque rotunda  
Vertit, et inferius que tulit alta premit: 160

Quos vocat eicit, erigit, obruit, omnia voluit,  
Esse suum proprium vendicat ipsa dolum.  
Passibus ambiguus fortuna volubilis errat,  
Et manet in nullo cotidiana loco:

En rapuit quodcumque dedit fortuna beatum,  
Fit macer et subito qui modo crassus erat.  
Dum iuuat et vultu ridet fortuna sereno,  
Prospera tunc cuncta regna sequuntur opes:  
Cum fugit illa, simul fugiunt, nec noscitur ille  
Agminibus comitum qui modo cinctus erat. 170

Monstrat in exemplis anni mutabile tempus,  
Quam fortuna suis stat varianda modis.  
Non est fortuna talis quin fallat amica,  
Dum mentita sue lex regit acta rote.  
Hec rota continue per girum de leuitate  
Vertitur, et nullo tempore fixa manet:  
Hec rota personas mundi non excipit vllas;  
Hec rota castigat, soluit, et omne ligat.  
Non illam flectis precibus, non munere mulces,  
Non nullis lacrimis nemo mouebit eam: 180

Non sexus, non condicio, non ordo vel etas,  
Nil compellit eam cum pietate pati.  
Cuius et agricola, rex, rusticus, albus et ater,  
Doctus et insipiens, diues inopsque simul,  
Mitis et impaciens, pius, atrox, equus, iniquus,  
Sunt in iudicio, iudice sorte, pares.  
Hos premit, hos releuat, leuat hos vt ad yma retrudat,  
Interutrumque iocat quos ad vtrumque vocat:  
Ludit et illudit rebus, cum lubricus axis  
Labitur et secum lubrica queque facit, 190  
Hec rota nugatrix sic girovagatur eodem  
Motu, ne possit rebus inesse quies.

Impetus euertit quicquid fortuna ministrat  
 Prospera, nec stabilem contulit ipsa statum.  
 Heu! cur tanta fuit concessa potencia tali,  
 Cui nichil est iure iuris in orbe datum?  
 Si quid iuris habet, surrepcio dicitur esse,  
 Nam de iure nichil quo dominetur habet.  
 Sic dicunt homines, qui credunt omnia casu  
 Quod deus extruxit ipsa mouere potest: 200  
 Set fortuna tamen nichil est, neque sors, neque fatum,  
 Rebus in humanis nil quoque casus habet:  
 Set sibi quisque suam sortem facit, et sibi casum  
 Vt libet incurrit, et sibi fata creat;  
 Atque voluntatis mens libera quod facit actum  
 Pro variis meritis nomine sortis habet.  
 Debet enim semper sors esse pediseca mentis,  
 Ex qua sortitur quod sibi nomen erit:  
 Si bene vis, sequitur bona sors; si vis male, sortem  
 Pro motu mentis efficis esse malam. 210  
 Si super astra leues virtutum culmine mentem,  
 Te fortuna sue ducit ad alta rote:  
 Set si subrueris viciorum mole, repente  
 Tecum fortunam ducis ad yma tuam.  
 Expedit vt sortem declines deteriolem,  
 Dum tuus est animus liber vtrumque sequi.

**Hic dicit secundum scripturas et allegat, qualiter omnes  
 creature homini iusto seruientes obediunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Dixerat ista deus, si que preceperit ipse  
 Quis seruare velit, prospera reddet ei,  
 Campos frugiferos, botris vinetaque plena,  
 Temperiem solis et pluuiialis aque; 220  
 Sidera compescet, Saturnum reddet amenum,  
 Qui fuerat pestis tunc erit ipse salus;  
 Inque suas metas gladius non transiet, immo  
 De virtute sua singula bella fugat.  
 Sic pax, sic corpus sanum, sic copia rerum  
 Sunt homini iusto, dum timet ipse deum:  
 Tempore quo iustus steterit, stant prospera secum,  
 Sique cadat iustus, prospera iure cadent;  
 Nam retrouersantur peruersi prospera iusti,

Cumque malus fuerit, carpet et ipse mala.  
 Sic deus ex meritis disponit tempora nostris,  
 Vt patet exemplis, si memoranda legis.  
 Angelus hic cecum Raphael sanare Tobiam  
 Euolat e celis pronus in orbe viris :  
 Imperio iusti nequeunt obstare subacti  
 Tortores baratri, set famulantur ei :  
 Ac elementorum celestia corpora iustum  
 Subdita iure colunt, et sua vota ferunt.

230

In virtute dei sapiens dominabitur astra,  
 Totaque consequitur vis orizontis eum :  
 Circulus et ciclus, omnis quoque spera suprema  
 Sub pede sunt hominis quem iuuat ipse deus.  
 Sol stetit in Gabaon iusto Iosue rogitante,  
 Nec poterat gressus continuare suos ;  
 Imperio Iosue solis rota non fuit ausa  
 Currere, set cursus nescia fixa stetit :  
 Stella quidem natum patefecit nuncia Crustum,  
 Quo pacem iustis reddidit ipse deus.  
 Aeream pestem legimus sanasseque sanctum  
 Gregorium Romæ, subueniente prece.  
 Diuisit Moyses mare virga percuciente,  
 Quo poterat populus siccus inire pedes :  
 Firma fides Petri dum cepit credere Cristi  
 Verba, viam pedibus prebuit vnda maris :  
 Propter Heliseum limpharum gurgite mersum  
 Ferrum transiliit desuper atque redit.  
 Ignea tres pueros fornax suscepit Hebreos,  
 Flamma set illesis victa pepercit eis.  
 Terra set Hillario, que plana fuit prius, almo  
 Se leuat, et sedes alta recepit eum :  
 Ex duris Moyse saxis heremique iubente  
 Dum saliant fluctus, gens bibit atque pecus :  
 Montes rex Macedum diuisos consolidauit ;  
 Ex precibus iustis sic dedit esse deus.

240

250

260

Omnis in orbe fera iusti virtute subacta  
 Est, draco sicque leo, quos sibi subdit homo :  
 Namque per hoc iustum nouit Babilon Daniele,  
 Romaque Siluestrum senserat esse sacrum.



Aeris et volucres iussu Moysi ceciderunt,  
 Inque cibos populi subiacuere dei: 270  
 Et piscis triduo Ione seruiuit in vndis,  
 Dum Niniue portu ventre refudit eum.  
 Omnia sic iusto patet vt diuina creata  
 Subueniunt homini, subdita sunt et ei.  
 O quam diues homo, quam magno munere felix,  
 Cui totus soli subditur orbis honor!  
 Felix pre cunctis, cui quicquid fabrica mundi  
 Continet, assurgit et sua iussa facit.  
 Si tamen econtra iustus sua verterit acta,  
 Illico peruersum senciet inde malum, 280

**Hic tractat secundum scripturas et allegat, qualiter omnes creature homini peccatori aduersantes inobediunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Dum Dauid ipse scelus commisit, in aere pestis  
 Congelat, et gentem sternit vbique suam:  
 Et pro peccatis Sodomam combusserat ignis,  
 Estque Chore culpis eius adusta domus:  
 Propter peccatum torrens peruenit aquarum,  
 In moriendo quibus condolet omne genus:  
 Et terre solida viciis fuerant liquefacta,  
 Dum Dathan ac Abiron scissa cauerna vorat:  
 Angelus et domini Sirie turmas dedit ensi,  
 Lisiamque ducem fecit inire fugam: 290  
 Septem nocte viros Sarre iugulauit iniquos  
 Demon et Asmodeus, vult ita namque deus.  
 Nil fortuna potest iniusto ferre salutis,  
 Namque creans obstant atque creata simul:  
 Nil valet auferre iusto fortuna valoris,  
 Nam deus ipse iuuat, et sibi fata nichil.  
 Vires Sampsoni, vel sensum quis Salomoni,  
 Absolon aut speciem contulit? Ecce quidem  
 Corpora natura dedit, et sic exiget illa,  
 Virtutes anime gracia sola dei: 300  
 Sic patet vt fortuna nichil valet addere nobis,  
 Tollere seu quicquid, cum nichil ipsa dedit.  
 Cum tam pacificum rexit Salomon sibi regnum,

Tot quoque diuicie quando fuere sue,  
 Cumque Philisteum constat vicisse gigantem  
 Funda manu Daud, num deus ista tulit?  
 Cumque dies fuerant Ezechie morientis  
 Sic elongati, mors quoque cessit ei,  
 Set cum de culpa fuit excusata Susanna,  
 Hester et in populo glorificata suo,  
 Dic que fortuna tunc prospera contulit ipsis?  
 Nulla, puto, neque iam quis rogo causet eam.  
 In recolente deum non est fortuna colenda,  
 Nec faciente malum sors valet esse bona.

310

Quid Pharaon poterat fortunam corripuisse,  
 Cumque furore sui tot periere viri?  
 Aut Nabugodonosor sua quod mutata figura  
 In pecus extiterat, quid nisi culpa dabat?  
 Aut quid et ille Saul, qui regnum perdidit et se,  
 Num quia precepti fit reus ipse dei?  
 Non Azariam lepra candida sorte subegit,  
 Vsurpans templi presulis acta sibi?  
 Set quid Achab dicet? Naboth dum tolleret agrum,  
 Eius auaricia fit sibi causa necis.  
 Aut Roboas? quoniam senium bona dogmata spreuit,  
 Diuisum regnum plangit habere suum.  
 Aut Phinees et Ophni, quos belli strauerat ensis,  
 Archaque capta fuit? preuia culpa tulit.  
 Aut quid Hely, qui retrocadens sibi vertice fracto  
 Corruit a Sella, dum stupet inde noua?  
 Non sors fortune poterat sibi talia ferre,  
 Set pro peccatis contigit illud eis.  
 Qui male fecerunt mala premia fine tulerunt,  
 Namque malos iuste perdidit ipse male.

320

330

Cum simulacra colens populus peccasset Hebreus,  
 Illum tradebat hostibus ira dei:  
 Cum prece pulsaret celum simulacra relinquens,  
 Hostes terga dabant, illud agente deo.  
 Iudei reges valuerunt tunc super omnes,  
 Dum non iura sui preteriere dei;  
 Hostiles acies populus Iudeus in armis  
 Semper deuicit, dum bonus ipse fuit:

340

Set cum transgressi fuerant, tunc hostis vbique  
 Victos, captiuos, sternere cepit eos.  
 Ex meritis vel demeritis sic contigit omne,  
 Humano generi quicquid adesse solet;  
 Sic vario casu versabitur alea mundi,  
 Dum solet in rebus ludere summa manus.

**Hic loquitur de deo summo Creatore, qui est trinus et vnus,  
 in cuius sciencia et disposicione omnia creata reguntur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Est deus omnipotens solus qui cuncta gubernat,  
 Omnia preuidit totus vbique manens; 350  
 Omnia ventura sibi sunt presenciam semper,  
 Quam prius et fiant, hec quasi facta videt.  
 Ante creaturam genitor deus, et genitura  
 Prima creatura, causaque prima mouens.  
 Omne quod est esse certum sibi tempus habebat,  
 Ante quidem tempus set deus omne fuit:  
 Omne quod est, quod erat, quod erit, quod ducit ad esse,  
 Est deus, et nec ei temporis esse datur:  
 Nulla coeua deo poterunt se tempora ferre,  
 Sic patet est dominus iure priore deus. 360  
 Est pater, est natus deus, est et spiritus almus,  
 Tres ita personas nomina trina sonant:  
 Quelibet hic persona deus dominusque vocatur,  
 Est deus et dominus solus et vnus idem.  
 Hee sunt persone tres, set substantia simplex,  
 Hee tres sunt vnum, non tria, tres set idem:  
 Hiis tribus vna manet essencia, tres deus vnus,  
 Hic nichil aut maius aut minus esse potest:  
 Vna tribus mens, vna trium substantia simplex,  
 Vna tribus bonitas, vna Sophia trium. 370  
 Est ignis, calor et motus tria, sicque videntur;  
 Hec tria sic semper feruidus ignis habet:  
 Sic pater et natus et spiritus in deitate  
 Tres sunt, et solum cum paritate notant.  
 Cum dominus dicat, 'Hominem faciamus,' in illo  
 Clarius insinuat que sit habenda fides:  
 Hic persona triplex auctore notatur in vno,  
 Cum maneat simplex in deitate sua.



Hic loquitur de filio dei incarnato domino nostro Ihesu Cristo,  
per quem de malo in bonum reformamur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. Nunc incarnatum decet et nos credere natum,  
 Quem colimus Cristum credulitate Ihesum. 380  
 Sic opus incepit natus, de corde paterno,  
 De gremio patris venit ad yma deus.  
 De patre processit, set non de patre recessit,  
 Ad mundi veniens yma, set astra tenens;  
 Semper enim de patre fuit, fuit in patre semper,  
 Semper apud patrem, cum patre semper idem:  
 Assumpsit carnem factus caro, nec tamen illam  
 Desiit assumens esse quod ante fuit:  
 Vnitur caro sic verbo, quod sint in eadem  
 Hec duo persona, verus vbique deus: 390  
 Quod fuit, hoc semper mansit, quod non fuit, illud  
 Virginis in carne sumpsit, et illud erat.  
 Par opus huic operi nusquam monstratur, honori  
 Nullus par potuit esse, Maria, tuo.  
 Infirmus carne, set robustus deitate,  
 Carne minor patre, par deitate manens:  
 Hinc alit, hinc alitur, hinc pascit, pascitur inde,  
 Hinc regit, hinc regitur, hinc nequit, inde potest:  
 Hinc iacet in cunis et postulat vbera matris,  
 Hinc testatur eum celicus ordo deum: 400  
 Hinc presepe tenet artum sub paupere tecto,  
 Hinc ad eum reges preuia stella trahit:  
 Hinc sitis, esuries, lacrimae, labor atque dolores,  
 Et tandem potuit sustinuisse mori.  
 Ponitur in precio res impreciables, ipse  
 Proditur et modico venditur ere deus:  
 Postque salus, vita, seui predacio claustrum;  
 Inde resurrexit regna paterna petens:  
 Iudicioque suo, finis cum venerit orbis,  
 Attribuet cunctis que meruere prius. 410  
 Sic homo perfectus, sic perfectus deus idem,  
 Exsequitur plene quicquid vtrumque decet.  
 Suggestit hoc verum mortale quod vbera suggit,  
 Quod noua stella gerit suggerit esse deum:

Quod presepe tenet, hominis; quod tres tribus vnum  
 Muneribus laudant, cernitur esse dei.  
 Vt sit inops diues, deus infans, rex sine lecto,  
 Lactis opem poscit pascere cuncta potens,  
 Hospicium presepe tenens, cui fabrica mundi  
 Est domus, et thalamus ardua tecta poli. 420  
 Venit vt esuriat panis, requiesque laboret,  
 Fons siciat, penas possit habere salus,  
 Lux obscurari tenebris, sol luce carere,  
 Et contristari gloria, vita mori.  
 Hec ita sponte tulit proprio commotus amore,  
 Vt deus in nostra carne maneret homo.  
 Sicut Adam fragilis fit primi causa doloris,  
 Ille deus fortis letificauit opus:  
 Culpa prioris Ade nascentes vulnerat omnes,  
 Donec sanet eos vnda sequentis Ade. 430  
 Primus Adam pecudi, volucris dominatur et angui,  
 Sub pede noster habet cuncta secundus Adam.  
 Tempore descensus veteri fuit ad loca flendi,  
 Ad loca gaudendi lex noua fecit iter.  
 Vt sic credat homo fore qui vult saluus oportet,  
 Nec sciat vltcrius quam sibi scire licet.

**Hic dicit quod quilibet debet firmiter credere, nec vltra quam  
debet argumenta fidei inuestigare.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Cum deus ex nichilo produxit ad esse creata,  
 Ipse deus solus et sine teste fuit.  
 Vt solus facere voluit, sic scire volebat  
 Solus, et hoc nulli participauit opus. 440  
 Materies nulla, subtilis forma, perhennis  
 Compago nostre nil rationis habet.  
 Subde tuam fidei mentem, quia mortis ymago  
 Iudicis eterni mistica scire nequit:  
 Letitiam luctus, mors vitam, gaudia fletus,  
 Non norunt, nec que sunt deitatis homo:  
 Non tenebre solem capiunt, non lumina cecus,  
 Infima mens hominis nec capit alta dei.  
 Nempe sacri flatus archanum nobile nunquam  
 Scrutari debes, quod penetrare nequis. 450

Cum non sit nostrum vel mundi tempora nosse,  
 Vnde creaturas nosse laborat homo?  
 Nos sentire fidem nostra ratione probatam,  
 Non foret humanis viribus illud opus.  
 Humanum non est opus vt transcendat ad astra,  
 Quod mortalis homo non ratione capit:  
 Ingenium tante transit virtutis in altum,  
 Transcurrit superos, in deitate manet.  
 Qui sapienter agit, sapiat moderanter in istis,  
 Postulet vt rectam possit habere fidem.  
 Ingenium mala sepe mouent; non nosse virorum  
 Est quid in excelsis construit ipse deus:  
 Multa viros nescire iuuat; pars maxima rerum  
 Offendit sensus; sobrius ergo sciat:  
 Committat fidei quod non poterit rationi,  
 Quod non dat ratio det sibi firma fides.

460

Adde fidem, nam vera fides, quod non videt, audit,  
 Credit, sperat, et hec est via, vita, salus.  
 Argumenta fides dat rerum que neque sciri  
 Nec possunt mente nec ratione capi:  
 Vera fides quicquid petit impetrat, omne meretur,  
 Quicquid possibile creditur ipsa potest.  
 Lingua silet, non os loquitur, mens deficit, auris  
 Non audit, nichil est hic nisi sola fides.  
 Vna quid ad solem sintilla valet, vel ad equor  
 Gutta, vel ad celum quid cinis esse potest?  
 Vult tamen a modicis immensus, summus ab ymis,  
 Vult deus a nobis mentis amore coli.  
 Hunc in amando modus discedat, terminus absit;  
 Nam velut est dignus, nullus amauit eum.  
 Ille docet quodcumque decet, set et aspera planat,  
 Curat fracta, fugat noxia, lapsa leuat:  
 Nam crux et roseo perfusi sanguine clauī,  
 Expulso Sathana, nostra fuere salus.

470

480

Quisque Ihesum meditans intendere debet vt actus  
 Deponat veteres et meliora colat.  
 Vita per hoc nomen datur omnibus, et benedicti  
 Absque Ihesu solo nomine nemo potest.



Non est sanctus vt hic dominus, qui solus ab omni  
 Labe fuit mundus, sanctificansque reos. 490  
 Et nisi tu non est alius, quia sunt nichil omnes  
 Hii quos mentitur aurea forma deos.  
 Sic beat ecclesia nos per te larga bonorum,  
 Et Sinagoga suis est viduata bonis.

Hic tractat quod in re sculptili vel conflati non est con-  
 fidendum, nec eciam talia adorari debent; set quod ex illis  
 in ecclesia visis mens remorsa ad solum deum contem-  
 plandum cicius commoueat.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. O maledicta deo gens perfida, nempe pagani,  
 Quos incredulitas non sinit esse sacros ;  
 Recta fides Cristi quos horret, nam sine recto  
 Iure creatoris ligna creata colunt.  
 Incuruat homo, sese prosternit, adorat  
 Ligna, creatoris inmemor ipse sui. 500  
 Ligna sibi, lapides, que cernit ymagine sculpta,  
 Quodlibet ipse suum iactitat esse deum.  
 Quem deus erexit, pronus iacet ante fauillam,  
 Et sculptam statuam stipitis orat homo ;  
 Orat opem, petit auxilium, nec muta refantur,  
 Postulat et manibus quos creat ipsa manus.  
 Quam vacui sensus est et rationis egeni,  
 Quod dominus rerum res facit esse deos !  
 O perturbate mentis reminiscere pensa,  
 Cuius erat primo condicionis homo : 510  
 Ad mentem reuoca titulum, quo te deus olim  
 Insignem fecit, cum dedit esse tibi.  
 Nonne fuit primo totus tibi conditus orbis,  
 Subiecteque tuis nutibus eius opes ?  
 Non fuit ad cultum, factus fuit orbis ad vsum,  
 Esse tuus seruus, non deus esse tuus.  
 Que iubet ergo tibi ratio, quod vel faber igne  
 Conflat vel ligno leuigat, esse deum ?  
 O miser, vnde deos tibi dices ydola vana,  
 Tuque deo similis ad simulacra iaces ? 520  
 Omnibus, heu ! viciis hec est insania maior,

Numina muta coli, dum nichil ipsa sciunt.  
 Que nec habent gressum, tactum, gustum neque visum,  
 Numquid ymaginibus sit reputanda salus?  
 Ad rationale quid brutum, quid minus illud  
 Ad vitale genus, quod neque viuit, erit?  
 Arboris est vna pars sulcus, pars et ymago,  
 Pars pulmenta coquit, arbor et vna fuit:  
 Ecce duas partes calco, set tertia sculpta  
 Nescio deberet qua ratione coli. 530

‘Fiat eis similis ea qui componit, et ille  
 Qui confidit eis’: sic iubet ipse deus.  
 Dignior est sculptor sculpto: concluditur ergo  
 Quod nimis est fatuus qui colit actor opus.  
 Nos set ymaginibus aliter fruimur, puto, sculptis,  
 Non ad culturam ius minuendo dei;  
 Nos set habemus eas, memores quibus amplius esse  
 Possumus, vt sanctis intima vota demus.  
 Credimus esse deum, non esse deos, neque ritus  
 Nos gentilis habet: absit ab orbe procul! 540  
 Set cum causa lucri statuas componit et illas  
 Ornat, vt ex plebe carpere dona putet,  
 Qui sic fingit opus saltem deuotus ad aurum,  
 Nescio quid meriti fabrica talis habet.  
 Cumque deus Moysi fuerat de monte locutus,  
 Visa dei populo nulla figura fuit;  
 Nam si quam speciem populus vidisset, eadem  
 Forma fecisset sculptile forsan opus.  
 Set deus ex tali sculpto qui spernit honorem,  
 Noluit effigiem quamque notare suam; 550  
 Est set ymago dei, puto, iuncta caro rationi,  
 Ex qua culturam vendicat ipse suam.

Vndique signa crucis in honore Ihesu crucifixi  
 Mentibus impressa sunt adoranda satis.  
 Vis crucis infernum vicit, veterisque ruine,  
 Demone deiecto, crux reparauit opus:  
 Crux est vera salus, crux est venerabile lignum,  
 Mors mortis, vite porta, perhenne decus:  
 Pectora purificat, mentemque rubigine mundat,  
 Clarificat corda, corpora casta facit; 560

Dat sensus, auget vires, tollitque timorem  
 Mortis, et ad martem corda parata facit.  
 In cruce libertas redit, et perit illa potestas,  
 Hoste triumphato, que dedit ante mori :  
 In cruce religio, ritus cultusque venuste  
 Gentis concludunt omnia sacra simul :  
 In cruce porta patet paradisi, flammeus ensis  
 Custos secreti desiit esse loci :  
 Ecce vides quantis prefulgeat illa figuris,  
 Pagina quam pulcre predicet omnis eam. 570  
 Mira quidem crucis est virtus, qua tractus ab alto  
 Vnicus est patris, vt pateretur homo.  
 Vi crucis infernum Cristus spoliauit, et illam,  
 Perdita que fuerat, inde reuexit ouem :  
 Vi crucis in celum conscendit, et astra paterni  
 Luminis ingrediens ad sua regna redit :  
 Glorificata caro, que sustulit in cruce penas,  
 Presidet in celo sede locata dei.  
 Sic virtute pie crucis et celestis amoris  
 Surgit in ecclesia gracia lege noua. 580

**Hic dicit quod, exquo solus deus omnia creauit, solus  
 est a creaturis adorandus, et est eciam magne rationis vt  
 ipse omnia gubernet et secundum merita et demerita  
 hominum in sua voluntate solus iudicet.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Semper id est quod erat et erit, trinus deus vnus ;  
 Nec sibi principium, nec sibi finis adest :  
 Principium tamen et finem dedit omnibus esse,  
 Omnia per quem sunt, et sine quo nichil est.  
 Que vult illa potest vt sufficiens in idipsum ;  
 Iussit, et illico sunt que iubet ipse fore :  
 Cuius ad imperium famulantur cuncta creata,  
 Hunc volo, credo meum celitus esse deum.  
 Dum sit aperta dei manus omnia replet habunde,  
 Auertenteque se, vertitur omne retro. 590  
 Singula iudicio sapiens sic diuidit equo,  
 Fallere seu falli quod nequit ipse deus.  
 Res est equa nimis, deus exquo cuncta creauit,



Sint vt in arbitrio subdita cuncta suo.

Cum solo causante deo sint cuncta creata,

Num fortuna dei soluere possit opus?

Que nil principiis valuit, nec fine valebit,

Estimo quod mediis nil valet ipsa suis.

Quis terre molem celique volubile culmen,

Quis ve mouere dedit sidera? Nonne deus?

600

Quis ve saporauit in dulcia flumina fontes,

Vel quis amara dedit equora? Nonne deus?

Conditor orbis ad hoc quod condidit esse volebat,

Vt deseruiet fabrica tota deo.

Terram vestiuit herbis et floribus herbas,

Flores in fructus multiplicare dedit:

Invigilat summo studio ditescere terram,

Et fecundare fertilitate sua:

Nec satis est mundus quod flumine, fontibus, ortis,

Floribus et tanto germine diues erat;

610

Res animare nouas, varias formare figuras,

Et speciebus eas diuaticare parat.

Diuersi generis animancia terra recepit,

Ingemuitque nouo pondere pressa suo;

Distribuitque locos ad eorum proprietates,

Iuxta quod proprium cuilibet esse dedit,

Montibus hiis, illis conuallibus, hiis nemorosis,

Pluribus in planis dans habitare locis:

Aera sumpsit auis, piscis sibi vendicat vndas,

Planiciem pecudes, deuia queque fere.

620

Ars operi dictat formas, opifexque figurat,

Artificis sequitur fabrica tota manum.

Fortune nichil attribuit, set solus vt ipse

Cuncta creat, solus cuncta creata regit:

Est nichil infelix, nichil aut de sorte beatum,

Immo viri meritis dat sua dona deus.

Quicquid adest igitur, sapiens qui scripta reuoluit

Dicet fortunam non habuisse ream:

Hoc fateor vere, quicquid contingit in orbe,

Nos sumus in causa, sint bona siue mala.

630

Hic dicit quod, ex quo non a fortuna, set meritis et demeritis, ea que nos in mundo prospera et aduersa vocamus digno dei iudicio hominibus contingunt, intendit consequenter scribere de statu hominum, qualiter se ad presens habent, secundum hoc quod per sompnum superius dictum vidit et audiuit.

Incipit prologus libri tercii.

Cum bona siue mala sit nobis sors tribuenda  
 Ex propriis meritis, hiis magis hiisque minus,  
 Fit mundiue status in tres diuisio partes,  
 Omnibus vnde viris stat quasi sortis opus,  
 Et modo per vicia quia sors magis astat iniqua,  
 Ponderet in causis quilibet acta suis:  
 In quocumque gradu sit homo, videatur in orbe  
 Que sibi sunt facta, sors cadit vnde rea.  
 Non ego personas culpabo, set increpo culpas,  
 Quas in personis cernimus esse reas. 10  
 A me non ipso loquor hec, set que michi plebis  
 Vox dedit, et sortem plangit vbique malam:  
 Vt loquitur vulgus loquor, et scribendo loquelam  
 Plango, quod est sanctus nullus vt ante status.  
 Quisque suum tangat pectus videatque sequenter  
 Si sit in hoc talis vnde quietus erit.  
 Nescio quis purum se dicet, plebs quia tota  
 Clamat iam lesum quemlibet esse statum.  
 Culpa quidem lata, non culpa leuis, maculauit  
 Tempora cum causis, nos quoque nostra loca: 20  
 Nil generale tamen concludam sub speciali,  
 Nec gero propositum ledere quemque statum.  
 Nouimus esse status tres, sub quibus omnis in orbe  
 More suo viuut atque ministrat eis.

*Heading* Hic incipit ex quo L  
 9 set et S (et in later hand)  
 Sit sic L

Incipit prologus libri tercii om. L  
 13 vulgus] populus (ras.) C 16 Vt sit D

Non status in culpa reus est, set transgredientes  
A virtute status, culpa repugnat eis.

Quod dicunt alii scribam, quia nolo quod vlli  
Sumant istud opus de nouitate mea.

Qui culpat vicia virtutes laudat, vt inde

Stet magis ipse bonus in bonitate sua :

30

Vt patet oppositum nigris manifestius album,

Sic bona cum viciis sunt patefacta magis :

Ne grauet ergo bonos, tangat si scriptor iniquos,

Ponderet hoc cordis lanx pacientis onus :

Vera negant pingi, quia vera relacio scribi

Debet, non blandi falsa loquela doli.

Si qua michi sintilla foret sensus, precor illam

Ad cumulum fructus augeat ille deus :

Si qua boni scriptura tenet, hoc fons bonitatis

Stillet detque deus que bona scribat homo :

40

Fructificet deus in famulo que scripta iuuabunt,

Digna ministret homo semina, grana deus.

Mole rei victus fateor succumbo, set ipsam

Spes michi promittit claudere fine bono :

Quod spes promittit, amor amplexatur, vtrique

Auxiliumque fides consiliumque facit ;

Suggerit, instigat, suadet, fructumque laboris

Spondet, et exclamat, ' Incipe, fiet opus. '

Quo minor est sensus meus, adde tuum, deus, et da,

Oro, pios vultus ad mea vota tuos :

50

Vt nichil abrupte sibi presumat stilus iste,

Da veniam cepto, te, deus, oro, meo.

Non ego sidereas affecto tangere sedes,

Scribere nec summi mistica quero poli ;

Set magis, humana que vox communis ad extra

Plangit in hac terra, scribo moderna mala :

Vtilis aduerso quia confert tempore sermo,

Promere tendo mala iam bona verba die.

Nulla Susurro queat imponere scandala, per que

Auris in auditu negligat ora libri :

60

Non malus interpret aliquam michi concitet iram,

Quid nisi transgressis dum loquar ipse reis.

Erigit, oro, pia tenuem manus ergo carectam,



Vt mea sincero currat in axe rota :  
 Scribentem iuuat ipse fauor minuatque laborem,  
 Cum magis in pauido pectore perstat opus :  
 Omnia peruersas poterunt corrumpere mentes,  
 Stant tamen illa suis singula tuta locis :  
 Vt magis ipse queam, reliqui poterintque valere,  
 Scit deus, ista mei vota laboris erunt.

70

Aspice, quique leges ex ipsis concipe verbis,  
 Hoc michi non odium scribere suadet opus.  
 Si liber iste suis mordebitur ex inimicis,  
 Hoc peto ne possint hunc lacerare tamen :  
 Vade, liber, seruos sub eo qui liberat omnes,  
 Nec mala possit iter rumpere lingua tuum ;  
 Si, liber, ora queas transire per inuida liber,  
 Imponent alii scandala nulla tibi.  
 Non erit in dubio mea vox clamans, erit omnis  
 Namque fides huius maxima vocis homo.  
 Si michi tam sepe liquet excusacio facta,  
 Ignoscas, timeo naufragus omne fretum.

80

O sapiens, sine quo nichil est sapientia mundi,  
 Cuius in obsequium me mea vota ferunt,  
 Te precor instanti da tempore, Criste, misertus,  
 Vt metra que pecii prompta parare queam ;  
 Turgida deuitet, falsum mea penna recuset  
 Scribere, set scribat que modo vera videt.  
 In primis caueat ne fluctuet, immo decenter  
 Quod primo ponit carmine seruet opus :  
 Hic nichil offendant lectorem, sit nisi verum  
 Aut veri simile, quod mea scripta dabunt.  
 In te qui es verus mea sit sententia vera,  
 Non ibi figmentum cernere possit homo :  
 Conueniatque rei verbum sensumque ministret,  
 Dulce sit et quicquam commoditatis habens :  
 Absit adulari, nec sit michi fabula blesa,  
 Nec michi laus meriti sit sine laude tua.  
 Da loquar vt vicium minuatur et ammodo virtus  
 Crescat, vt in mundo mundior extet homo :  
 Tu gressus dispone meos, tu pectus adauge,  
 Tu sensus aperi, tu plue verba michi ;

90

100

Et quia sub trino mundi status ordine fertur,  
 Sub trina serie tu mea scripta foue.  
 Hiis tibi libatis nouus intro nauta profundum,  
 Sacrum pneuma rogans vt mea vela regas.

Hic tractat qualiter status et ordo mundi in tribus consistit gradibus, sunt enim, vt dicit, Clerus, Milicies, et Agricultores, de quorum errore mundi infortunia nobis contingunt. Vnde primo videndum est de errore cleri precipue in ordine prelatorum, qui potenciores aliis existunt; et primo dicit de prelatis illis qui Cristi scolam dogmatizant et eius contrarium operantur.

Incipit liber tercius.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. **S**unt Clerus, Miles, Cultor, tres trina gerentes,  
 Set de prelatis scribere tendo prius.  
 Scisma patens hodie monstrat quod sunt duo pape,  
 Vnus scismaticus, alter et ille bonus:  
 Francia scismaticum colit et statuit venerandum,  
 Anglia set rectam seruat vbique fidem.

---

*As follows in CHGEDL,*

\*Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. Sunt Clerus, Miles, Cultor, tres trina gerentes;  
 Hic docet, hic pugnat, alter et arua colit.  
 Quid sibi sit Clerus primo videamus, et ecce  
 Eius in exemplis iam stupet omnis humus.  
 Scisma patens hodie monstrat quod sunt duo pape,  
 Vnus scismaticus, alter et ille bonus:

---

*As follows in TH<sub>2</sub>,*

\*\*Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. Sunt clerus, miles, cultor, tres trina gerentes;  
 Hic docet, hic pugnat, alter et arua colit.  
 Quid sibi sit clerus primo videamus, et ecce  
 De reliquis fugiens mundus adheret eis.  
 Primo prelatus constat preferre sequendos,  
 Nam via doctorum tucior illa foret.

*In place of Incipit &c., L has here the four lines 'Ad mundum mitto,' with picture below: see p. 19.*

4\* exempla D humus] mundus DL  
 1\*\* regentes H<sub>2</sub> 4\*\* mundit T

Ergo meis scriptis super hoc vbicumque legendis  
Sint bona dicta bonis, et mala linquo malis.

Inter prelatos dum Cristi quero sequaces,  
Regula nulla manet, que prius esse solet. 10  
Cristus erat pauper, illi cumulantur in auro;  
Hic pacem dederat, hii modo bella mouent:  
Cristus erat largus, hii sunt velut archa tenaces;  
Hunc labor inuasit, hos fouet aucta quies:  
Cristus erat mitis, hii sunt tamen impetuosi;  
Hic humilis subiit, hii superesse volunt:  
Cristus erat miserans, hii vindictamque sequuntur;  
Sustulit hic penas, hos timor inde fugat:

Francia scismaticum colit et statuit venerandum,  
Anglia sed rectam seruat vbique fidem.  
Ergo meis scriptis super hoc vbicumque legendis  
Sint bona dicta bonis, et mala linquo malis. 10\*

Delicias mundi negat omnis regula Cristi,  
Sed modo prelati preuaricantur ibi.  
Cristus erat pauper, illi cumulantur in auro;  
Hic humilis subiit, hii superesse volunt:  
Cristus erat mitis, hos pompa superbit inanis;  
Hic pacem dederat, hii modo bella ferunt:  
Cristus erat miserans, hii vindictamque sequuntur;  
Mulcet eum pietas, hos mouet ira frequens:

Morigeris verbis modo sunt quam plura docentes,  
Facta tamen dictis dissona cerno suis.  
Ipse Ihesus facere bene cepit, postque docere,  
Set modo prelatis non manet ille modus. 10\*\*  
Ille fuit pauper, isti cumulantur in auro;  
Hic pacem dederat, hii quoque bella ferunt:  
Ille fuit largus, hii sunt velut archa tenaces;  
Hunc labor inuasit, hos fouet aucta quies:  
Ille fuit mitis, hii sunt magis igne furentes;  
Hic humilis subiit, hii superesse volunt:  
Ille misertus erat, hii vindictamque sequuntur;  
Sustulit hic penas, hos timor inde fugat:



Cristus erat virgo, sunt illi raro pudici;  
 Hic bonus est pastor, hii set ouile vorant: 20  
 Cristus erat verax, hii blandaque verba requirunt;  
 Cristus erat iustus, hii nisi velle vident:  
 Cristus erat constans, hii vento mobiliiores;  
 Obstitit ipse malis, hii magis illa sinunt:  
 Hii pleno stomacho laudant ieiunia Cristi;  
 Cristus aquam peciit, hii bona vina bibunt:  
 Et quotquot poterit mens escas premeditari  
 Lautas, pro stomacho dant renouare suo.  
 Esca placens ventri, sic est et venter ad escas,  
 Vt Venus a latere stet bene pasta gule. 30  
 Respuit in monte sibi Cristus singula regna,  
 Hiis nisi mundana gloria sola placet.  
 Moribus assuetus olim simplex fuit, et nunc  
 Presul opes mores deputat esse suos.

---

Cristus erat verax, hii blandaque verba requirunt;  
 Cristus erat iustus, hii nisi velle vident: 20\*  
 Cristus erat constans, hii vento mobiliiores;  
 Obstitit ille malis, hii mala stare sinunt:  
 Cristus erat virgo, sunt illi raro pudici;  
 Hic bonus est pastor, hii sed ouile vorant:  
 Hii pleno stomacho laudant ieiunia Cristi;  
 Mollibus induti, nudus et ipse pedes:  
 Et que plus poterunt sibi fercula lautâ parari,  
 Ad festum Bachi dant holocausta quasi. 28\*  
 Esca placens ventri, &c. *as* 29 ff.

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Ille fuit virgo, vix vnus castus eorum;  
 Hic bonus est pastor, hii set ouile vorant: 20\*\*  
 Ille fuit verax, hii blandaque verba requirunt;  
 Ille fuit iustus, hii nisi velle vident:  
 Ille fuit constans, hii vento mobiliiores;  
 Obstitit ipse malis, hii magis ipsa sinunt:  
 Hii pleno stomacho laudant ieiunia Cristi;  
 Hic limpham peciit, hii bona vina bibunt: 26\*\*  
 Et quotquot poterit &c., *as* 27 ff.

22\* ille CD ipse HGEL

27\* poterint D

24\*\* ipse] ille Ha

Creuerunt set opes et opum furiosa cupido,  
Et cum possideant plurima, plura petunt.  
Sunt in lege dei nuper magis hii meditati,  
Numen eis vultum prestitit vnde suum :  
Nunc magis intrauit animos suspectus honorum,  
Fit precium dignis, sunt neque cuncta satis. 40  
In precio precium nunc est, dat census honores,  
Omneque pauperies subdita crimen habet.  
Cum loquitur diues, omnis tunc audiet auris,  
Pauperis ore tamen nulla loquela valet :  
Si careat censu, sensus nichil est sapienti,  
Census in orbe modo sensibus ora premit.  
Pauper erit stultus, loquitur licet ore Catonis ;  
Diues erit sapiens, nil licet ipse sciat :  
Est in conspectu paupertas vilis eorum  
Cuiuscumque viri, sit licet ipse bonus ; 50  
Sit licet et diues peruerse condicionis,  
Horum iudiciis non erit ipse malus.  
Nil artes, nil pacta fides, nil gracia lingue,  
Nil fons ingenii, nil probitas, sine re :  
Nullus inops sapiens ; vbi res, ibi copia sensus ;  
Si sapiat pauper, nil nisi pauper erit.  
Quem mundus reprobat, en nos reprobamus eundem,  
Vtque perit pereat perdicionis opus ;  
Nos set eum laude nostra dignum reputamus,  
Copia quem mundi duxit ad orbis opes : 60  
Et sic prelatis mundus prefertur ab intus,  
Hiis tamen exterius fingitur ipse deus.

Laudamus veteres, nostris tamen vtimur annis,  
Nec vetus in nobis regula seruat iter :  
Non tunc iusticiam facinus mortale fugarat,  
Que nunc ad superos rapta reliquit humum.  
Felices anime mundum renuere, set intus  
Cura domos superas scandere tota fuit ;  
Non venus aut vinum sublimia pectora fregit,  
Que magis interius concupiere deum. 70  
Plura videre potes modo set nouitatis ad instans,  
Que procul a Cristi laude superba gerunt :  
Nunc magis illesa seruant sua corpora leta,

Set non sunt ista gaudia nata fide :  
 Sufficit hiis sola fide pietatis in vmbra,  
 Dicant pomposi, quam pius ordo dei.  
 Pro fidei meritis prelati tot paciuntur,  
 Vnde viros sanctos nos reputamus eos.

**Hic loquitur de prelatiis illis qui carnalia appetentes vltra  
 modum delicate viuunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Permanet ecce status Thome, cessit tamen actus,  
 Normaque Martini deperit alma quasi ; 80  
 Sic qui pastor erat, nunc Mercenarius extat,  
 Quo fugiente lupus spergit vbique gregem.  
 Non caput in gladio iam vincit, nec valet arto  
 Vincere cilicio deliciosa caro :  
 Ollarum carnes preponit fercula, porros,  
 Gebas pro manna presul habere petit.  
 Prodolor ! en tales sinus ecclesie modo nutrit,  
 Qui pro diuinis terrea vana petunt.  
 Ollarum carnes carnalia facta figurant,  
 Que velut in cleri carne libido coquit. 90  
 Est carni cognata venus, iactancia, fastus,  
 Ambicio, liuor, crapula, rixa, dolus.  
 Ventre saginato veneris suspirat ad vsum  
 Carnis amica caro, carnea membra petens :  
 Et sic non poterunt virtutum tangere culmen,  
 Dum dominatur eis ventris iniquus amor.  
 Subuertunt Sodomam tumor, ocia, copia panis,  
 Impietasque tenax : presul, ad ista caue.  
 Set modo prelati dicant michi quicquid ad aures,  
 Lex tamen ex proprio velle gubernat eos : 100  
 Si mundo placeant carnique placencia reddant,  
 Ex anima virtus raro placebit eis.  
 Bachus adest festo patulo diffusus in auro,  
 Precellit calices maior honore ciphus ;  
 Glorificans mensam non aurea vasa recondit,  
 Quo poterit vano vanus honore frui.  
 Aula patet cunctis oneratque cibaria mensas,  
 Indulgetque nimis potibus atque cibis :



Vestibus et facie longus nitet ordo clientum,  
 Ad domini nutus turba parata leues :  
 Sic modico ventri vastus vix sufficit orbis,  
 Atque ministrorum vocibus aula fremit.  
 Tantum diuitibus, aliis non festa parantur,  
 Nec valet in festo pauper habere locum ;  
 Vanaque sic pietas stat victa cupidine ventris ;  
 Dum sit honor nobis, nil reputatur onus.

110

Sicque famem Cristi presul laudare gulosus  
 Presumit, simile nec sibi quicquid agit ;  
 Quicquid et ad vicium mare nutrit, terra vel aer,  
 Querit habetque sibi luxuriosa fames :  
 Esuriens anima maceratur, et ipsa voluptas  
 Carnis ad excessum crassat in ore gulam.  
 Sic epulis largis est pleno ventre beatus  
 Luce, set in scortis gaudia noctis habet ;  
 Cumque genas bibulas Bachus rubefecerit ambas,  
 Erigit ex stimulis cornua ceca Venus :  
 Sic preclara viri virtus, sic vita beata  
 Deliciis pastus cum meretrice cubat.  
 Frigida nulla timet Acherontis, quem calefactum  
 Confouet incesti lectus amore sui ;  
 Sicque voluptatum varia dulcedine gaudet,  
 Et desideriis seruit vbique suis ;  
 Sicque ioco, venere, vino sompnoque beatus,  
 Expendit vite tempora vana sue.  
 Nescit perpetuo quod torrem nutriat igni  
 Corpus, quod tantis nutrit alitque modis.

120

130

**Hic loquitur de prelatis illis qui lucris terrenis inhiant, honore  
 prelaeie gaudent, et non vt prosint set vt presint, episcopatum  
 desiderant.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Nemo potest verus dominis seruire duobus,  
 Presul in officio fert tamen illa duo :  
 Eterni regis seruum se dicit, et ipse  
 Terreno regi seruit et astat ei :  
 Clauiger ethereus Petrus extitit, isteque poscit  
 Claues thesauri regis habere sibi.

140

Sic est deuotus cupidus, mitisque superbus,  
 Celicus et qui plus sollicitatur humo :  
 Sic mundum sic et Cristum retinebit vtrumque,  
 Mundus amicicior, Cristus amicus, erit.  
 Inter eos, maior quis sit, lis sepe mouetur,  
 Set quis erit melior, questio nulla sonat :  
 Si tamen ad mundi visum facies bonitatis  
 Eminet, hoc raro viscera cordis habent.

150

Hoc deus esse pium statuit quodcunque iuuaret,  
 Nos tamen ad nocuas prouocat ira manus :  
 Vti iusticia volo, set conuertor in iram,  
 Principiumque bonum destruit ira sequens :  
 Carnem castigo, miseros sustento, set inde  
 Nascens furatur gloria vana bonum.  
 Istud fermentum mundane laudis et ire  
 Absque lucro meriti respuit ira dei :  
 In vicium virtus sic vertitur, vt sibi mundus  
 Gaudeat et Cristus transeat absque lucris.

160

Vt presul prosit dudum sic ordo petebat,  
 Set modo que presit mitra colenda placet.  
 Presulis ex precibus populo peccante solebat  
 Ira dei minui nec meminisse mali ;  
 Nuncque manus Moyses non erigit in prece noster,  
 Nos Amalech ideo vexat in ense suo.  
 Moyse leuante manus Iosue victoria cedit,  
 Dumque remittit eas, victus ab hoste redit :  
 Sic pro plebe manu, lacrimis, prece, sidera pulsans  
 Presul ab instanti munit ab hoste suos ;  
 Ac, si dormitet victus torpore sacerdos,  
 Subdita plebs viciis de leuitate cadit.  
 Quos habeat fructus suplex deuocio iusti,  
 In precibus Moysi quisque notare potest.

170

Qui bonus est pastor gregis ex pietate mouetur,  
 Et propriis humeris fert sibi pondus ouis ;  
 Qui licet immunis sit ab omni labe, suorum  
 Membrorum culpas imputat ipse sibi.  
 Non in se Cristus crimen transisse fatetur,  
 Set reus in membris dicitur esse suis :  
 Non facit hic populum delinquere, set tamen eius

180

Suscepit culpas vt remoueret eas.  
 Nunc tamen, vt dicunt, est presul talis in orbe,  
 Qui docet hoc factum, nec tamen illud agit :  
 Nam qui de proprio se ledit crimine, raro  
 Efficitur curis hic aliena salus :  
 Non valet ille deo conferre salubria voto,  
 Ad mundi cultum qui dedit omne suum.

Presul in orbe gregem curare tenetur egentem,  
 Ipse videns maculas vngere debet eas : 190  
 Set si magnatos presul noscat maculatos,  
 Illos non audet vngere, namque timet.  
 Si reliqui peccent, quid ob hoc dum soluere possunt ?  
 Torquentur bursa sic reus atque rea :  
 Ipse gregis loculos mulget, trahit in tribulosque  
 Cause quo lana vulsa manebit ei.  
 Quod corpus peccat peccantis bursa relaxat :  
 Hec statuunt iura presulis ecce noua.  
 Sic iteranda modo venus affert lucra registro ;  
 Dum patitur bursa, sunt residua mala : 200  
 Dum locus pregnat satis, impregnare licebit ;  
 Dat partus loculi iura subacta tibi.  
 Sic timor et lucrum sunt qui peccata relaxant,  
 Sub quorum manibus omne recumbit opus :  
 Sic lucri causa presul mulcet sua iura,  
 Annuit et nostris fas adhibere malis :  
 Mammona sic nummi nobis dispensat iniqui,  
 Non tamen eternas prestat habere domos.

Nunc fuit en Iudex, si luxuracio simplex  
 Fiat, et incestum nescit habere reum : 210  
 Si coheat laicus resolutus cum resoluta,  
 Clamat in ecclesia clerus et horret ea ;  
 Clerus et in cohitu si peccet, nil reputatur,  
 Dum Iudex cause parsque sit ipse sue.  
 Sic modo dii gentis subuertunt cunctipotentis  
 Iura, que dant michi ius, sum magis vnde reus :  
 Sicque grauant alios duro sub pondere pressos,  
 Inque suis humeris quam leue fertur onus.  
 Vxor adulterio deprensa remittitur, in quo  
 Exemplum venie Cristus habere docet ; 220



Tale tamen crimen non aurea bursa redemit,  
 Set contrita magis mens medicamen habet.  
 Non tamen est lacrima modo que delere valebit  
 Crimen, si bursa nesciat inde forum :  
 Bursa valet culpam, valet expurgareque penam,  
 Bursa valet quantum curia nostra valet.

**Hic loquitur de legibus eorum positivis, que quamvis  
 ad cultum anime necessarie non sunt, infinitas  
 tamen constitutiones quasi cotidie ad eorum  
 lucrum nobis grauiter imponunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiii. Num dat pre manibus sceleris veniam michi Christus?  
 Non puto, set facto post miseretur eo:  
 Aut quod peccatum non est, numquid prohibendum  
 Hoc Christus statuit? talia nulla facit. 230  
 Nunc set, que Moysi neque lex prohibet neque Cristi,  
 Plurima decretis dant prohibenda nouis;  
 Set michi que statuunt hodie peccata, remittunt  
 Cras, sibi si dedero: de quibus ergo peto.  
 Aut est quod proprie res peccatum gerit in se,  
 Aut nisi sit vetita, non foret ipsa mala.  
 Est si peccatum, tunc cur, quam sit prius actum,  
 Prestat idem nummis posse licere meis?  
 Est si res licita, tunc cur sua lex positua  
 Hanc fore dampnandam striccius artat eam? 240  
 Hoc de iusticia puto non venit, immo voluntas  
 Taliter vt fiat lucra petendo iubet:  
 Exequitur iuste rem iustam, qui bene causas  
 Non zelo nummi iudicat, immo dei.  
 Legibus ecclesie quicquid sit in orbe ligatum  
 Ex iusta causa, credo ligare decet:  
 Set nichil iniustum deus accipit, vnde nec alter  
 Affirmare potest quod deus ipse negat.  
 Alcius ecce Simon temptat renouare volatum,  
 Ne cadat ipse nouo plura timere potest. 250

*Heading* Hic loquitur quomodo de legibus positivis quasi cotidie noua  
 instituuntur nobis peccata, quibus tamen priusquam fiant prelati propter  
 lucrum dispensant, et ea fieri libere propter aurum permittunt LTHa  
 (Hic quomodo diligentibus positivis . . . prius fiant &c. L. liberi LT)

229 numquam L. vnquam D

\*\*\*\*

Non laqueare venit iter humanum pius ille  
 Cristus, set planam dirigit ipse viam;  
 Nos tamen ex plano componimus aspera, durum  
 Ex molli, que scelus pro pietate damus.  
 Lex etenim Cristi fuit hec quam gracia mulcet,  
 Nostra set ex penis lex positua riget.  
 Lex Cristi simplex sub paucis condita verbis  
 Clauditur, vnde iugum suaue ministrat onus:  
 Infinita tamen legis sententia nostre  
 Aggravat, et finem vix habet ipsa suum. 260  
 Libera lex Cristi satis est, fit legeque nostra  
 Absque lucro gratis gracia nulla viris.  
 Omne fit ex causa; sic est quod lex positua,  
 Quam fundat clerus, grande figurat opus.  
 In quanto volucres petit auceps carpere plures,  
 Vult tanto laqueos amplificare suos:  
 In quanto leges auget clerus posituas,  
 Fit magis hiis stricta gentis in orbe via:  
 Cum magis in stricto gradimur, cicius pede lapso  
 Sternimur, et clero subpeditamur eo: 270  
 Cum sibi plus mundum teneat clerusque subactum,  
 Tum magis ecclesia gestat in orbe lucra:  
 Dum magis est clerus diues, magis inde superbus  
 Astat, et ex velle dat sua iura fore.  
 Sol notat ecclesiam, Sinagogam luna figurat,  
 Set modo custodes ista nec illa ferunt:  
 Sunt qui nec legis veteris precepta reseruant,  
 Nec que Cristus eis addidit ipse noua.  
 Nuper erat firmus presul sine crimine sanctus,  
 Vtilis in populo, dignior ante deum; 280  
 Set modo si mundum poterit complectere vanum,  
 Est sibi nil populi laus vel ab ore dei.

**Hic loquitur de prelatis qui bona mundi temporalia possidentes spiritalia omittunt.**

Cap<sup>ma</sup>. v. Hec vox angelica, que nuper in ethere Romam  
 Terruit, en nostro iam patet orbe nouo.  
 Tempore Siluestri, dum Constantinus eidem  
 Contulit ecclesie terrea dona sue,

258 iugum] suum C

273 Dum S Cum CEHDL

'Virus in ecclesia seritur nunc,' angelus inquit,

'Terrea dum mundi fit domus ipsa dei.'

Sic fuit vt dixit, postquam possessio creuit

In proprium cleri, virus adhesit ei:

290

Sic reditus iam quisque suos amat, et sibi quid sit

Vtile sollicitis computat ipse viis.

Ecclesie iura sibi nil sunt, dummodo castra

Curant cum terris amplificare suis.

Esuriunt mundum semper, set in ordine solum

Nomen ab ecclesiis sufficit illud eis.

Ordinis angelici fertur quod sunt dominati

Atque potestates, sic et in orbe vides;

Nam quia clerus ibi nequit ipsis assimilari,

Ferre gerarchiam dat sibi terra suam:

300

Sic quia prelatus dubitat quid carpere celis,

Huius vult mundi certus honore frui.

Dixit Pilato Cristus, quod in hoc sibi mundo

Non fuerat regnum: iam neque presul eum

Consequitur, set ei contraria sumere cuncti

Regna volunt, et in hiis bella mouere viris.

Pro fidei causis nolunt dare bella paganis,

Solum nec verba pandere lege sacra;

Set pro terrenis si contradixerit ipsis

Saltem Cisticola, dant ibi bella fera.

310

Sic quia mundana sine Cristo iam capit arma

Clerus in ecclesia, iure carebit ea.

'Cognoscetis eos,' Cristus, 'de fructibus horum,'

Dicit, et est illa regula vera satis.

Quomodocumque suam clerus legem posituam

Laruat, erit testis cultus ad acta foris.

Egros vmbra Petri sanauit, lux neque nostra

Nec vox nec votum ferre meretur opem.

Subdita decurrit pedibus super equora siccis

Petrus, iam nostram mergit et vnda fidem.

320

Qui nos prosequitur, Cristi de lege iubemur

Illum per nostras rectificare preces;

Nos tamen absque deo de iure nouo positiuo

Vindictam gladii ferre monemus ibi.

Sic hos destruimus quos edificare tenemur,

300 gerarchiam SHT Ierarchiam CL ierarchiam ED



Perdimus et Cristi quod tulit ipse lucri.  
 'Sit michi vindicta,' deus inquit, set quia papa  
 Est deus in terris, vindicat ipse prius.

**Hic loquitur qualiter Cristus pacem suis discipulis dedit et reliquit: dicit tamen quod modo propter bona terrena guerras saltem contra Cristianos prelati legibus suis positiuis instituunt et prosequuntur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Ante sue mortis tempus dedit atque reliquit  
 Pacem discipulis Cristus habere suis; 330  
 Et quia tunc solum cupiebant nil nisi Cristum,  
 In Cristi pace cuncta tulere pie.  
 Set quia nunc mundum cupiunt tantummodo vanum,  
 Que sibi sunt mundus bella ministrat eis;  
 Et quia belligeram ducit clerus modo vitam,  
 Auctor eos pacis non iuuat ipse deus.  
 Dixerat ad Petrum Cristus, 'Quicumque virorum  
 Percutit in gladio, fine peribit eo':  
 Nec poterit falli fateor sententia Cristi,  
 Quamuis sit cleri mortifer ensis ibi. 340  
 Percuciunt ense; si quisque repercutit, inde  
 Dampnat eum libri lex positiua noui.  
 Predicat en Petrus, set pugnat papa modernus,  
 Hic animas, alius querit auarus opes:  
 Hic fuit occisus pro iure dei, tamen alter  
 Occidit, neque ius sic habet ipse deus:  
 Simplicitate fidem non viribus excitat vnus,  
 Alter et in pompis prouocat arma magis.  
 Vult Deus vt non sit temeraria nostra querela,  
 Set mala que patimur vindicet illa deus: 350  
 Hostiles acies inimicaque vinximus ora,  
 Cum vindex nostras nesciat ira vias.  
 Mollibus in rebus non se probat accio Cristi,  
 Tempore set duro se probat alta fides:  
 Militat in Cristo pia que pacientia tristi  
 Materiam vere tempore laudis habet.  
 Cristus erat paciens, probra dum tulit omnia, set nos  
 De facto minimo commouet ira modo.

*Heading 2 dicitur tamen nunc D dicitur tamen L*  
 351 vinximus SDL vincimus CEHG

Omne vigebat opus, dum cleri nobiliores  
 Cuncta sub arbitrio deseruere dei;  
 Ipsa vetus pietas plantare fidem dabat, et nunc  
 Extirpat vindex ira superba patrum.  
 'Non gladius saluat, et qui sperabit in arcu  
 Non saluatur eo,' testificante Dauid:  
 Set nos Dauiticam variamus tradicionem,  
 Dumque sacerdotis sit gladiata manus.  
 Archa vetus Moysi valuit, nobisque valebit  
 Arcus qui populum tensus in orbe ferit.  
 In celo posuit deus arcum, sit quod ibidem  
 Federis in signum pacis ad omne genus;  
 Nos tamen in terris nostrum dum tendimus arcum,  
 Pacis in exilium signa cruoris habet.  
 Adiuet ipse deus quos vult, set noster in armis  
 Saluus erit clerus militis acta tenens.

360

370

Criste, tua forti Sathanam virtute ligasti,  
 Quem nos de clero soluimus ecce nouo;  
 Ipse solutus enim soluit quoscumque ligatos,  
 Quo sua vota deo soluere nemo venit.  
 Abbatem monachus nescit, nec claustra priorem  
 Ordinis in forma iam retinere queunt;  
 A dextro latere meretricem dumque sacerdos  
 Et gladium leua promptus ad arma tenet.  
 Quis tali melius est consignatus in orbe,  
 Forcior armatus, vt bene bella ferat?  
 Tempore quo cohitum natura mouet, pecus omne  
 Prouocat ex facili bella furore suo:  
 Set si causa sit hec, sumat qua presbiter arma,  
 Longior a pace pugna perhennis erit.

Nota hic de b  
 Cleri tempore Re  
 Ricardi in Fland  
 quia tunc non sol  
 seculares set eci  
 regulares presbiter  
 guerris ibidem m  
 talibus quasi L  
 380 spoliantes insisteru

Militis officium non aris thurificare  
 Est, neque presbiteri publica bella sequi.  
 Si valet in bello clerus sibi ferre triumphum,  
 Ammodo quid validi militis acta valent?  
 Quem decet orare clerum pugnare videmus,  
 Curam de bellis, non animabus habent.  
 Quid si vulneribus superaddat homo tibi vulnus,

390

375 ff. *marginal note om.* ELTH<sub>2</sub>L<sub>2</sub>      375 *margin* hic *om.* S  
 379 neque C      *margin* in guerris S      guerris CHGD      380 *margin*  
 spoliantes S      *om.* CHGD

Num dici medicus debeat ipse tuus?  
 Num decet aut medicum morbo superaddere morbum,  
 Quo fugit interius longius ipsa salus?  
 Hoc experta docet natura, quod omnis in orbe  
 Qua magis infirmor, est medicina mala. 400  
 Quos reperare decet pacem, si bella frequentent,  
 Nescio quo pacis tutus inire viam.  
 Dicitur vt fortuna rei de fine notatur,  
 Rebus et in dubiis exitus acta probat:  
 Qualis erit finis, seu que fortuna sequetur  
 In cleri bellis scit magis ipse deus.

**Hic loquitur qualiter clerus in amore dei et proximi deberet  
 pius et paciens existere et non bellicosus.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Semper in aduersis est virtus maior, et ecce  
 Lumen in obscuro clarius esse solet.  
 Nobile vincendi genus est paciencia; vincit  
 Qui patitur; si vis vincere, disce pati. 410  
 Armiger ipse tuus et signifer est tibi Cristus,  
 Si simplex fueris et pacienter agas.  
 Ense manu, iaculis, aliis pugnare iubetur,  
 Nos pugnare fide, spe, pietate decet.  
 In seruum domini nichil hostis iuris habebit,  
 Ordine seruato causa fauebit ei:  
 Sic cum doctrinis fueris completus honestis,  
 Tunc hostes poteris inde fugare tuos.  
 Vt sis sublimis meritis accinctus in hostes,  
 Scripture iaculis hostica tela fugas. 420  
 Pro nobis pugnet Ysaïas cum Ieremia,  
 Cum Daniele Iohel, cum Samuele Dauid;  
 Lex euangelii, vox Pauli, sermo prophete,  
 Tres michi sunt testes, nostra stat vnde salus.  
 Cogitat ecce Dauid domino fundare, set audit  
 A domino, templum, 'Non fabricator eris:  
 Es vir sanguineus, ideo dignum michi templum  
 Sanguine fedatus tu fabricare nequis.'  
 Sanguinis effusor, amplectens crimina mundi,  
 Ex bellis templum non valet esse dei: 430  
 Ecclesie sancte talis non erigit edem,



Nec sacre fidei collocat ipse domum.  
 Est nam mors odium, sicut scriptura fatetur;  
 Qui fratres odit est homicida sui:  
 Quomodo nos igitur, plebis de sanguine tincti,  
 Altaris famuli possumus esse dei?  
 Peccantis Cristus vult vitam, nec moriatur,  
 Set conuertatur, viuat vt ipse deo:  
 Et nos pro mundi rebus iugulamus in ense,  
 Quos Cristi sanguis viuere fecit, eos. 440  
 Quas statuit Cristus leges fuerant pietatis,  
 Nec peciit mundi quid nisi corda sibi;  
 Non cordis carnem, set quam dileccio mentem  
 Prestat, et has leges vendicat esse suas:  
 Nos tamen econtra cum sanguine carnea corda  
 Poscimus, vt nostra sit magis ira fera.  
 Nescio si mundum sub guerra vincere tali  
 Possumus; hoc reputo, displicet illa deo:  
 Namque malignantis deus ecclesiam magis odit,  
 Subque manu tali prospera nulla sinit. 450  
 Virtutem dat eis, qui mundum vincere norunt,  
 Ipsa fides Cristi fratris et intus amor.  
 Fratris amor pacem confirmat, federa seruat,  
 Stringit amicicias continuatque fidem:  
 Fratris amor nescit aliena sitire, nec vmquam  
 Que sua sunt querit, nec scit habere suum:  
 Fratris amor ledi non vult nec ledere querit,  
 Nec queritur, nec dat vnde queratur homo.  
 Augens merorem male vindicat ipse dolorem,  
 Dum pugnat clerus obstat et ipse deus: 460  
 Nam mundanus amor premit omni tempore quosque,  
 Set diuina manus seruat ab hoste suos.  
 Prima dei timor est sapiencia, prima salutis  
 Est via, lux prima premia prima parans:  
 Federe perpetuo timor amplexatur amorem,  
 Quem sibi consimili federe iungit amor.  
 Vna nequit virtus alia virtute carere,  
 Nam timor est et amor connumeratus idem:  
 Est pater, hinc amor est; est iudex, inde timetur;  
 Et timor hic et amor comoda multa ferunt. 470

Non timor est serui set nati, suppliciumque  
Non parit, immo parat premia magna viro.

Omnis amans Cristum timet illum ; qui timet ipse  
Non facit excessum, prouocet vnde deum :  
Hic amor inspirat hominem discernere celum,  
Iudicat et mundi gaudia vana fore.  
Est igitur mirum, modo quod discordia cleri  
Non se pacificat huius amoris ope.  
Litera sacra docet, virtus quod amor placet omnis,  
Et non mundanus ambiciosus honor ; 480  
Namque suos mundus dilectores magis arcet,  
Et minus in fine commoditatis habent.  
In veteri lege nullas habuere Leuite  
Terras, nec mundus sollicitauit eos ;  
Immo deo soli plebis pro pace vacare  
Est et non alia sollicitudo sua.  
Non est ergo bonum mundanas sumere guerras,  
Cum deus est mitis et bona pacis amat.

**Hic tractat eciam qualiter non decet prelatos contra populum  
Cristianum ex impaciencia aliququaliter bella mouere ; set tantum  
ex precibus, deo mediante, absque ire impetu omnem mundi  
deuincant maliciam.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. Inuoluens mentem meditando me stupor angit,

Cristi doctrina quam pietosa fuit ; 490  
Omne quod est pacis instruxit regula Cristi,  
Quicquid et est belli nostra cupido mouet.  
Ponit et opponit ratio michi de racione,  
Qualiter ex clero bellicus vnus erit.  
Plures sunt cause, quod non ita fiat, et inde  
Cristus in exemplum plurima verba docet :  
Et si pro mundo fiat, sapiencia mundi  
Arguit econtra, si videatur opus :  
Nam dum pacifici fuerant nec honoris auari,  
Omnis tunc requies glorificabat eos. 500  
Si mundana decet mundanos bellica pugna,  
Longius a clero sit tamen ille furor :  
Que prosunt aliis, aliis nocuisse probantur,  
Quod facit hunc stare, corruet alter eo :

*Heading* deuincant EL deuincat SCHD

Non bene conueniunt laicis misteria cleri,  
Nec clero laici conuenit arma sequi.

Bella gerant alii, regat et paciencia clerum,  
Quique tubis resonant, nos tacuisse decet.  
Quo leuius cessit cuiquam victoria belli,  
Victoris tanto gloria maior erit.

510

Non hiis, qui poterunt ex verbo cuncta ligare,  
Expedi vt ponant quomodocumque manus:  
Non opus est armis, vbi vox benedicta triumphat;  
Qui vincit precibus, est sibi guerra nichil:  
Quem deus in tanto promouit munere clerum,  
Sollemnes satis est voce mouere preces.  
Qui sibi vult pacem, paciens in pace quiescat;  
Non grauat hunc mundus quem iuuat ipse deus:  
Quo casu queris, tibi respondere tenebor:  
Qui bellator erit, bella parantur ei.

520

O quam perduros habet impaciencia fines,  
Vnde solet preceps exitus esse grauis.  
Impetus, vt memini, grauis est deformiter illis,  
Quos sine iure dei propria iura regunt;  
Stultaque multociens nocuit vexacio stulto,  
Qui proprio capiti fine refundit onus:  
Cumque suas vires quis vult preponere Cristi  
Viribus, et bellum vincere credit eis,  
Tanto debilior erit, et cum sic superare  
Se putat, en victus subditur ille prius.

530

Vult implere viam Balaam, set trita flagellis  
Et diuina videns tardat asella viam:  
Quod sibi sic hominis habet impetuosa voluntas,  
Denegat effectus commoditatis opus.  
Quam variis vicibus humane res variantur,  
Hoc docet expertus finis vbique rei:  
Quam minima causa magnum discrimen oriri  
Possit, ab effectu res manifesta docet.  
Rebus in aduersis opus est moderamine multo,  
Nec decet in grauibz precipitare gradum:  
Micius in duris sapiens Cato mandat agendum,  
Nam nimis accelerans tardius acta facit:  
Rebus in ambiguis quociens fortuna laborat,

540



Plus faciet pociens quam furor ille potest.  
 Talia rite docet, aliis dum predicat, ecce  
 Clerus, et econtra sic quasi cecus agit.

Turpia doctorem fedant, cui culpa repugnat,  
 Nec sibi quid longo tempore laudis erit.  
 Nos nisi prosperitas nichil excusare valebit,  
 Quam constat nimiam nos tenuisse diu : 550  
 Exstitit in letis minor et sollercia nobis,  
 Cernere nec cecos nostra cupido sinit.  
 Copia multociens hominem defraudat inanem,  
 Atque magis plenum causat habere famem.  
 Quam fuerat requies nuper sine crimine clero  
 Dulcis, amara modo sollicitudo docet.  
 Casibus in letis magis est metuenda voluptas,  
 Sepius in vicium quæ vaga corda ruit :  
 Casibus in letis quam sit vicina ruina,  
 Et lapsus facilis, nemo videre potest. 560

Non reputet modicum modico contenta voluntas,  
 Res de postfacto quæ fuit ante docet :  
 Nec magnum reputet quisquam, quin tempore quouis  
 Fortuito casu perdere possit idem.  
 Discant precipites et quos mora nulla retardat,  
 Ne nimis accelerent in sua dampna manus :  
 Hoc docet in clero magis experientia facti,  
 Quod mundana nichil cura valoris habet.  
 Est homo iumentis similis, qui fulget honore  
 Vanus, et ignorat quid sit honoris onus. 570  
 Est honor ille deo, puto, quando superbia mentem  
 Non grauat, immo dei debita iura tenet.  
 'Qui mecum non est, hic contra me reputatur,  
 Collector sine me spensor inanis erit' :  
 Hec sunt verba dei, cuius de pondere legis  
 Addit vel minuit lex positiua nichil.

**Hic tractat quod, sicut non decet dominos temporales vsurpare sibi regimen in spiritualibus, ita non decet cleri prelatos attemptare sibi guerras et huiusmodi temporalia, quæ mundi superbia et auaricia inducunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Anulus et baculus sunt ius papale sequentes,

546 sit CE    561 No paragraph S    Cap. ix Heading 2 nec decet CEDL

Quos velut in signum spirituale tenet;  
 Cesaris et ceptrum mundi sibi signat honorem,  
 Quo quasi mundane res famulantur ei. 580  
 Papa colens animas has dampnat viuificatque,  
 Corpora set Cesar subdita iure regit.  
 Non licet vt Cesar animas torquere valebit,  
 Nec de posse suo res tenet illa sibi;  
 Nec decet ex guerris hominum quod papa fatiget  
 Corpora, namque sibi non tenet illud opus:  
 Quisque suum faciat factum, pro quo venit ille,  
 Saltem qui pondus tam capitale gerit.  
 Qui tenet hic animas sub cura, celsior extat,  
 Et gradus anterior glorificabit eum. 590  
 Quicquid agit papa, licet, vt status ille fatetur,  
 Errat persona, non status ille tamen:  
 Nam sacer ille status mundum transcendit, et eius  
 Celorum clauces dextera palma gerit.  
 Hinc aperitque polum, tetram quoque claudit abissum,  
 Que super aut subtus sunt, sua iura colunt;  
 Quod ligat est firmum, quod soluit eritque solutum,  
 Posse suum nostris sic animabus habet.  
 Cesaris hec que sunt, lex vt reddantur eidem  
 Vult, et vt illa dei sint tribuenda deo. 600  
 Cesaris est vt ei caput inclines, animamque  
 Pape, sic proprium reddis vtrique suum:  
 Cesar habere statum pape nequit, aut sibi papa  
 Cesaris imperium non propriare potest.  
 Cesaris hoc non est vt spiritualia temptet,  
 Nec decet vt papa Cesaris arma gerat:  
 Papa suum teneat Cesarque suum, quod vtrique  
 Iura coequata stent ratione rata.  
 Si sibi presumat Cesar papalia iura,  
 Hoc non papa sinit, immo resistit ei: 610  
 Ergo quid est bellum pape quod Cesaris extat?  
 Nam deus ecclesie pacis amator erat.  
 Set quia papa suis mundum scrutatur in armis,  
 Inueniet similem quem petit inde modum:  
 Opponis mundo, mundus respondet, et illam  
 Quam sibi preponis rem dabit ipse tibi.

Quos prius ecclesia fundauerat ipsa fideles,  
 Nunc magis impaciens dura per arma necat.  
 Rusticus agricolam, miles fera bella gerentem,  
 Rectorem dubie nauita puppis amat : 620  
 Cristus amat pacem, pax vendicat et sibi clerum,  
 Clerus et ergo suos debet habere pios.  
 Turpe referre pedem nec passu stare tenaci,  
 Turpe laborantem deseruisse ratem ;  
 Turpius est Cristi pro mundo iura fugare,  
 Qui statuunt bellum pacis adesse loco.  
 Omnia regna quasi, Cristi que nomen invndat,  
 Bella gerunt reprobis horridiora Gethis.  
 Sufficeret tamen hoc, quod bella forent laicorum,  
 Si non quod proprio clerus in ense ferat : 630  
 Quicquid agant laici, minus excusare valebo  
 Clerum, quem Cristi regula pacis habet.  
 Set bona que mundi fugitiua sunt velut vmbra,  
 Postposito Cristo, bella nephanda mouent.  
 Quicquid in humanis sit spiritualiter actum,  
 Clerus in officio clamat habere suo :  
 Est et mundanis que maior gloria rebus,  
 Vendicat hoc gladii proprietate sui.  
 Sic modo fert clerus geminas quibus euolat alas,  
 Illa tamen mundi plus placet ala sibi. 640  
 Sic piper vrtice mordacis semina miscent,  
 Dum clerus mundi sponsus adheret ei ;  
 Dumque tumens mundo clerus se miscet auaro,  
 Quo doleat populus, fit magis egra salus.  
 Non satis est illis populum vexare quietum,  
 Set magnum bello sollicitare deum.  
 Est 'Non occides' scriptum, set in orbe manentem  
 Preualet hoc certum nullus habere locum.  
 Est vbi dic ergo ius nostrum, nonne caducis  
 Talibus in rebus quas retinere nequis? 650  
 Linea natalis matris de iure fatetur  
 Heredem Cristum, qua fuit ortus, humi :  
 Si quid in hoc mundo nobis proprium magis esset,  
 Pars foret hoc Cristi que titulatur ei :

617 *No paragr.* CE  
 sunt fugitiua velut vmbra L

633 sunt vmbra velud (velut) fugitiua CEG  
 641 piper vrtice om. D (*blank*)



Hanc tenet intrusor modo set paganus, ab illa  
Thesauris nostris nulla tributa feret.

Nos neque personas neque res repetendo mouemus  
Bella viris istis, lex ibi nostra silet :

Non ibi bulla monet, ibi nec sententia lata

Aggrauat, aut gladius prelia noster agit : 660

Que sua sunt Cristus ibi, si vult, vendicet ipse,  
Proque sua bellum proprietate ferat.

Nos ita longinquis non frangimus ocia guerris,

It neque pro Cristi dote legatus ibi ;

Set magis in fratres, signat quos vnda renatos,

Pro mundi rebus publica bella damus.

Mandatum Cristi clerus quod predicet extat,

Et sibi sic lucrum spirituale gerat ;

Non lego quod mundi pro lucro clerus ad arma

Procedat, set ibi parcat amore dei. 670

Sermo tamen cleri paganos nescit, vt illos

Conuertat, nec eo se iuuat ipse lucro :

Castra sibi que domos pocius lucratur et vrbes,

Pro quibus, vt vincat, forcius arma mouet.

Est sibi quod proprium, sic spirituale recusat,

Torpet et improprie quo foret ipse vigil ;

Que tamen impropria Cristus sibi dixerat, illa

Mundi terrena propriat ipse sua :

Sic magis impropria propriat, propriisque repugnans

Dispropriat clerus, que dedit acta deus. 680

Venit enim princeps huius mundi, famulatum

Optinet et nostrum, fert quia grande lucrum.

Cristi pauperiem mens nostra perhorret auara,

Ocia ne nostri corporis ipsa premat ;

Nec sua cor mulcet humilis paciencia nostrum,

Hoc etenim nostra pompa superba negat :

Nullus nos cinget nisi libera nostra voluntas,

Cuius habet tenera ducere frena caro.

Conditor est iuris qui spernere iura videtur,

Nec tenet ipse vias, quas docet esse suas ; 690

Crimina condempnat qui crimine primus habetur,

Corripiens alios deteriora facit.

Ipse suas maculas, qui noscere vult aliorum,

Noscat, et emendet que sua culpa parat :  
Qui claues Petri gestaret vt ostia celi  
Panderet, illa viris claudit in orbe prius.  
Cum magis hoc penso, magis obstupefactus in illo  
Sum, nam lux quicquid predicat vmbra fugat :  
Vnius gustus infecit milia multa,  
Commaculantur eo cuncta sapore malo. 700  
Sublimo residens dux prima superbia curru,  
Multa minans vultu, lumine, voce, manu :  
Subsequitur lior, turba comitatus acerba,  
Pallida res, atra pestis, amara lues ;  
Que solet et pietas peccata remittere vindex,  
Extat auaricia lucra caduca petens.

Quam grauis est pestis, quam triste superbia nomen,  
Radix peccati, fons et origo mali !  
Fons fuit hec sceleris, tocius causa doloris,  
Virtutum morbus, saltus ad yma cadens, 710  
Hospes auaricie, paupertas prodiga, fraudis  
Principium, fallax sensus, iniquus amor,  
Irrequies mentis, lis proxima, mortis amica,  
Perfida mens, ratio deuia, vanus honor.  
Hec quasi de proprio sunt appropriata superbo,  
Heres et baratri primus habetur ibi :

Hoc capitale malum quo regnat egens caput omne  
Conficit, et caude par facit esse sue.  
Hoc caput est rerum viciis seruire coactum,  
Liber homo didicit hoc graue ferre iugum ; 720  
Non illud domini, quod dicitur esse suaue,  
Immo quod imposuit invidus hostis ei ;  
Non quo libertas perquiritur illa salutis,  
Set quod seruili condicione premit.

Fabrica prima, decus primum, primatis honore  
Preditus, est prime perdicionis opus.  
Prodolor, heu ! tante dic que sit causa ruine :  
Elate mentis motus origo fuit.

O mens elata, presumpcio dira, superni  
Regis habere locum, iudicis esse parem, 730  
Equarique suo factori, non imitari,  
Equiperare deum nec bonitate sequi !  
Expedit exemplis vt talibus euacuetur

Fastus, et ex humili corde paretur opus.  
Incertum dimitte, tene certum, quia Cristi  
Actus erat pacis, bella nec vlla mouet.  
Si caput ecclesie delinquat ab ordine sacro,  
Ecce nephas capitis membra nephanda parat.

Ordo sacerdotum pro Cristi nomine guerras  
Non dedit, immo pati cum pietate solet. 740  
Fustibus hii torti quemquam torquere recusant,  
Cunctaque sic vincunt, dum pacienter agunt ;  
Inque bono vicere malum, quia Cristus eorum  
Dux fuit, et iustis iusta petita dabat.  
Quesiuit precibus bona spiritualia Petrus,  
Vicit et egregie sic sua bella prece :  
Hec fuit excelsi dextre victoria, cuius  
Viribus efficitur quicquid adesse cupit.  
Omnia namque pie moderatur, et omnia iusto  
Pondere perpendit, dum sua vota dedit : 750  
Sic qui prospiceret Cristi meditans pietatem,  
Non tumidus fieret nec leuitate fluens.

Non fuit argentum sibi dixit Petrus et aurum,  
Set preciosa magis dat sibi dona deus :  
Dixerat hic claudo quod surgat, surgit et ille,  
Ambulet et vadat, vadit et ipse statim.  
Nunc quid erit nobis? nam si vir postulet omnis  
Vt sic curemus, absque salute sumus.  
Non habet elatus animus, quo digna precetur,  
Molle cor ; ad timidas dat deus immo preces. 760  
Qui fuerat dulcis salibus viciatur amaris,  
Floriger et veris floribus extat inops.  
Auro magnifici sumus et virtutis egeni,  
Nam que sunt auri duximus illa sequi :  
Aurum si quis habet, satis ipsum constat habere,  
Est et in hoc mundo sic benedictus homo.  
Influit in cleri totus quasi mundus hiatum,  
Inque suas fauces aurea queque vorat :  
Vt tamen inde iuuet inopes, non paruula gutta  
Refluit, immo tenax propriat omne sibi. 770  
Se dedit in precium Cristus pro munere plebi,  
Nos tamen ingrati nostra negamus ei.



O caput ecclesie, reminiscere tempora Cristi,  
 Si dedit exemplis talia sicut agis.  
 Ipse redemit oues, a morteque viuificauit,  
 Quas pietatis inops tu cruciando necas.  
 Precipit ipse, vices per septem septuagenas  
 Dimittat Petrus, parcat et ipse reis;  
 Tu tamen ad primam gladio cum vindice culpam  
 Percutis, et nullo parcis amore viro. 780  
 Ecce Rachel plorat nec habet solamina tristis,  
 Dum genus ex proprio ventre reliquit eam.  
 O genus electum, gens sancta, quid est quod auara  
 Scandala iudiciiis ponis in orbe tuis?  
 Prodolor! ecclesie bona, que debentur egenis,  
 Dissipat in bellis qui dominatur eis.  
 Prodolor! a clero, pietatis iure remoto,  
 Cauda fit ecclesie qui solet esse caput;  
 Fitque salus morbus, fit vitæque mors, releuamen  
 Lapsus, lex error, hostis et ipse pater. 790

Hic querit quod, ex quo prelati scribunt et docent ea que  
 sunt pacis, quomodo in contrarium ea que sunt belli pro-  
 curant et operantur. Ad quam tamen questionem ipse sub-  
 sequenter respondet.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. In libris cleri Rome sic scribere vidi:  
 'Vt melius viuas, hec mea scripta legas.  
 Vis seruire deo, vis noscere qualia querit?  
 Hec lege, tuncque scies qualiter illud erit.  
 Dilige mente deum, pete, crede, stude reuereri.'  
 Teste libro cleri, sic iubet ipse geri.  
 'Est quia vita breuis, fuge luxus corporis omnes,  
 Preponens anime celica dona tue:  
 Iusticiam serua, tua sit lex omnibus equa;  
 Hoc facias alii, quod cupis ipse tibi: 800  
 Ex toto corde dominum tu dilige, tota  
 Ex animaque simul sit tibi fratris amor:  
 Gignit nempe dei dileccio fratris amorem,  
 Et diuinus amor fratris amore viget.  
 Munera fer miseris, que Cristo ferre teneris,  
 Arma quibus noceas, bella nec vlla geras:

Heading 2 incontrarium S

Sis pius et paciens, tua sitque modestia cunctis  
Exemplum pacis, duret vt illa magis.

Hec ita cum legi, confestim me stupor vrget,

Qualiter in clero bella videre queo :

810

Querere sic volui de clero, quis foret ille

Qui michi responsum de ratione daret.

Questio mota fuit, qua sumpta clericus vnus

Astat et oppositis prompserat ista meis ;

Supponens primis quod ei sit culmen honoris

Pontificis summi, talia dixit ibi.

‘Diuidit imperium terrena potēcia mecum,

Iureque celicolo subdita regna colo ;

Set quia terra prope nos est celumque remotum,

Que magis est nobis terra propinqua placet.

820

Aula michi grandis, sublimis et arte decora,

Nobilis est thalamus, mollis et ipse thorus :

Vt placeant ori que postulo, de meliori

Fercula lauta cibo sunt michi, vina bibo :

Ex auium genere, de piscibus omne salubre,

Vt magis est placitum, dant michi ferre cibum :

Singula que genera vini dat potibus vua

Optineo, quod in hiis sit michi nulla sitis.

Sunt michi carmina consona, timpana, letaue musa,

Histrio dat variis cantica plena iocis :

830

Que mare, terra parit, meliora vel aera format,

Sunt michi prompta foro, sicut habere volo.

Est michi vinea, sunt viridaria fonte reclusa,

Que peto de mundo cuncta tenere queo :

Est michi fecundus dotalibus ortus in agris,

Pompaque castrorum, summus et vrbis honor :

Silua feras, volucres aer suscepit habendas,

Et mare quam vario pisce repleuit aquas.

Set loca non tantum nobis, nec et illa creata

Sufficiunt, auri sint nisi dona lucri.

840

‘Ecce fores large, quas seruat ianitor arte,

Sic vt in has pauper nullus habebit iter :

Curia quos reprobat isto sermone repellit,

“State foras, vacui, flebitis ante fores.”

Que non dona manum presentat ianitor illam

840 lucri] dei EHT

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K

Excludat, nostras nec sciat ipsa vias :

Qui tamen occulto cupit vt sit noster amicus,

Aurum det, sine quo victima nulla placet :

Que manus est plena, magis inuitabitur illa,

Stet foris et vacua, nec veneretur ita.

850

Omnia soluo, ligo, summo diademate regno,

Orbis ego dominus: quid michi velle magis?

Me dominum clamat, me viuens omnis adorat,

Omne solum calco sic deus alter ego.

Est thronus excelsus, quo possumus omnibus vna

Et benedicta manu, sic maledicta dare :

Sicque potestate nostra reuerenter vbique

Magnus in ecclesia, maior in orbe sumus.

‘Dicimus, et facta iam sunt, mandamus, et ecce

Accrescunt subiti dona creata lucri.

860

Que Cristus renuit suscepimus omnia regna

Mundi, que dominans gloria vana dedit :

Sic exaltati de terra traximus ad nos

Omnia deliciis amplificata magis.

Sic status assumptus quales sumus approbat, vt nos

Ocia plectentes qui cruciamus humum.

Suaue iugum, leue Cristus onus nobis dedit, et nos

Pondera que mundi sunt grauiora damus :

Iura damus populis, set nos non lege tenemur,

Que michi lex placuit iuris habebit onus.

870

Iudiciis hominum non stat quod pecco per orbem,

Sic michi cuncta licent, que magis acta placent ;

Et si mundus in hiis fiat michi forte rebellis,

Est mea de guerris forcior ecce manus.

Hiis quoque de causis respondeo papa, quod omnes

Per mea terrigenos bella retrudo viros.

‘Inter discipulos fuerat discordia facta,

Norma set infantis pacificauit opus :

Nos tamen ad veram nullo moderamine pacem

Flectere quis poterit, hoc neque pompa sinit.

880

In cruce confixus patitur sua funera Cristus,

Et fuit illa viris passio vera salus :

Omnibus exemplum fuit hec paciencia Cristi,

Alterutrum socii simus vt inde pii.

Nos tamen in signum vindicte ponimus illam,



Plebis et in mortem ferre iubemus eam :  
Sicque pium signum diuertimus a pietate,  
Que fuit et vita, nunc noua pestis erit.  
Sic modo sunt mortis nuper vexilla salutis,  
Que tulit et pacem crux modo bella gerit : 890  
Sicque crucem domini baiulamus, mente set vlla  
Non sequimur dominum, qua tulit ipse crucem.  
Quod nequit hoc virtus, supplebunt ammodo vires,  
Non mos set mortis pugna parabit iter :  
Nostra sinistra teret quicquid fundauerat olim  
Dextra, que sic humilis non parit oua fides.  
Quam collegerunt alii dispergere messem  
Tendimus, et feritas nostra vorabit humum :  
Vinea sic domini nostros inculta labores  
Non habet, estque magis bellica facta manus : 900  
Sic magis, extrahere quem de pietate tenemur,  
Sternimus in puteum de feritate bouem.

‘Quod tulerat Petrus lucrum Iudea fatetur,  
Quas tulit et Paulus gens manifestat opes :  
Nos neque cum vacuis manibus veniemus in auro,  
Quod tamen est lucrum spirituale nichil.  
Postera quicquid agat etas, iam nulla veremur  
Crimina, dum mundus noster amicus erit :  
Vt sit enim nomen nostrum nomen super omne,  
Est vbi rarus honor, pugna inuabit opus. 910  
Ense peribit homo iuxta leges Machometi,  
Eius qui nomen spernit habere sacrum :  
Nos ita decretum iam ponimus ense volutum,  
Nomen vt hinc nostrum presit in omne solum.  
Cesaris imperio qui contradicit, amicus  
Eius in hoc mundo non reputatur homo :  
Sic homo, qui nomen nostrum non preficit altum,  
Filius est mortis, ensis in ore reus.

‘Mittere sic gladium non pacem venimus orbi,  
Et noua iam facimus omnia, dampna tamen. 920  
Sic caput in membra iam seuit, et aggrauat illos,  
Quos minus officio lederet ipse suo :  
Sic pater in natos nunc fit magis ipse Saturnus,  
Quos sua deberet lexque fouere, necat :  
Sic et pastor oues, quas pascere iure tenetur

Iam vorat, et proprium predat ouile suum :  
 Sic ferus vt iudex agitamur secla per ignem,  
 Purgatique magis eris habemus opes.  
 Vendat enim tunicam sibi clerus et hinc emat ensem,  
 Cesset et a sacris quilibet ordo suis : 930  
 Nomen et in terris sic nostrum magnificemus,  
 Vt timeant alii bella futura sibi.  
 Iam pastoralis baculus vertetur in hastam,  
 Mitra fit in galeam, pax ruit inque necem :  
 Qui prodesse velit prosit, nam nos super omnes  
 Preferri volumus, gestet et alter onus.  
 'Sic nos, qui summi portamus nomina cleri,  
 Corde magis ceci duximus arma sequi :  
 Quicquid agant anime, nos subdere corpora mundi  
 Tendimus, et nobis lex positiua fauet ; 940  
 Nam licet ex glosa gladium quod sumat vtrumque,  
 Quo ferat extenta bellica, nostra manus.  
 Ergo magis paueant omnes dedicere nobis,  
 In quorum bellis os ferit atque manus.  
 Attamen ad pacem nostram suscepimus omnes  
 Barbaricas gentes, ne cruciemur eis :  
 Contra Cristicolas pretendimus arma mouere,  
 Qui modo sunt ausi vix sua iura loqui.  
 Auriculam Petrus abscidit, vulnus et illud  
 Sanum restituit Cristus vt ante fuit ; 950  
 Nostra set ira caput aufert, quo vulnere nullum  
 Nouimus in sanum post reuenire statum.  
 Est igitur Petri maior sententia nostra,  
 Et gladius noster forcior ense suo.'  
 Sic differt Clemens nunc a clemente vocatus,  
 Errat et Acephalo nomine nomen habens.

**Hic loquitur de prelati illis, qui nomen sanctum sibi pre-  
 sumunt, appropriant tamen sibi terrena, nec aliis inde partici-  
 pando ex caritate subueniunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Angelus, vt legitur, sancto quandoque Iohanni  
 Dixit, cumque cadens alter adorat eum,  
 'Tu michi, serue dei, videas ne feceris illud,

Immo deum toto cordis honore cole.'

960

'Quem tamen in terris celestis ciuis honorem  
Respuit, hunc repetit curia nostra sibi;  
Flectitur inde genu, que pedes post oscula nostros  
Mulcent, vt Cristi pes foret alter ibi.'

Precipit hoc Cristus, eius quod discipulorum  
Nemo patris nomen querat habere sibi:  
In celo sancti proclamant 'Sanctus' vt illi  
Qui sedet in solio dignus honore suo.

'Nos tamen in gente nomen portamus vtrumque,  
"O pater, o sancte," quisque salutat, "aue!"  
Exstitit a Cristo data nobis magna potestas,  
Vndique quam mundus amplificare studet.

970

Hoc sit vt esse potest: celum quicumque ligabit,  
Scimus nos mundum posse ligare satis:  
Nam modo lex posita bellorum ponit auara  
Quod valet ecclesia vi reuocare sua.

Set quicquid clerus rapit et tenet ex alienis,  
Hoc valet a clero tollere nullus homo.'

Quicquid habet clerus proprios hoc vertit in vsus,  
De laicis partem vult set habere suam.

980

Hic bona cuncta sua fore dicit sanctificata,  
Nec licet vt laicus mittat ad illa manus;  
Partem sed laici petit ipse per omnia lucri,  
Nec vult cum dampno participare suo.

Si communis amor fuerit, commune sit omne,  
Quod liquet alterutrum posse iuuare virum:  
Set quia iam clerus non est communis amoris,  
Quicquid habet soli vult retinere sibi.

Ex veteri lege raptum sit quicquid ab hoste,  
Non valet illud homo sanctificare deo;

990

Nostra set ecclesia clerus vicinia rapta  
Predat, et hec propria dicit habere sacra.  
Sic multat laicum clerus, multare set ipsum  
Nemo potest, et ita stant modo iura noua:  
Sic non pastor oues pascit, set pastus ab ipsis  
Lac vorat et vellus, alter vt ipse lupus:  
Sic libras siciens libros non appetit, immo  
Marcam pro Marco construit ipse libro:



Summas non summa memoratur, et optima vina  
 Plusquam diuina computat esse sacra:  
 Virtutis morem non, set mulieris amorem  
 Querit, et hoc solo temptat arare solo.  
 Sic honor ex onere non est, nam fulget honore  
 Corpore, set corpus non digitabit onus.

1000

**Hic loquitur de Simonia prelatorum, et qualiter hii delicati,  
 dicentes se esse ecclesiam, aliis grauiora imponunt, et vltcrius  
 de censura horribili laicos pro modico impetuose infestant.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. Ecce, deo teste, vir qui non intrat ouile  
 Per portam, latro furque notatur eo.  
 Sic et in ecclesiam promotus per Simoniam  
 Clerus, furtiuo se gerit inde modo;  
 Nec bona de furto conferre placencia Cristo  
 Quis valet, immo deus pellit ab inde manus.  
 Ergo valet fiscus que non vult carpere Cristus;  
 Sunt quia mundana, mundus habebit ea:  
 Namque suo iure dum clerus abutitur, inde  
 Priuari dignum iura fatentur eum.  
 Se vocat ecclesiam clerus, quasi diceret, illam  
 Non tanget laicus, est honor immo suus:  
 Sic fastus cleri communi iustificari  
 Non vult iusticia, set latitante via.  
 Se leuat et reliquos subdit predatque subactos  
 Legis composite de nouitate sue:  
 Sic modo sub specie diuina cerno latere  
 Has pompas mundi, stant neque iura dei.

1010

1020

Sancta quid ecclesia est hominum nisi turma fidelis?  
 Sic patet vt laicus, quem colit ipsa fides,  
 Est pars ecclesie, melior nec clericus ipse,  
 Ni melius viuat. Quis michi tale negat?  
 Vna fides, vnum baptisma, deus manet vnus,  
 Sic nos ecclesia iungit et vna tenet;  
 Et veluti multa tegit vna cortice grana,  
 Sic populos plures colligit vna fides.  
 Ecclesie sancte cur tunc sibi nomen habere  
 Vult tantum clerus, alter vt ipse deus?  
 Appendit legis pondus collis alienis,  
 Set non vult humeris quid graue ferre suis

1030

Omnia dat licita sibimet, michi set prohibenda ;  
 Ille quiescit, ego sudo labore meo.  
 Sic iter ex factis viciis prebet faciendis,  
 Verba set econtra dicet in aure tua :  
 Hinc plebs attonita dubitat, si credere dictis,  
 An cleri factis debeat ipsa prius. 1040  
 Set prohibens michi rem, dum sit culpandus eadem,  
 Vix credo verba, sunt quia facta rea :  
 Tollere sicque nouos de clero cerno superbos,  
 Per veteres humiles quod dedit ipsa fides.

Precipiunt isti maxillam percucienti  
 Subdere, sic vt eo stet pacienter homo :  
 Intuleris set eis si quid graue, mox tibi mortis  
 Censuris anime dant maledicta tue.  
 Qui necat hic animam sub pena mortis, eadem,  
 Si posset, corpus perderet ipse prius. 1050  
 Sic magis ipse lupo fert pastor dampna maligno  
 In iugulando suas, quas medicaret, oues.  
 Hii gestant celi clauces, intrant nec et ipsi,  
 Nos nec inire sinunt, quos sine lege regunt :  
 Nec populi mentes doctrine vomere sulcant,  
 Nec faciunt operis id quod oportet opus.  
 Ad dextram Cristi vellent residere beati,  
 Set nollent calicem sumere, Criste, tuam.  
 Hii piscatores laxant sua recia lucris,  
 Vt capiant mundum, non animabus opem. 1060  
 Sic male viuentes laicis exempla ministrant,  
 Qui velut instructi more sequuntur eos :  
 Sic ouis ex maculis pastoris fit maculosa,  
 Et cadit in foueam cecus vterque simul.

**Hic loquitur qualiter prelatus non solum doctrina set etiam bonis actibus populo sibi commissio lucere deberet.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. In tenebris pergens nescit quo vadat, vt ille  
 Qui non discernit que sit habenda via ;  
 Cumque caret populus doctrina, nec videt ipsum  
 Qui suus est presul iura tenere dei,  
 Cum neque scripta docet, neque facta facit pietatis,  
 Immo sui vicii dedita culpa patet, 1070  
 Cum de nocte sua pereat sine luce lucerna,

Et virtutis habent presulis acta nichil,  
 Tunc errare facit plebem, sine luceque cecus  
 Cecum consequitur, vnde ruina venit.  
 Ergo suas luces accendant clarius illi  
 Qui sunt ductores, vt videamus iter.  
 Igne lucerna micans tria dat, splendet, calet, vrit;  
 Hec tria presul habet sub ratione trium:  
 Vita splendorem demonstrat, amore calorem,  
 Et quia peccantes arguit, vrit eos. 1080  
 Cum populum sibi corde ligat, precibusque beatis  
 Seruat et auget oues, tunc placet ipse deo.  
 Vt sit sollicitus quicumque pauore tenetur,  
 Ne lupo ille Sathan intret ouile suum:  
 Pascat oues presul exemplaque sancta ministret,  
 Vt sapiant dulces mellis in ore fauos.

Sepius assuevit Tubicen prodesse, suosque  
 Dux bene pugnantem concitat ore viros:  
 Te magis, o presul, qui dux es spiritualis,  
 Promere lege dei consona verba decet. 1090  
 Solue tuam vocem sicut tuba ductilis altam,  
 Osque tuum verbis instruat acta gregis:  
 Clama, ne cesses, populo dic crimen eorum,  
 Preuius exemplis tu tamen esto bonus.  
 Dum sapor assidua remanens sit dulcis in vnda,  
 Gracius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aque:  
 Cum magis in Christo sit cleri vita beata,  
 Quem docet ille magis, sermo beatus erit.  
 Sermo dei numquam vacuus redit, immo lucrata  
 Conferet emissus dupla talenta lucri: 1100  
 Sermo dei purus, mens quem sincera ministrat,  
 Claustra poli penetrans dona reportat humo.  
 Curatos anima tales que possidet egra,  
 Inueniet, si vult, sana salutis iter.  
 Qui nil terrenum sapiunt, set celica querunt,  
 Et solum siciunt esuriuntque deum;  
 Quos non librarum pascit nitor, immo librorum,  
 Non facies auri, set cibatur ara dei;  
 Hii, cum sint propria digni mercede laboris,  
 Permansura serunt que sine fine metunt. 1110  
 Sic qui recta docet, facit et super hoc quod oportet,



Expediit vt facias quod tibi dictat opus :

Tunc bene fortis equus reserato carcere currit,

Cum quos pretereat quosque sequetur habet.

Legis enim veteris scripture sunt memorande,

Quo bonus exemplum pastor habere queat.

Commemoranda satis fuit hec sapiencia, quando

Ante gregem virgas ordinat ille Iacob :

Partim nudat eas ablato cortice, partim

Corticis indutas veste relinquit eas.

1120

In virgis splendet sublato cortice candor,

Cum de scripturis splendida verba trahit ;

Cortex saluatur, cum litera sola tenetur,

Et pastor sensu simplice pascit oues.

Set quid pastores dicent exempla negantes ?

Vt sibi proficiant ista nec illa tenent.

Cuius nec vita bona seu doctrina iuuabit,

Instruat vt populum, nil reputamus eum.

Indiscreta tamen sunt qui documenta parantes

Scismatis in plebem magna pericla mouent.

1130

Indocti causa doctoris sepe scolares

Virtutis capiunt commoda nulla scole :

Sic importuni prelati, quamuis habundent

Dogmata, si desint acta, vigore carent.

Quidam corripiunt magis ignibus impetuosius,

Et velut vrsus oues de feritate premunt ;

Talis enim doctor, cum durius increpat vllum,

Ledit eum cuius debuit esse salus ;

Vulnerat ipse reos, set vulnera nulla medetur ;

Prouocat in peius quod fuit ante malum :

1140

Sic nos prelati nequit os curare superbi,

Cum viciosus homo moribus auctor erit.

Est et prelatus, qui corripiens quasi blando

De sermone fauet, nec reus inde cauet :

Corripiebat Hely pueros dulcedine patris,

Non vice pastoris, non grauitate soni ;

Pro quorum culpa dampnatur Hely, quia valde

Impius in pueris per pia verba fuit.

Sic pastor qui subiectos non corripit, iram

Summi patris emens carcere dignus erit.

1150

Ista solent scribi, 'Medium tenere beati,  
 Non nimis alta petas, nec nimis yma geras.'  
 Non nimis ex duro presul nos iure fatiget,  
 Nec nimis ex molli simplicitate sinat.  
 Si non leua manus equitis moderacior extet,  
 Oppositis frenis sepe repugnat equus.  
 Eripit interdum, modo dat medicina salutem,  
 Nil prodest quod non ledere possit idem.  
 Set qui frena tenet, prouiso tempore, presul,  
 Quo magis est sanum ducet honestus iter : 1160  
 Sepius ex dulci peccans sermone reuiuít,  
 Qui magis impaciens verba per acra foret.  
 Expedit interdum tamen absque fauore rebelles  
 Equa quod inuitos presulis ira premat :  
 Sepe ferus morbus herbis mitescit amaris,  
 Namque feret molles aspera spina rosas :  
 Dura vides quod humus stimulantibus obruta sulcis  
 Sepius ad placitum molle cacumen habet.  
 Vnctus erit presul oleo, quod plura figurat,  
 Precipueque sibi conuenit illa sequi : 1170  
 Quatuor ista facit, penetrat, lucet, cibát, vngit,  
 Que sibi mitratus debet habere bonus.  
 Nil penetrare potest nisi cum virtute vigoris,  
 Ista tamen virtus in penetrando iuuat ;  
 Nam cum mollicies fuerit coniuncta vigori,  
 Mitis et austerus presulis actus erit.  
 Fermento careat, oleo spargatur, vt absit  
 Culpa nocens, et eum sanctus inungat amor :  
 Vox ita doctoris, quanto sublimius intus  
 Corda ferit, tanto forcius illa mouet : 1180  
 Sic olei virtus virtutes ponderat eque,  
 Forcia dum penetrat, micus acta regit.  
 Lux cecis, cibus est ieiunis, vnccio morbis ;  
 Hiis iubar infundit, hos cibát, hosque fouet :  
 Lux est exemplo, cibus est dum pascit egenos,  
 Vnccio dum populis dulcia verba serit.  
 Hoc oleo, testante Daud, Cristus fuit vnctus,  
 Vngue leticie cum pater vnxit eum :  
 Non vnguntur eo qui culpam Simonis equant,  
 Qui vendunt vel emunt, nec sacra gratis habent : 1190

Exulat hic de plebe dei qui peccat in istis,  
Tales nam pellit Cristus ab ede sua.

**Hic loquitur qualiter signa Anticristi in Curia Romana  
precipue ex auaricia secundum quosdam apparuerunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. Plura locutura mens deficit ipsa timore,

Labitur exanguis et tremefacta silet;  
Huius enim vicii michi tangere si licet vlla,  
Testis erit Cristus Romaque tota simul.  
Roma manus rodit non dantes, spernit et odit,  
Donum pro dono sic capit omnis homo.

Non est acceptor personarum deus, immo  
Gracior intendit actibus ipse viri;  
Gracia set nostra tantum quos mundus in auro  
Ditat, non alios accipit illa viros.

1200

Qui precium ponit diues preciata reportat  
Munera, nam tali curia tota fauet:

Assumens oleum secum non intrat ibidem,  
Aurea ni valeat vngere gutta manum:

Copia nil morum confert vbi deficit aurum,  
Nam virtus inopum nulla meretur opem.

Auro si pulses, intrabis, et illud habebis  
Quod petis, et donum fert tibi dona tuum:

1210

Si tibi vis detur large, da munera larga,  
Nam si pauca seras, premia pauca metes.

Quid faciet sapiens? stultus de munere gaudet.

Dicat ad hec clerus, qui sapit ista magis.

Munera, crede michi, capiunt hominesque deosque,  
Placatur donis maior in orbe datis:

Set cum pro mundo tribuat sua munera Simon,  
Promotus Cristi non erit inde sui.

Vt veniant ad aquas sicientes sponte citauit

Cristus, et ecce suo fonte cibauit eos;

1220

Fontibus et nostris siciens non hauriet vllus

Absque lucri pretio, quod dabit ipse prius.

Vendere quid pro quo modus est quem curia nostra

Seruat, et auxilio Simonis ipsa viget:

Curia nostra virum nouit sine munere nullum,



Set redit in vacuis euacuata manus.  
 Dum dare vult laicus, precellit Theologiam ;  
 Si des dona michi, dona rependo tibi :  
 Marcus, Matheus, Lucas, si nulla, Iohannes,  
 Dona ferant, perdunt que sibi dona petunt :  
 Si veniat famulus mundi, viget ipse receptus,  
 Si famulus Cristi, nemo ministrat ei.

1230

Si veniat pauper, misis comitatus Homeri,  
 Et nichil attulerit, pauper vt ante redit :  
 Si nouus Augustinus ibi peteret, nec haberet  
 Quod daret ipse prius, transiet ipse vagus.  
 Construit atque legit laicus, bene cantat, in auro ;  
 Si dare sufficiat, stat bene quicquid agit.  
 Qualis enim pietas hec est discernite vosmet,  
 Aut si iusticia iura tenebit ita.

1240

Si labat ecclesia declinans forte per istos,  
 Summus eam releuet de pietate sua,  
 Confundens hereses et que sunt scismata tollat,  
 Ne quis Cristicolas perdere possit oues :  
 Vnanimis redeant tibi, te miserante, redemptor,  
 Quos pax, quos pietas, quos liget vna fides.  
 Anticristus aget que sunt contraria Cristo,  
 Mores subuertens et viciosa fouens :  
 Nescio si forte mundo iam venerat iste,  
 Eius enim video plurima signa modo.  
 Petri que titubat nauem prius erige, Criste,  
 Quam pereat, nec eam fastus in orbe voret.

1250

**Hic loquitur secundum commune dictum, qualiter honores  
 et non onera prelacie plures affectant, quo magis in ecclesia  
 cessant virtutes, et vicia multipliciter accrescunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. O deus, omne patet tibi cor loquiturque voluntas,  
 Et secreta tuo lumine nulla latent :  
 Tu nosti, domine, quod quantum distat ab ortu  
 Solis in occasum regula prima fugit.  
 Ipsa fides operans, quam tu plantare volebas  
 Est quasi de clero preuaricata modo :  
 Ius quod erat Cristi mundus sine iure resoluit,  
 Prelatosque nouos vendicat ipse suos.  
 Nomen enim sancti sanctum non efficit, immo

1260

Efficitur sanctus quem probat ipse deus.  
 Nos tamen a plebe si nomine glorificemur,  
 Et laudet mundus, laus placet illa satis :  
 Laruata facie sic fallitur ordo paternus,  
 Quo furtiuis honor expoliauit onus.

\* Vox populi cum voce dei concordat, vt ipsa  
 In rebus dubiis sit metuenda magis :  
 Hec ego que dicam dictum commune docebat,  
 Nec mea verba sibi quid nouitatis habent.  
 In cathedram Moysi nunc ascendunt Pharisei,  
 Et scribe scribunt dogma, nec illud agunt.  
 Nam constans, humilis, largus, castus que modestus,  
 Fit quibus ecclesiis regula culta prius,  
 Nunc vanos, cupidos, elatos, luxuriosos,  
 Raptoresque suo substituere loco.

1270

Pacificos ira mitesque superbia vicit,  
 Nummus habet iustos et Venus illa sacros.  
 Sic non iusticia causas regit, immo voluntas  
 Obfuscata malis que ratione carent :  
 Sic modo terra deos colit et laceratur ab ipsis,  
 Est dum lex cleri nescia lege dei.  
 Nudis iam verbis vani tua iura figurant,  
 Et nichil aut modicum pondere iuris agunt ;  
 Exemplis operum te raro, Criste, sequuntur,  
 Perfectumque tue legis inane tenent.

1280

Que tua precepta ponunt, deponere curant  
 A propriis humeris, que michi ferre iubent ;  
 Hec precepta tamen que gloria ponit inanis,  
 A me tollentes propria ferre volunt.  
 De fundamento non curant, immo columpne  
 Effigiem laruant, se quoque templa vocant.

1290

Nuper erat celum corruptum, sicque superbus  
 Corruit ex altis, lapsus et yma tenet ;  
 Proque suo vicio sic Adam de paradiso,  
 Sic Iudasque suum perdidit ipse gradum :  
 Non faciunt hominem status aut locus esse beatum,  
 Quin magis hos sternunt qui superesse volunt.  
 O deus, ecclesiam fecisti quam tibi sanctam,  
 Sanctos prelatos fac simul inde tuos :

1300

Corrigat, oro, deus, tua iam clemencia tales,  
 Nos quibus vt sanctis subdere colla iubes:  
 Esse duces nostros quos lege tua statuisti,  
 Fac magis vt recta semita ducat eos;  
 Et licet instabilis vanus sit et actus eorum,  
 Da populo stabilem semper habere fidem:  
 Da, deus, et clero, verbo quod possit et actu  
 Sic reuocare malum, nos vt in orbe iuuet.  
 Exoptata diu dulcis medicina dolorum,  
 Sero licet veniat, grata venire solet: 1310  
 Sique boni fiant de clero, nos meliores  
 Tunc erimus, que dei laus ita maior erit.

Postquam dictum est de illis qui errant in statu prelatie,  
 dicendum est de errore curatorum, qui sub prelati con-  
 stituti, parochiarum curas in animarum suarum periculo ad-  
 mittentes negligenter omittunt: et primo intendit dicere  
 de curatis illis qui suas curas omittentes ad seruendum  
 magnatum curiis adherent.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. Presulis incauti, sicut de voce recepi,  
 Errores scripsi, pennaque cessat ibi.  
 Sunt tamen, in curis anime qui iura ministrant,  
 Rectores alii non sine labe doli.  
 Quo status ille modo se tendit scribere tendo,  
 Si sit ibi mundus vel magis ipse deus.  
 Ad tempus presens rectorum facta reuoluens,  
 Inuenio mundi quod solet esse dei. 1320  
 Presulis errore, curarum qui caput extat,  
 Errat curatus, presulis ipse manus.  
 Iam sine prebenda de Simonis arte creata  
 Nil putat ecclesiam quomodocumque bonam:  
 Hec prebenda tamen inopem non, set meretricem  
 Pascit, sicque deum non colit, immo deam.  
 Tales nec caste curant neque viuere caute,  
 De quibus exempla sunt modo sepe mala:  
 Vestis habet pompam, cibus vsum deliciarum,  
 Et thorus incestum clamat habere suum. 1330  
 Ex Cristi poteris nuper cognoscere verbis  
 Discipulos tunicas non habuisse duas;  
 Set quia discipuli non sunt, in talibus isti



Nolunt impositum sic retinere modum.  
Non tantum vestes geminant set condiciones,  
Quas magis errantes regula nulla sapit :  
En venit incastos aurum precingere lumbos,  
Denotet vt vanos comptus inanis eos ;  
Militis effigie, nisi solum calcar abesse,  
Cernimus hos pompis degenerare suis.

1340

Cuius honor, sit onus ; qui lucris participare  
Vult, sic de dampnis participaret eis :  
Sic iubet equa fides, sic lex decreuit ad omnes,  
Set modo qui curant ipsa statuta negant.  
Curas admittunt pingues et pinguia sumunt,  
Set nolunt cure pondera ferre sue.  
Si viciis residere nequit curatus in ista  
Cura, tunc aliam querit habere nouam ;  
Inficiens primam, post polluit ipse secundam,  
Sic loca non vicia mutat et ipse sua.  
Litera dispensat curato presulis empta,  
Et sic curati cura relicta manet ;  
Presbiterum laicum retinet sibi substituendum,  
Curia magnatum dum retinebit eum.  
Est vt apes ibi sollicitus dum spirat honores,  
Set piger in cura tardat agenda sua.

1350

Quicquid habet mundus fictum, tunc fingit et ille,  
Curia quo dignum credere possit eum :  
Verba dabit blanda, set nec canis aptus ad arcum,  
Sic humili vultu flectit ad yma genu.

1360

Alter vt ille Iacob socios supplantat, et omne  
Quo poterit mundi lucra tenere facit.  
Absit eum quicquam tamen absque iuuamine docti  
Simonis incipere, qui suus actor erit :  
Ostia si clausa fuerint, sic intrat ouile,  
Ac aliunde suum carpit avarus iter.  
De curis anime nil curat, dummodo terre  
Curia magnatis sit sibi culta lucris :  
Fert sibi nil virtus anime set corporis actus,  
Munus non meritum dat sibi ferre statum.

1370

Qui nichil est per se, nec habet quo tendat in altum,  
Expedit alterius vt releuetur ope :  
Est tamen absurdum, cum quilibet ex alieno

Intumet vltcrius quam tumuisse decet.

Littera dum Regis Papales supplicat aures,  
 Simon et est medius, vngat vt ipse manus,  
 En laicus noster fit clericus aptus vt omnes  
 Simone consultus scandat in orbe gradus.  
 Hic qui pauper heri fuerat quasi nudus et omni  
 Laude carens, nec eum patris habebat honor, 1380  
 Cuius erat tunica vilis, non larga set arta,  
 Vix sibi que tetigit simplicitate genu,  
 Hunc polimita modo vestis circumdat, et eius  
 Alludens pedibus fimbria lambit humum :  
 Vestis que medium non nouit poplicis olim,  
 Iam colit hec talos oscula dando pedi.  
 Si mundi speculum scruteris in huius amictu,  
 Plurima rectoris cernere vana potes.

Presulis ipse gradum si non dum scandere possit,  
 Ecce tamen vestes comparat ipse pares. 1390  
 Cuius erat solus nuper catulus domicellus,  
 En sequitur totus nunc quasi mundus eum ;  
 Cuius erat baculus nuper palfridus, ad eius  
 Sellam cum loris subditur altus equus.  
 Sic viget in curis diues, set moribus expers  
 Indiget, et vano more gubernat opes.  
 Compotus in mundi rebus quod fiat habunde  
 Perstudet, vt domino det sua iura suo :  
 Computet vt Cristo set de curis animarum,  
 Turpiter absque lucro fossa talenta latent. 1400  
 Curia sic Cristi tollit mundana clientem,  
 Qui venit ad laqueum, dum sitit ipse lucrum.

**Hic loquitur de rectoribus illis, qui ab episcopo licenciati se fingunt ire scolae, vt sub nomine virtutis vicia corporalia frequentent.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvii. Alter adest rector, causam designat et ipse,  
 Dicit enim sacras quod cupit ire scolae :  
 Vt vagus astet ibi prece ruffi presul et albi  
 Annuit, vt dominis quos amat ipse nimis.  
 Sic rector sibi sub specie virtutis adoptat,

Vt queat in viciis rite studere vagus.  
 Nil decreta placent sibi nec sacra theologia,  
 Ars sibi nature sufficit immo sue:  
 Ipsa magistra docet res plures, discit et ille,  
 Scribit et in nocte que studet ipse die.  
 Et propter formam tandem petit ipse cathedram,  
 Vt sit ad hoc ductus, plura dat ipse prius:  
 Sic est curatus doctoris sede locatus,  
 Datque legenda suis mistica iura scolis.

1410

'Ve soli,' legimus ex scripturis Salomonis,  
 Namque virum solum nemo requirit eum:  
 Qua ratione scole mos est, quod quisque studere  
 Debet cum socia doctus in arte sua.

1420

Ipse deus sociam fecit per secula primam,  
 Vt iuuet hec hominem, sicque creauit eam:  
 Masculus in primo factus fuit, atque secundo  
 Femina, sic vt in hiis det deus esse genus:  
 Istaque principia discretus rector agenda  
 Perstudet, et vota prebet in arte pia.

Quis laterisque sui costam quam sentit abesse  
 Non cuperet, per quam perficeretur homo?  
 Prima viri costa mulier fuit ipsa creata,  
 Vult igitur costam rector habere suam.

1430

Nam deus humanam precepit crescere gentem,  
 Cuius precepto multiplicabit homo:  
 Sic sibi multiplicat rector, dum semen habundat,  
 Vt sit mandati non reus ipse dei.

Causas per tales rector probat et rationes,  
 Quod sibi sint socie, dum stat in arte scole.  
 Primo materiam conceptus tractat, et illam,  
 Vt veniat partus, stat repetendo magis;  
 Sic legit et textum, legit et glosam super illum,  
 Vt scola discipulis sit patefacta suis:

1440

Verberat ipse regens pro forma sepe scolares,  
 Vt vigili virga sit vigil ipsa scola.  
 Quanto formalis magis extat in arte legendo,  
 Est opus in tanto materiale minus.

Non labor excusat, doceat quin nocte dieque,  
 Quo sibi dat vacuum sollicitudo caput:

Questio namque sua, quam disputat esse profundam,



Senti et in casu plura profunda mouet.  
 Responsalis ei respondet ad omnia, quare,  
 Nec sinit a logica quicquid abire sua;  
 Sepeque doctori concluditur, ipseque tantum  
 Confusus cathedra linquit inesse sua.  
 Leccio lecta nocet, decies repetita nocebit;  
 Dum legit inde magis, plus sibi sensus hebes est.  
 Et sic ars nostrum curatum reddit inertem,  
 De longo studio fert nichil ipse domum:  
 Stultus ibi venit, set stulcior inde redibit,  
 Dum repetendo scolis sit magis ipse frequens.

1450

Hec est illa scola, studet in qua clerus, vt yma  
 Nature iura scribat in arte sua:  
 Practica discipulo bene conuenit atque magistro,  
 Vt speculatiuum construat ipse suum.  
 Hec est illa scola super omnes labe colenda,  
 Qua socius sociam gaudet habere suam:  
 Attamen illa scola, dum sit socie sociata,  
 Fine dabit socium plangere gesta reum.  
 Sic scola cum socia confirmat in arte scolarem,  
 Fiet quod laicus, quando magister erit.  
 Heu! grauis est socia, grauis est scola iuncta sodali,  
 Ista vorat corpus, illaque tollit opes:  
 Est inhonesta deo res, et mirabile plebi,  
 Quando magister erit atque ribaldus idem.

1460

1470

Ecclesia sponsa nuda, vestitur amica;  
 Sponsa relicta perit, altera cara viget:  
 Sic desponsata clamare fide sibi fracta  
 Nunc venit ecclesia iura petendo sua.  
 Set quia lux periit, perit hinc ius, sicque recedit  
 Curati sponsa stans quasi tota vaga.  
 Sic rector viciis studium non moribus aptans,  
 Dat decimam Veneri, que solet esse dei:  
 Sic sibi consimilem generat curatus, vt artem  
 Nature solitam compleat ipse suam:  
 Sic viget in studio laici curatus ad instar  
 Corporis, vt sexum multiplicare queat:  
 Sic scola, que morum mater magis esse solebat,  
 Efficitur viciis stulta nouerca suis.

1480

**Hic loquitur de rectoribus illis, qui in curis residentes, curas tamen negligentes, venacionibus precipue et voluptatibus penitus intendunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xviii. Tercius est rector, animum qui tendit ad orbem,

In cura residens dum manet ipse domi :

Nuda sue folia cure sine fructibus affert,

Dum sine luce regens stultus obumbrat eam.

1490

Predicat ipse nichil animas saluare, nec egros

Visitat, aut inopes tactus amore iuuat :

Est sibi crassus equus, restatque sciencia macra,

Sella decora que mens feda perornat eum.

Ad latus et cornu sufflans gerit, vnde redundant

Mons, nemus, vnde lepus visa pericla fugit ;

Oris in ecclesia set vox sua muta quiescit,

Ne fugat a viciis sordida corda gregis.

Sic canis, ad questum qui clamat in ore fidei,

Certus habebit eo quicquid habere velit ;

1500

Set miser, ad portas qui clamat et indiget escis,

Heu ! neque mica datur nec liquor vllus ei.

O deus, in quanta talis tibi laude meretur,

Dans alimenta cani, que negat ipse viro !

Vix sibi festa dies sacra vel ieiunia tollunt,

Quin nemus in canibus circuit ipse suis :

Clamor in ore canum, dum vociferantur in vnum,

Est sibi campana, psallitur vnde deo.

Stat sibi missa brevis, deuocio longaque campis,

Quo sibi cantores deputat esse canes :

1510

Sic lepus et vulpis sunt quos magis ipse requirit ;

Dum sonat ore deum, stat sibi mente lepus.

Sic agitat vulpis vulpem similis similemque

Querit, dum iuuenem deuorat ipse gregem ;

Nam vagus explorat vbi sunt pulchre mulieres

Etatis tenere, pascat vt inde famem :

Talis enim rector mulieribus insidiatur,

More lupi clausas circuientis oues.

Dum videt ipse senem sponsum sponsam iuuenemque,

Tales sub cura visitat ipse sua ;

1520

Supplet ibi rector regimen sponsi, que decore

Persoluit sponse debita iura sue.  
 Sic capit in cura rector sibi corpora pulcra,  
 Et fedas animas linquit abire vagas.

**Hic loquitur de rectoribus in curis residentibus, qui tamen curas animarum omittentes, quasi seculi mercatores singula temporalia de die in diem ementes et vendentes, mundi diuicias adquirunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xix. Quartus adhuc rector curam residendo sinistrat,  
 Ipseque mercator circuit omne genus.  
 Est sibi missa: forum meditatur et inde tabernam,  
 Ad socii dampnum dum petit ipse lucrum.  
 Ecclesie meritum perdit, lucratur et aurum;  
 Vt teneat mundum, deserit ipse deum. 1530  
 Computat ipse diem cassam, qua vel sibi lucrum,  
 Corporis aut luxum non capit ipse nouum:  
 Est et auaricia sibi custos, sic vt in illis  
 Partem diuiciis pauper habere nequit.  
 Masculus in nullo casu partitur egenus,  
 Duplice nam clauis cista resistit ei;  
 Set pietas aliter se continet ad mulierem,  
 Vt iubet ipsa Venus, est ibi larga manus.  
 Expansis genibus expanditur aurea cista;  
 Femina si veniat, dat sibi clauis iter: 1540  
 Durior est ferro, quem nullus mollicabit,  
 Vincit feminea set caro mollis eum.  
 Dans ita quid pro quo merces mercede locabit  
 Rector, in impropriis dum vacat ipse lucris.  
 Omne quod vna manus sibi congregat, altera spergit,  
 Dum sua dat cribro balsama stultus homo:  
 Stultaque sic stultum predat, quod fine dierum  
 Nil nisi sit rasa barba manebit ei.  
 O si curatis nati succedere possent,  
 Ecclesie titulo ferreque iura patrum, 1550  
 Tunc sibi Romipetas, mortis quibus est aliene  
 Spes, nichil aut modicum posse valere puto.  
 Talis in ecclesia nunc est deuocio mota  
 Curatis nostris: iudicet inde deus.



Postquam dictum est de errore illorum qui in ecclesia beneficiati existunt, iam dicendum est de presbiteris stipendiariis; de talibus saltem, qui non propter mundiciam et ordinis honestatem, set propter mundi ocia, gradum presbiteratus appetunt et assumunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xx. Si de presbiteris dicam qui sunt sine curis,  
 Hos viciis aliis cernimus esse pares.  
 Si tamen ecclesiam non optinet iste sacerdos,  
 Annua servicia sunt velut ecclesia :  
 Plus quam tres dudum nunc exigit vnus habendum,  
 Strictus auaricia plus cupit ipse quia. 1560  
 Hos velut artifices cerno peditare per vrbes,  
 Conductos precio sicut asella foro.  
 Dignus mercede tamen est operarius omnis,  
 Iuxta condignum quod labor ille petit :  
 Set tamen vt vendat nulli diuina licebit,  
 Sic poterit vendi missa nec vlla tibi.  
 Credimus vt sancta Cristus sacratus in ara  
 Non plus vult vendi venditus ipse semel.  
 Se sine dat precio, dare qui iussit sacra gratis :  
 Presbiter, ergo tibi quid petis inde lucrì ? 1570  
 Cum tibi vestitus, aptus fuerit quoque victus,  
 Vnde deo viuas, cur tibi plura petis ?  
 Si tibi plus superest de lucro, nil tibi prodest,  
 Nam male quesitum nescit habere modum.  
 Aut Romam perges mercatum Simonis auro,  
 Qui te promotum reddet, et inde tuum  
 Argentum tollet collectum per prius, et sic  
 Quod tibi missa dedit Simon habere petit ;  
 Aut meretrix bursam, te luxuriante, repletam  
 Sugget, et in vacuam quam cito reddet eam. 1580  
 Quod dedit ecclesia tollit meretrix que taberna :  
 Hec tria dum iungunt, turpia plura gerunt.  
 Hec ita cum videam, mundi noua monstra putarem,  
 Si foret hoc raro quod speculamur eo ;  
 Set quia cotidie potero predicta videre,  
 Sepe michi visa nil modo miror ea.  
 Mergulus inmergit fluuio sua membra frequenter,  
 Et longas gignit in latitando moras ;

Isteque signat eos quos carnis fluxa voluptas  
 Funditus exercet et retinendo premit. 1590  
 Est apud antiquos 'hic et hec' dixisse 'sacerdos,'  
 Dicere sic et nos possumus 'has et eos :'  
 Hii modo namque sua mundum replent genitura ;  
 Si pietas sit ibi, sunt modo valde pii.  
 Nox et amor, vinum, nullum moderabile suadent,  
 Que tria presbiteris sunt modo nota satis.  
 Stat brevis ordo precum, dum postulat ipse vicissim  
 Oscula per longas iungere pressa moras,  
 'O sacer,' hec dicens, 'quam longum tempus ad illud  
 Vt tua sint collo brachia nexa meo ?' 1600

Qui vult vxorem seruare sibi modo castam,  
 Et mundas cameras querit habere suas,  
 Longius a camera sit presbiter atque columba,  
 Stercora fundit ea, fundit et ipse supra.  
 Sobrius a mensa, de lecto siue pudicus  
 Consurgit raro presbiter ipse deo :  
 Cantat in excelsis sua vox agitata tabernis,  
 Est set in ecclesiis vox taciturna nimis :  
 Doctus et a vino colit ipse lupanar, et illuc  
 Exorando diu flectit vtrumque genu. 1610  
 Sic vetus expurgat fermentum, dum noua spergit,  
 Non tamen vt Paulus iusserat ipse prius :  
 Sic altare Baal modo thurificare sacerdos  
 Vult, per quem viui feda fit ara dei.  
 Sufficit vna michi mulier, bis sex tamen ipsi,  
 Vt iuueni gallo, cerno subire modo.  
 Sic sacra presbiteri celebrant solempnia Bachi,  
 Ebrietasque magis sanctificatur eis.  
 Gentilis ritus vetus incipit esse modernus,  
 Talibus et Cristi lex perit ipsa quasi : 1620  
 Sic modo templorum cultores suntque deorum,  
 Plus in honore quibus stat dea summa Venus.

**Hic loquitur de consueta presbiterorum voluptate, et qualiter  
 hii stipendia plebis ex conuencione sumentes, indeuote pro mor-  
 tuis orando non se debite ad suffragia mortuorum exonerant.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxi. Ignis edax terram vorat et nascencia terre ;

1617 solennia CEDL

Quo furit illius impetus, omne terit ;  
 Sic et in incastis exemplis presbiterorum  
 Indoctis laicis feda libido nocet.  
 Nil commune gerunt luxus sibi cum ratione,  
 Corporeos sensus quinque libido cremat :  
 Quos talis maculat nota talis pena sequetur,  
 Illorum pene sulphur et ignis erunt.  
 Consuetudo tamen solet attenuare pudorem,  
 Reddit et audacem quem mora longa trahit.  
 Non peccare putant quod sepius oscula iungant,  
 Oscula nam pacis signa parare solent ;  
 Estque parare piam pacem meritoria causa,  
 Nec sine pace diu stat pietatis amor :  
 Sic in presbiteris amor est de pace creatus,  
 Oscula nam solito more frequenter agunt.  
 Altera natura solitus reputabitur vsus,  
 Vsus et a longo tempore iura parit ;  
 Immoque nature si nos de iure loquamur,  
 Hoc in presbiteris splendet vbique magis :  
 Et si sub forma tali sint iura creanda,  
 Legis quod vires longior vsus habet,  
 Tunc puto presbiteros ex vsu condere leges,  
 Oscula dum crebro dant in amore suo.

1630

1640

Ecclesie gremium notat ordo presbiterorum,  
 Quo debent animas rite fouere bonas ;  
 Quomodo set proprias qui non curant, alias  
 Curabunt? non est hoc rationis opus.  
 Nescio quid meriti poterunt tales michi ferre,  
 Qui sibi nil proprie commoditatis habent :  
 Nam peccatores scitur quod non deus audit,  
 Est inhonesta deo laus set ab ore mali :  
 Indeque deo qui verba precancia confert,  
 Iudicii proprii dampna futura petit.  
 Qui dampnum causat, hic dampna dedisse videtur,  
 Ledit qui patitur que reuocare potest :  
 Infligit mortem languenti, qui valet illam  
 Nec vult auferre, set sinit esse malum :  
 Presul qui laicos, cum non sint ordine digni,  
 Ordinat ad sacra, scandala plura mouet.

1650

1660



Tales si quis emit lucro, frustrabitur inde,  
 Aut si perdet in hiis scit magis ipse deus.  
 Hoc scio, quod panem qui fregerit esurienti,  
 Cuius debilitas est sine fraude patens,  
 Qui nudos operit, infirmos. visitat, illi  
 Debentur merita pro bonitate sua :  
 Set qui sunt fortes, vanaque sub ordinis vmbra  
 Conspirant requiem quam sibi mundus habet,  
 Errat eos presul sacrans, et quosque locando  
 Tales de merito perdere dona puto.

1670

**Hic tractat causam, quare accidit quod laici, quasi iuris  
 amici, luxurie presbiterorum consuetudinem abhorrentes,  
 eam multociens castigantes grauiter affligunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxii. Hoc dicit clerus, quod, quamuis crimine plenus

Sit, non est laici ponere crimen ei ;  
 Alter et alterius cleri peccata fauore  
 Excusat, quod in hiis stat sine lege reus.  
 Non accusari vult a laicis, tamen illos  
 Accusat, que sibi libera frena petit.  
 Libera sunt ideo peccata placencia clero,  
 Sit nisi quod laici iura ferantur ibi.  
 Presbiter insipiens populum facit insipientem,  
 Et mala multa parit qui bona pauca sapit :  
 Clerus lege carens populum dat lege carentem,  
 Sic parat et causam presbiter ipse suam :  
 Nam quia lege caret laicus, sine lege manentem  
 Ignorat clerum, quem videt esse reum.  
 Si foret et sapiens clerus, sapiencia plebis  
 Staret, vt in lege perstet vterque simul ;  
 Set quia iam fatui patet insipencia cleri,  
 Despicitur vita desipientis ita.

1680

1690

Pluribus exemplis natura iuuat rationem,  
 Doccius vnde suum iudiciale regat.  
 Hinc est quod latitans bubo lucis iubar odit,  
 Escam vestigat nocte, veretur aues :  
 In quam forte greges auium si lumina figant,  
 Conclamando volant et laniando secant.

Presbiteros notat iste reos, qui corpore fedi  
 Que sunt luxurie feda latenter agunt;  
 Hos laici quasi lucis aues restringere querunt,  
 Zelo succensi legis, amore dei.

1700

Preuaricatus enim Iudas non amplius inde  
 Seruorum Cristi dignus honore fuit.  
 Dum iuga luxurie supportat presbiter, ipsum  
 Si pungant laici, computet inde sibi.

Iusto iudicio lex vult, quod iuris abusor  
 Amittat vicio quod sibi iura dabant.  
 Ecclesie fratres in Cristo nos sumus omnes,  
 Semper et alterius indiget alter ope:  
 Lex tamen hoc dicit, frater quod si tuus erret,  
 Corripe, sic et eum fac reuenire deo:

1710

Si te non audit, dic ecclesie, set et illam  
 Si non audire vult, nec adheret ei,  
 Amplius ille tibi velut Ethnicus est reputandus,  
 Quo sibi de culpa parcere nullus habet.  
 Presbiter ergo suis assistens cotidianis  
 Peccatis nullo debet honore frui:  
 Non erit exemptus, nam qui neque iura veretur,  
 Non est iusticie quod quis honoret eum:  
 Qui contra legem vetitis presumpserit vti,  
 Debet concessis lege carere bonis.

1720

Omne quod occultum latet, vltiore patebit  
 Fine, nec excusat ordo vel ille status.  
 Dic, sibi quid valuit tunc excusacio ficta,  
 Dum foliis fici se male textit Adam?  
 Quid valet aut, culpam carnis si presbiter vmbra  
 Contegat ipse sui fultus honore status?

**Hic scribit contra hoc quod aliqui presbiteri dicunt, qua-  
 liter ipsi in carnis luxuriam committendo non grauius homi-  
 nibus laicis deum offendunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiii. Dicunt presbiteri, non te peccant magis ipsi,

Dum carnis vicio fit sua victa caro:

Sicut sunt alii fragili de carne creati,

Dicit quod membra sic habet ipse sua.

1730

‘Sum velut alter homo,’ dicit ‘cur tunc mulieres,

Sicut habent alii, non retinebo michi?'  
 Argumenta sui sic criminis ipse refingit,  
 Liber et est vicio, dicit, vt alter homo.  
 Hec tamen, vt credo, fingit contraria vero,  
 Nam magis est sanctus omnibus ille status.  
 Ex improuiso sumi reliquis valet ordo,  
 Quo minor est culpa, si cadat inde rea;  
 Assumi subito set presbiteri sacer ordo  
 Non valet, immo suas spectat habere vices. 1740  
 Nam per quinque gradus scandit prius, estque probatus,  
 Quolibet vnde suum preuidet ipse statum:  
 Omnis et inde gradus a presule sanctificatus  
 Est et non alio, sanccior vt sit eo.  
 Per caput atque manus est crismate presbiter vinctus,  
 Vt sit ob hoc aliis dignus in orbe magis;  
 Accipiensque iugum votum vouet ammodo castum,  
 Quo faciat munda mundior acta sua:  
 Et quia preuisa sic vota facit, puto culpa,  
 Dum facit econtra, fert grauiora mala: 1750  
 Qui daret exemplum virtutis et est viciosus,  
 Errat plus ducto ductor in ore meo.  
 Hiis circumspectis michi sic per singula causis,  
 Estimo presbiteros te magis esse reos.  
 Se licet excuset fingens sibi verba sacerdos,  
 Nulla sue mentis interiora iuuat;  
 Inmemor immo sacri quem ceperat ordinis, vltro  
 Scandala sic facti querit in orbe sui.  
 Non puto presbitero sutorem quod status vnit,  
 Culpa nec in simili lance coequat eos: 1760  
 Presbiter et laicus non sunt Bercarius vnum,  
 Nec scelus in simili condicione grauatur.  
 Castum se vouit sibi cum fuit vncta corona,  
 Stringitur et voto quisque fidelis homo.  
 Non foret hic tanti mercede locatus honoris,  
 Sit nisi quod maius inde subiret onus:  
 Nam nequit hoc facere rex est qui maior in orbe,  
 Quod minor in Cristo presbiter ipse potest:  
 Sic, quia de iure reliquis prefertur honore,

1747 vouet CEHGT    vouit SDLH:    1760 nec in simili condicione  
 grauatur (om. ll. 1761 f.) C



Ledit eum grauius crimine iuris onus.

1770

Heu! quod iniqua manus mulierum feda pudendis

Debet in altari tangere sacra dei!

Qui corpus domini tractabit, et est meretrici

Turpiter attractus, Cristus abhorret opus.

Qui fierent Cristi serui, sunt dumque ministri

Demonis, heu! nostram quis reparabit opem?

**Hic describit qualiter omnia et singula que sacerdocii concernunt officium magne virtutis misteria designant: et primo dicet de vestibus sacerdotalibus ex vtraque lege competenter dispositis.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiii.

O bene si penset que sunt sibi iura sacerdos,

Quid sit honor, quid onus, quid vel honoris opus,

Singula qui iuste sibi ponderat, instat et eque,

Res est mira nimis, si male gestet onus.

1780

Omne quod ille status sibi vendicat esse beatum

Cernitur, vt sancti sint magis inde viri.

Non est tam modicum quod misse spectat ad vsum,

Lege sacerdotum quin decet esse sacrum.

Ornatus varii, quibus vtitur ipse sacerdos,

Virtutis varie mistica signa gerunt.

Poderis est vestis, aliter que dicitur alba,

Presbiteri corpus que tegit vsque pedes:

Vt foris est albus, fieret sic albior intus

Presbiter, vt mores gestet in orbe bonos.

1790

Cinctus ephot Samuel domini studet esse minister,

Cui paruam tunicam texuit Anna parens:

In tunica tenui fidei doctrina notatur,

Qua tenues animos gracia mater alit:

Ex lino factum per ephot signatur honestas

Carnis, quam mundam presbiter ipse geret.

Balteus est eciam, tunicam qui stringit honeste,

Ne femur in luxu facta pudenda sciat:

Fert humerale decens, vt nostras presbiter egras

Confortans animas ad meliora ferat:

1800

Et ligat in summo sapiens capitale sacerdos,

Vt capitis sensus non sinat ire vagos.

Infula vestit eum circumdata, que nitet auro,

Quod virtute sua cuncta metalla regit;

Splendet et in simili forma virtute sacerdos,  
 Si bene conseruet ordinis ipse statum :  
 Aurum veste gerit sanctus, cum splendet in illo  
 Pre reliquis rutilans clara sophia dei.  
 Ne tunice leuiter possit ruptura minari,  
 Nobilis in giro texilis ora micat : 1810  
 Se nec et ipse bonus disrumpat in orbe sacerdos,  
 Ne pateat rima criminis vlla sui.  
 Hac se mundicia precinctus presbiter ornat,  
 Vt totus mundus munera munda sacret.  
 Aron et electis vestes texuntur, vt horum  
 Quisque sacerdotis possit honore frui :  
 Sic modo presbiteri, seu summi siue minores,  
 Efficiunt Cristi corpus idemque sacrant.  
 Nam nos cum vinum panemque sacramus in ara,  
 Hoc verus sanguis vna fit atque caro : 1820  
 Qui Cristi carnem matris confecit in aluo,  
 Corpus in altari conficit ille sacrum.  
 Quadra fit altaris species, vt quatuor orbis  
 Partibus ecclesie sit solidata fides.  
 Vestibus ornatus qui sic et moribus extat  
 Dignus, non aliter, presbiterandus erit.  
 Quos tante vestes, quos gloria tanta perornat,  
 Sint magis vt sancti causa requirit eos :  
 Dedecus ecclesie presul qui talia prestat  
 Presbiteris laicis, iure negante, parit. 1830  
 Quos sinus ecclesie recipit, noscat sinus aptos  
 Esse deo, reliquos euomat ipsa foris.

**Hic loquitur qualiter sacrificia de veteri lege altari debita  
 fuerunt in figura ad exemplum nunc noue legis presbi-  
 terorum: dicit vltterius qualiter ex vtraque lege sacri-  
 ficantes altari debent esse sine macula.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxv. Lex vetus instituit animalia, de quibus olim  
 Immolat altari plebs holocausta deo ;  
 Semper et ex omni mactato sic animali  
 Debita presbitero porcio certa fuit.  
 Hoc tamen ad Cristi legem latitante figura

Presbiteris nostris mistica iura notat.  
 Illa sacerdoti que spectat pars holocausti,  
 Curatis nostris est memoranda satis : 1840  
 Heeque sacerdotis sunt partes, pectus et armus  
 Diuisus dexter, lege iubente sacra.  
 Pectus doctrine locus est, nam quisque sacerdos  
 Debet subiectos recta docere suos :  
 Forcior est armus dexter, signatque quod eius  
 Actus sit fortis, nulla sinistra gerens :  
 Armus diuisus docet vt viuendo sacerdos  
 Excedat populum, nil populare gerens.  
 Non est tam modicum quid in ordine presbiterorum,  
 Grande ministerii quin sibi pondus habet ; 1850  
 Nam lex iuncta vetus cum lege noua manifestant  
 Vndique presbiteros quod decet esse sacros.  
 Petrus in Aurora que scribam scripsit, et ille  
 Testis in hac causa verus et auctor erit.

Lex vetus ista iubet, noua que confirmat, vt omnis  
 Sacrificans aris immaculatus erit ;  
 Absque sui macula sit corporis actus et eius,  
 Displicet vnde deo, feda nec vlla gerat :  
 Non habeat maculam, nec sit mixtura reatus,  
 Ne purum maculet accio praua bonum. 1860  
 Que tamen hee macule dicuntur in ordine dicam,  
 Presbiter vt lector sit magis inde memor.  
 Dicitur hic cecus, qui mundi puluere plenus  
 Ad lumen vite carpere nescit iter :  
 Est lippus, cuius mens ingenio mīcat intus,  
 Set carnale tamen eius opacat opus :  
 Albugo cecat oculos, et denotat illum  
 Qui tumet, ascribens candida facta sibi :  
 Est paruo naso qui nec discernere parua  
 Sufficit, et quod agit perficit absque sale : 1870  
 Est nimio naso, qui non intelligit illud  
 Quod legit, et doctum se tamen ipse facit :  
 Est torto naso, qui dulce fatetur amarum,  
 Et sanctos actus iudicat esse malos :  
 Est claudus, qui nouit iter, set currere tardus  
 Heret in hoc mundo, carne ligante pedem :



Fractus pes et fracta manus reputatur in illo,  
 Qui claudo peior tardat ad omne bonum :  
 Hic est gibbosus, quem mundi sarcina curuat,  
 Lumina nec cordis summa videre sinit : 1880  
 Corporis in scabie succensa libido notatur,  
 Que corrupta suo crimine plura facit.

Predictis viciis si quis se senciatur egrum,  
 Lex iubet vt panem non sacret ille deo.  
 Oza manus tendens accessit vt erigat archam,  
 Set nimis audacem mors fuit vlta manum :  
 Hinc ideo dicunt meruisse necem, quia nocte  
 Transacta cohitu coniugis vsus erat.  
 Declaratur in hoc, quod qui pollutus ad aram  
 Accedat, mortis vulnere dignus erit : 1890  
 Experimenta docent, quod ab hoc detergere sordes  
 Fedam manus nescit, dum tenet illa lutum.  
 Presbiter est dictus prebens aliis iter, et si  
 Erret, tunc errant ducere quosque putat.  
 Dans sacra siue docens, notat ista loquela, sacerdos  
 Si malus est, alii sunt magis inde mali.  
 Non sine stat cura quicumque professus in huius  
 Ordinis est opere, si bene seruet opus :  
 Ergo prius videas qui scandere vis, et in illum  
 Si scandas, facias que iubet ordo tuus : 1900  
 Non solum faciem, mores set confer et artes,  
 Proficias curis ex quibus ipse tuis.

**Hic loquitur quod etas sufficiens, priusquam gradum sacerdotii sibi assumat, in homine requiritur: loquitur etiam de suorum rasura pilorum, et dicit quod talia in signum mundicie et sanctitatis specialiter presbiteris conueniunt: dicit vltius quod presbiteri a bonis non debent esse operibus ociosi.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxvi. Quam prius assumat, matura requiritur etas,

Presbiter officium, plenus vt ipse regat :  
 Nam flos etatis temptanti congruit hosti ;  
 Carnis et etatis feruet vterque calor :  
 Iam quos vexat ad huc tenere lasciuiam carnis

1890 Accedat SL Accedit CEHGD

Heading 5 f. a bonis non debent operibus esse CE a bonis operibus non debent esse L a bonis operibus non esse D

1907 ad huc SGT adhuc CEHDL

Improba, pastores non decet esse gregis.  
 Vt regnare deo possint, sibi rasa corona  
 Restat, et vt facta nobiliora gerant. 1910  
 Radices non extirpat rasura pilorum,  
 Set rasi crescunt multiplicando magis :  
 Sic licet expellas omnes de pectore motus,  
 Non tamen hec penitus cuncta fugare potes :  
 Non ita rasmus eris, quin semper habet caro pugnam ;  
 Intus habes cum quo prelia semper agas.

Si quando mundum fugias, a puluere mundi  
 Perfecte purus non potes esse tamen :  
 Nam, licet eniteas summis virtutibus, omnes  
 Ex animo culpas non resecare vales. 1920  
 Fit tamen ex minimis hec quam retines tibi culpa,  
 Ne tua mens tumeat, dum bona multa geris :  
 Ex tali culpa tibi soluitur ergo tributum,  
 Vt tua mens paueat labe remorsa breui.  
 Sepe cadit iustus, fragilis quia vir manet omnis,  
 Ne nimis exaltet gloria vana virum :  
 Qui leuiter cecidit, vt surgat forcius, ille  
 Casum felicem suscipit ante deum.  
 Lux estis mundi, set non penitus sine fumo,  
 Nam sine peccato viuere nullus habet : 1930  
 Sepe boni fructus post temptamenta sequuntur,  
 Mercedemque suam prelia carnis habent.

Vtile nempe foret suas extinguere flammis,  
 Et sanum vicii pectus habere tuum :  
 Ne videant oculi per quod temptentur, et aures  
 Obtura, vicii ne sonus intret ibi.  
 Tucius est aptumque magis discedere pace,  
 Ponere quam bellum, vincere quale nequis :  
 Integer est melior nitidus gladiator in armis,  
 Quam cum tela suo sanguine tincta madent : 1940  
 Inque dei missis nitidus sine labe sacerdos  
 Victor in hoc placidum fert sibi lucra deum.  
 Quale sit hoc quod amas celeri circumspice mente,  
 Et tua lesuro subtrahe colla iugo :  
 Debet homo sapiens nascentes pellere morbos,

Inueniet tardam ne sibi lentus opem :  
 Opprime, dum noua sunt, subiti mala semina morbi,  
 Et tuus incipiens ire resistat equus ;  
 Nam mora dat vires, teneras mora conficit uas,  
 Et validas segetes quod fuit herba facit. 1950  
 Si Venus agreditur, tibi sit magis aspera vita,  
 Flamma recens modica sepe retardat aqua.  
 Vt corpus redimas, ferrum pacieris et ignem,  
 Quantum fert anime plus medicina tue.  
 Ocia si tollas, periire Cupidinis arcus,  
 Extingteque iacent et sine luce faces.

Vt non delinquas, debes imponere culpe  
 Frena, vagos gressus, ocia queque fugans.  
 Presbiteros opere de re sibi que sit honesta,  
 Aut se de precibus sollicitare decet : 1960  
 Fecit enim sportas, vt frangeret ocia, Paulus,  
 Namque vagans aliquo noluit esse modo.  
 Ex requie cerpit pestis seuissima luxus,  
 Armiger et fame prodigus hostis honor :  
 Ex requie sequitur infortunata voluptas,  
 Pauperies anime, criminis omne nephas.  
 Luxuriant animi varia sub ymagine moti,  
 Saltem virtutis dum caro nescit opus :  
 Vtile nempe dabit deus omne viris operosis,  
 Debet mercedis pondera ferre labor. 1970  
 Sollicitudo decet animam discreta, labores  
 Dum subit, vt vicia carne domare queat :  
 Sollicitudo iuuat corpus, perquirat vt illa  
 Victum, quo licitis viuat in orbe modis :  
 Ocia dumque caro petit et torpet labor exul,  
 In scelus ex solito more paratur itêr.  
 Demon femineos et molles diligit actus,  
 Quando viri virtus omne virile negat ;  
 Ocia quippe nocent in talibus absque labore,  
 Quorum Cristicolis non valet esse salus. 1980  
 Culpa quidem longe facit esse deo, prope virtus ;  
 Displicet ista deo, placat et illa deum.



**Hic loquitur de presbiterorum dignitate spirituali, et qualiter hii, si bene agant sua officia, plus aliis proficiunt: sinautem, de suis malis exemplis delinquendi magis ministrant occasiones.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxvii. Presbiteri fit magnus honor maiorque potestas,

Si procul a viciis sit pius atque bonus.

Hii sacramenti manibus misteria summi

Tractant, quo verbo fit caro iuncta deo :

Hiique scelus lauacro baptismi tollere sancto

Possunt, quo primus corrui ipse parens :

Hii quoque lege noua celebrant sponsalia nostra,

Et si iura petunt cassa que nulla ferunt :

1990

Hii quoque confessis veniam prestant residuiis,

Errantique viro dant remeare deo :

Hii quoque celestem nobis dant sumere panem,

Post et in extremis vnccio spectat eis :

Hii quoque defunctis debent conferre sepultis,

Inque sua missa reddere vota pia.

Hii sunt sal terre, quo nos condimur in orbe,

Absque sapore suo vix salietur homo.

In sale, quod misit in aquas, Heliseus easdem

Sanat, nec remanet gustus amarus eis :

2000

In sale signatur prudens discrecio iusti,

Vt discretus homo condiat inde suos.

Hii sunt lux mundi, quapropter si tenebrosi

Sint, tunc nos ceci stamus in orbe vagi.

Dans offendiculum ceco quo leditur vllum

Vt deus instituit, hic maledictus erit :

Ceco preponit obstacula, qui maledicta

Peccandi prebet per sua facta viam.

Hii sunt scala Iacob tangens celestia summa,

Plena satis gradibus, vnde patebit iter :

2010

Hii sunt mons sanctus, per quos conscendere debet

Virtutum culmen quisque fidelis homo :

Hii sunt consilium nostrum, via recta superne,

Legis doctores, et noua nostra salus :

Hii claudunt celum populo, reserant et apertum,

Possunt hiique boni subdere cuncta sibi.

‘Crescite,’ dicitur hiiis, ‘et multum reddite fructum’;

1991 residuiis SET recidiuis CHDL  
2009 No paragr. S

1999 Helizeus C Helyseus EL

\*\*\*\*

M

Pertinet ad mores ista loquela bonos :  
 Dicitur hiis, 'Terram replete'; nota tibi dictum :  
 Plenus in ecclesia fructibus esto bonis.

2020

Ante deum vacuus nemo veniet, quia nullus  
 Expers virtutis debet adesse deo.

Sic placare deo iustosque reosque sacerdos

Debet, et ad celos fundere thura precum :

Oret ne iustus a iusticia cadat, oret

Vt prauus surgat et mala prima freat.

O quam res vilis, dum presbiter est vt asellus,

Moribus indoctus, et sine lege rudis !

In numero sunt presbiteri celi quasi stelle,

Vix tamen ex mille si duo luce micant :

2030

Scripta legunt nec scripta sciunt, tonsi tamen ipsi

A vulgo distant, quod satis esse putant.

Sunt tales ; et sunt alii quos ardua virtus

Ornat in ecclesia, qui bona multa ferunt.

Emittit coruum Noe, non redit ille ; columbam

Emittit, reditum missa columba facit :

Sic et in ecclesia sunt corui suntque columbe,

Sunt cum felle mali, sunt sine felle boni.

Cras primam cantant, cum se conuertere tardant,

Set tollit tales sepe suprema dies :

2040

Tales sunt pigri, quos mundi vincula nectunt,

Nec promissa dei regna sitire volunt.

Ordinis ipse sui qui seruat iura sacerdos,

Rebus et exemplis dogmata sancta docens,

Non honor est tantus, quo non sit in ordine dignus,

Laus sibi nec populi sufficit, immo dei :

In clero fateor, quos approbat ardua virtus,

Illorum merito gracia maior erit.

**Postquam dixit de errore illorum qui inter seculares sacerdotii ministerium sibi assumpserunt, intendit dicere secundum tempus nunc de errore scholarium, qui ecclesie plantule dicuntur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxviii. Nomine sub cleri cognouimus esse scolares,

Ecclesie plantas quos vocat ipse deus.

2050

Orti diuini bonus extat planta scholaris,

Ecclesie fructus que facit esse bonos.

Qui studet in morum causis et non viciorum,

Qui sibi nec mundum computat, immo deum,  
Clericus ipse dei super hoc reputatur, et eius  
Principium fine clauditur inde bono.

Summi doctoris virtutum regula iusta

Discipulos dociles de ratione fouet:

Qui studiis herent, cor ad alta leuant et in altis

Figunt, hii vera sunt holocausta deo.

2060

Nunc tamen inter eos puto multos esse vocatos,

Electos paucos condicione probos:

Moribus hii dudum studii virtute vacabant,

Nunc viciis studia dant vigilare sua.

Vix pro materia si nunc studet vnus habenda,

Solum set forme sufficit vmbra sue.

Clericus ire scolae animo paciente solebat,

Gloria nunc mundi statque magistra sibi,

Discurrensque vagus potator et accidiosus,

Deditus et veneri, circuit hic et ibi.

2070

Ex planta sterili non fiet fertilis arbor,

Nec faciet fructus arbor iniqua bonos:

Sepe senecta tenet, tenuit quodcumque iuuentus;

Si malus est iuuenis, vix bonus ipse vetus.

Est bona que radix bonitatis germina profert,

De radice mala germinat omne malum.

Quisque suos igitur pueros castiget, vt illa

Virgula non licite mentis agenda fugat:

Qui virtutis habet iuuenis cum flore magistrum,

Discat et ipse pie que probitatis erunt,

2080

Proficiet talis; set quem doctor viciosus

Instruit, hic raro fructificabit homo.

**Hic querit causam que scolarium animos ad ordinem  
presbiteratus suscipiendum inducit: tres enim causas pre-  
cipue allegat; tractat etiam de quarta causa, que raro ad  
presens contingit.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxix. Sunt aliqui, studio modo qui perstant animoso,

Nescio que causa sit tamen inde rea.

Quicquid agant homines, intencio iudicat omnes;

Corde quod interius est capit ipse deus:

Istis prepositis, verum michi pande, scolaris,

Dic que sit studii condita causa tui:



Muniri primo cum te facis ordine sacro,  
 Cum te principiis presbiterare venis,  
 O que mente tua fuerit tunc mocio summa,  
 Hoc vel pro mundi sit vel amore dei?  
 Aut tu certa tue michi dic primordia cause,  
 Aut tibi que sapio dicere vera volo.

2090

‘Sunt plures cause, per quas communis in orbe  
 Est sacer hic ordo carus vt ecce modo :  
 In prima causa fugio mundana flagella  
 Legis communis, que dat amara viris :  
 Vltcrius video quod non sudore laboro,  
 Ocia que quero sic et habere queo :  
 Tercia causa meum dat vestitum quoque victum ;  
 Sicque meo placito persto quietus ego.  
 Ex hiis causata mea stat deuocio tota,  
 Qua poterit cerni rasa corona michi :  
 Hec est causa scole, ciuilia iura studere  
 Que facit, et logicam me docet arte suam.  
 Ipsa scoleque gradus michi dat conscendere summos,  
 Sic et in ecclesiam scandere quero bonam :  
 Nam si fama viget, puto quod prebenda vigebit,  
 Sicque vacare libris est labor ipse leuis.  
 Sic sacer ordo michi placet, et sic litera cleri  
 Confert, dum studio pingua lucra gero.  
 Nunc causas dixi, constat quibus ordo scolari,  
 Sic propter mundum me reor esse reum ;  
 Nam michi nil melius, dum sufficit ipsa facultas,  
 Estimo, quam mundi gaudia ferre michi.’

2100

2110

Est set adhuc causa melior tamen omnibus, illa  
 Qua scola discipulum gaudet habere bonum.  
 Hec solet antiquis, non nostris stare diebus,  
 Que de virtute concipit acta scole.  
 Nuper erant mundi qui contempserunt beati  
 Pompas, et summum concupiere bonum ;  
 Et quia scire scholas acuit mentes fore sanctas,  
 Scripture studiis se tribuere piis.  
 Non hos ambicio, non hos amor vrget habendi,  
 Set studio mores conuenienter eunt :  
 Hii contemplantes celum terrena negabant,

2120

Causa voluptatis nulla remouit eos :  
Hii neque serviciis optabant regis inesse,  
Nec foris in plebe nomen habere Rabi : 2130  
Hos neque precellens superabat comptus inanis  
Nec vini luxus, nec mulieris amor :  
Moribus experti dederant exempla futuris,  
Que sibi discipulus debet habere scolis.  
Nunc tamen in viciū virtus conuertitur, et que  
Nuper erant mores turpia plura gerunt :  
Que modo scripta dei dicunt se discere laudi,  
In laudem mundi vertit auarus honor.  
O res mira nimis ! legit et studet ipse scholaris  
Mores, dum vicia sunt magis acta sua : 2140  
Sic quia stat cecus morum sine lumine clerus,  
Erramus laici nos sine luce vagi.

Exquo tractauit de errore cleri, ad quem precipue nostrarum spectat regimen animarum, iam intendit tractare de errore virorum Religiosorum: et primo dicet de Monachis, et aliis bonorum temporalium possessionem optinentibus; ordinis vero illorum sanctitatem commendans, illos precipue qui contraria faciunt opera redarguit.

### Incipit liber Quartus.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. **S**unt et Claustrales diuerse condicionis,  
 De quibus vt sapio scribere pauca volo.  
 Actus vt ipse probat, quosdam possessio signat,  
 Quosdam pauperies, set similata nimis.  
 Est bona religio de se, set religionem  
 Qui fallunt, tales dicimus esse malos:  
 Qui bene sub claustro viuunt fore credo beatos,  
 Quos mundanus amor nescit habere reos;  
 Quique manus aratro mittunt nec respicientes  
 Retro, viros sanctos ordo notabit eos.  
 Est deus in monachis, sunt et commercia celi  
 Hiis, sine qui mundo claustra subire volunt.  
 Cum quis amare duo pariter contraria sumit,  
 Alterius vires subtrahit alter amor:  
 Sic qui presumunt facies laruare sub vmbra  
 Ordinis, et mundi crimina subtus agunt,  
 Talibus ipse mea fero scripta, nec alter ab ipsis  
 Leditur, immo suum quisque reportet onus.  
 Est nichil ex sensu proprio quod scribo, set ora  
 Que michi vox populi contulit, illa loquar.

10

20

Sunt etenim monachi, possessio quos titulauit,  
 Quidam, quos nullis moribus ordo ligat;  
 Nam possessores aliqui sic ocia querunt  
 Ordinis, vt nequeunt vlla nociua pati:  
 Ferre famem fugiunt, vinoque sitim supervndant,



Pellicibus calidis frigus et omne fugant :  
 Sic gravitas ventris noctis non surgit in horis,  
 Nec vox rauca cipro concinit alta choro.  
 Deuoret in mensa talis nisi fercula plura,  
 Euacuet plures potibus atque ciphos, 30  
 Tunc infirmari se credit, et hinc recreari  
 Postulat, et ludis sic vacat ipse suis.  
 Est nam vix fessus a potibus ille professus,  
 Sic cupit in vino dompnus adesse deo :  
 Vinum dumque geres, ad se trahit hoc mulieres,  
 Dant simul ista duo claustra relicta modo.  
 Si celum poterit calefacta veste lucrari,  
 Et gula cum superis possit habere locum,  
 Tunc puto quod monachus causa signatus vtraque  
 Conciuis Petri stabit in arce poli. 40

**Hic loquitur de monachis illis, qui contra primi ordinis  
statuta abstinentie virtutem linquentes, delicacias sibi cor-  
porales multipliciter assumunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Mortua cum viuis nulla ratione coherent,  
 Orbem nec renuens orbis ad acta redit :  
 Nil tonsura iuuat, nichil aut vilissima vestis,  
 Si lupus est, quamuis esse videtur ouis.  
 Nam falli possunt homines, set fallere Cristum,  
 Qui nullum fallit, fallere nemo potest :  
 Ille quidem fucum similate religionis  
 Dampnat, et ad nichilum computat illud opus.  
 Veste tamen sola monachus iam cedit ab orbe,  
 Et putat in forma sufficit ordo sibi; 50  
 Materiamque sui curat nichil ordinis vltra,  
 Vestis erit Monachus, mens et in orbe vagat.  
 Talis enim monachus, quia scit quod in ordine ventris  
 Ex tenui victu corpora raro vident,  
 Postulat oris opem, quas et magis appetit escas  
 Sumit, vt ex ore gaudia venter agat.  
 Immemor ipse patris, humeris qui ferre solebat,  
 Vina suo monachus optima ventre gerit ;  
 Haurit et in stomachum talis velut amphora Bachum,

Est dare nec vacuum ventre tumente locum.

60

Pluribus ex causis monachus vitare Lieum

Debet, ex est vna, ne caro stupra petat ;

Nec bona confratrum vastet, nec in ebrietate

Desideat, nec eo febricitetur homo.

Attamen ipse nichil curat, quin replet inane

Corpus, et est anime cotidiana fames.

Nunc niueus panis monachis subtileque vinum

Et carnes festa cotidiana parant ;

Nunc cocus ecce coquit, assat, gelat atque resoluit,

Et terit et stringit, colat et acta probat.

70

Si poterit monachus ventrem crassare gulosus,

Sit labor vt sacris nil putat esse libris :

Despiciens manna plebs ista nigras petit ollas,

Preponit vicia moribus atque sua.

Ne macerare fames crassos queat, en gula plene

Languentes stomachos ventris amica replet :

Quid sit honorari nescit, set ventre beari,

Hoc, dicit monachus, est via, vita, salus.

Accelerans currit cito, cum pulsatur ad ollam,

Preterit a mensa mica nec vna sibi ;

80

Set pede spondaico lentus de nocte resurgens,

Cum venit ad laudes, vltimus esse petit.

Ordinis in primo monachis domus antra fuere,

Aulaque nunc grandis marmoris ornat eos :

Nulla coquina sibi fuerat fumosa, nec igne

Deliciosa cocus cocta vel assa tulit ;

Non cibus excoctus neque fercula carne repensa

In primo monachis tempore crassa dabant ;

Corporis ingluuies animas non pressit eorum,

Nec calefacta caro callida stupra petit :

90

Vesteque pellicea sua corpora nuda tegebant,

Qui modo de lana mollius ipsa tegunt :

Herba dabat victum, fons potum, turpeque vestem

Cilicium, nec eo tempore murmur erat.

Non erat invidia claustralis tunc neque pompa ;

Qui fuerat maior, seruit vt ipse minor :

Non erat argenti pondus neque circulus auri,

Que poterant sanctum tunc violare statum :

Non tetigit loculos nummus neque vina palatum,  
 Nec furit in lumbis carnea flamma suis : 100  
 Hiis fuerat sancta mens propositum bene seruans,  
 Perdurans in idem quod bene cepit opus.

Hii fuerant homines iusti, mundum fugientes,  
 Quos peccatorum nullus onustat amor :  
 Mundus non retrahit illos a tramite recto,  
 Illos nec reuocat ad mala feda caro :  
 Omnia postponunt que mundus vana ministrat,  
 Et celi solum concupiere deum.  
 Tunc pudor in stipula nec erat cepisse quietem,  
 Nec fenum capiti supposuisse suo : 110  
 Silua domus fuerat, cibus herba, cubicula frondes,  
 Que tellus nulla sollicitate dabat.

In magno Corulus precio tunc floruit illis,  
 Duraque magnificas quercus habebat opes :  
 Arbuteos fetus montanaque fragra legebant,  
 Que condita sale nec speciebus erant :  
 Si que deciderant patule Iouis arbore glandes,  
 Sumebant, et in hiis convaluere cibis.  
 Contenti modicis natura sponte creatis,  
 Soluebant summo vota pudica deo. 120

Hii tunc iusticie perfecti grana serentes,  
 Fructus centenos nunc sine fine metunt :  
 Set vetus illa salus animarum, religionis  
 Que fuit, infirma carne subacta perit.

**Hic loquitur qualiter modus et regula, qui a fundatoribus  
 ordinis primitus fuerant constituti, iam nouiter a viciorum  
 consuetudine in quampluribus subuertuntur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. In noua multociens animus mutatur, et inde

Testis erit monachi regula mota michi.

Fit modo curtata monachorum regula prima,

Est nam re dempta, sic manet ipsa gula ;

Et modus a modio largissima vina bibendo

Dicitur in monacho, qui vorat absque modo. 130

Vt non lingua loquax dentes turbare gulosos

Possit, dum prandet, ordo silere iubet :



Ne pes deficiat ventris sub pondere pressus,  
 Quando bibit monachus persedet ipse prius :  
 Expedi et monacho rasum caput esse rotundo,  
 Ne coma perpediat pendula quando bibit :  
 Mutua pacta ferunt monachi, quod, si quis eorum  
 Prebibat, in fundo nil remanere sinet ;  
 Vasaque sic plena vacuant que replent vacuata,  
 Vt faciant Bachi propria festa loci :  
 Sic confert monacho vestis largissima pleno,  
 Ne pateat grossi ventris ymago sui.

140

In monacho tali semper furit ardor edendi,  
 Dant cibus et sompnus que cupit ipse magis :  
 Quod pontus, quod terra parit, quod et educat aer,  
 Ex auidis auidus faucibus ipse vorat ;  
 Vtque frētum recipit de tota flumina terra,  
 Et tamen aucta maris crapula semper hiat,  
 Gurgēs et vt putei, peregrinos suscipit ampnes,  
 Quantumcunque fluunt, nec saciatur aquis,  
 Vt cremat immensas pluresque faces calor ignis,  
 Et sibi, quo magis est copia, plura petit,  
 Sic epulas varias consumit ab ore prophano  
 Ingluuiēs monachi ventris amore sui ;  
 Sic gerit ille grauē maturo pondere ventrem  
 Et levis a Cristo mens vacuata redit.  
 Potibus assumptus sacer hic non mobilis extat,  
 Firmiter et sumpto stat grauis ipse loco ;  
 Sic sumpto vino monachorum torpet inane  
 Pectus, et a claustrī pondere cedit onus ;  
 Sic magis impleta pia gaudent viscera fuso,  
 Que fouet afflata spiritus ille, mero ;  
 Sic sancti faciunt longos medicamina sompnos,  
 Sumptaque vina nimis causa soporis erunt.  
 Rite bibens vinum sit castus nescio, namque  
 Sic Venus in vinis ignis vt igne furit :  
 Tucius ergo Venus latitans sub veste dolenti  
 Gaudet, subque sacra fronte nephanda gerit.

150

160

Murmurat inuidia monachi sub pectoris antro,  
 Os silet exterius, mens tamen intus agit ;  
 Et quia lingua tacet, manus est que conscia signis  
 Fabulat in digitis turpia plura satis ;

170

Sicque loquax digitus redimendo silencia verbi  
 Dictat, et in rixis plus meretrice furit :  
 Ora tument ira, nigrescunt sanguine vene,  
 Lumina commota lenius igne micant.  
 Sepe suum feruens oculis dabit ira colorem,  
 In quibus alterius mortis ymago patet :  
 Non minus in vultu dampnosa superbia tali est,  
 Quam si de iugulo sterneret ense suo. 180  
 Sic quamuis ordo prohibet bellare loquendo,  
 Pugnat, et in mente discutit ense caput :  
 Dum nequit ipse loqui, sub cordis ymagine raucum  
 Fratris in invidiam clanculo murmur agit :  
 Iram vultus habet, pro verbis murmura reddit,  
 Et necat in mente, quem manus ipsa nequit.  
 Tunc pallor vultus, suspiria pectoris, horror  
 Aspectus mote nuncia mentis erunt ;  
 Quicquid homo patitur nam sensus exteriores  
 Interior motus ad sua signa mouet. 190  
 Allegat vultus affectum mentis, et iram  
 Pectoris accensi de grauitate notat :  
 Nullus enim mentis, vt se sine voce loquatur,  
 Index quam vultus cercior esse potest.  
 Quicquid habet vestis nigredo simplicitatis,  
 Quid latet interius experimenta docent.  
 Prepositum monacho monachus postponit amore,  
 Inuidet hos omnes, quos nequit ipse sequi.  
 Conuolat ad pulsum campane quisquis in vnum,  
 Ordinis et forma cetera vana ferunt : 200  
 Vox canit ipsa choro foris, et mens murmurat intus,  
 Os petit in celo, mens set in orbe, locum.  
 Sic non materiam seruant set in ordine formam ;  
 Fructibus ablatis corpus inane fouent :  
 Sic patet exterius labor et sapiencia, set quid  
 Stulcior interius occupat actus eos.

**Hic loquitur de monachis illis qui contra primitiua sui ordinis  
 statuta mundi diuicias ad vsus malos, suo nesciente preposito,  
 appropriare sibi clanculo presumunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiii. Nulla vouere iuuat cicius quam frangere votum,

Est nam mendaci laus tribuenda nichil.  
Fraternalis amor deberet mutuus esse,  
Inter eos saltem quos pius ordo ligat. 210  
Non tamen hoc patitur hodierna dies, set in iram  
Prouocat invidia quicquid amoris erat:  
Vt bos campestris, rursum qui ruminat herbas,  
Detrahit in claustro sic semidemon homo.  
Si non corrodi vis, tu corrodia nulla  
Inter eos sumas, est vbi raro fides:  
Dum tua deposcunt, tunc te reuerenter adorant,  
Set vix si memores amplius esse volunt.  
Nil sibi quod dederat confert fundacio prima,  
Sit nisi quod querant cotidiana lucra. 220  
Denegat hoc ratio, quod homo possessor vterque  
Et mendicus erit, ordo nec illud habet:  
Nunc tamen hos vanos monachos nichil implet in orbe,  
Est quibus vna fames semper et vna sitis.  
Hoc de Ieronimo legitur simul et Benedicto,  
Vt magis exemplis consequeremur eos;  
Ornamenta sui vendunt altaris, et illa  
Pauperis in licitos distribuere cibos.  
Ecclesie bona sunt inopum, que religiosis  
Quando necesse vident non retinere licet. 230  
Si monacho dare vis, sibi possidet omne quod offers,  
Nil set habet proprium, si quid ab inde petas.  
Hii sunt vnanimis, hoc est animo quod eodem  
Quisque suum proprium solus habere cupit.  
Sic quecumque prius vetus ordo statuta colebat,  
Mutatis vicibus inficit ordo nouus.  
Ingenuos raro monachari cernimus, immo  
Ordine rurales, sunt magis ergo rudes;  
Quos tamen in sanctos sanctus creat ordo professos,  
Hii satis ingenui sunt et honore probi: 240  
Quid dicam set eis, dignos quos ordo nec ortus  
Approbat? immo suum tempus inane ferunt.  
Si Benedictus eos fundauit qui maledicti  
Sunt, deus a parte non benedicit eis:  
Quos magis attraxit mundus quam Cristus, aratro  
Et retro respiciunt, hos mea scripta notant.



Cur, queso, cupiat quicquam qui cuncta reliquit?  
 Ad mala cur redeat qui bona facta vouet?  
 Terram contempnas qui celum queris habere;  
 Si mansura petas, hec fugitiua fuge. 250  
 Numquid habent monachi proprium de iure creati?  
 Nescio de iure, tu tamen acta vide.  
 Si feretri custos, poterit dum carpere nummos,  
 Quid proprium querit, hic michi testis erit;  
 Seu quod in officiis monachus quandoque regendis  
 Propria conseruat, exitus acta probat.  
 Nam cum congeries sibi sit, tunc inde nepotes  
 Ditat, et en claustra sic parat ipse noua;  
 Sepeque quos natos gignit vocat ipse nepotes,  
 Ad laudem Veneris, quam colit ipse pius: 260  
 Eius enim nati sunt ficto nomine versi,  
 Versaque sic pietas ceca iuuabit eos.

Sic viget in claustris elemosina ficta sinistris,  
 Dum monachus genitis dat sua dona suis;  
 Sic floret pietas mundo secreta monilis,  
 Talia dumque dari fingit amore dei.  
 Cum furtum licitum fuerit, tunc dicere possum  
 Quod licet ex dono talia ferre deo;  
 Set qui sic proprios communia vertit in vsus,  
 Ex merito doni fert maledicta dei: 270  
 Talibus in donis curuantur claustra ruinis,  
 Horrea cum granis compaciuntur eis.  
 Centum claustrales macerantur, vt hii duo vel tres,  
 Officiis dum stant, pingua labra g'erant.  
 'Omnia sunt nostra,' dicunt, lanx non tamen equa  
 Pendet, dum solus plus capit ipse tribus.

**Hic loquitur qualiter monachi extra claustrum vagare non debent.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Est mare viuentis habitacio congrua piscis,  
 Et claustrum monachi stat domus apta sibi:  
 Vt mare defunctos retinere negat sibi pisces,  
 Sic claustrum monachos euomit inde malos. 280  
 Non foris a claustris monachus, nec aqua fore piscis

Debet, tu nisi sis, ordo, reuersus eis.  
 Si fuerit piscis, qui postpositis maris undis  
 Pascua de terra querat habere sua,  
 Est nimis improprium piscis sibi ponere nomen,  
 Debeo set monstri ponere nomen ei.  
 Sic ego claustrali dicam, qui gaudia mundi  
 Appetit et claustrum deserit inde suum,  
 Non erit hic monachus set apostata iure vocandus,  
 Aut monstrum templi quod notat ira dei. 290  
 Qui tamen in claustro resident, et mente vagantes  
 Respiciunt mundum cordis amore nouo,  
 In visu domini tales transgressio fedat,  
 Quo perdunt claustri premia digna sui.  
 Non est hic sapiens sibi qui bona pluribus annis  
 Colligit, et solo dissipat illa die ;  
 Qui villas monachus et campos circuit, illud  
 Sepius incurrit quo reus ipse cadit :  
 Sunt tamen ad presens pauci, qui mente vel actu  
 Non vaga deliciis corda dedere suis. 300  
 Dixerat hec Salomon, hominis quod inanis amictus,  
 Qui patet exterius, interiora docet :  
 Set licet ex humili monachus se veste figuret,  
 Nunc tamen a latere plura superba vides.

**Hic loquitur de monachis illis qui non pro diuino seruicio,  
 set magis pro huius mundi honore et voluptate, habitum sibi  
 religionis assumunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Est nigra coruus auis predoque cadaueris, ipsum  
 Quem male denigrat ceca libido notans :  
 Sub volucrum specie descripsit legifer ipsos,  
 Quos mundanus amor religione tegit :  
 Hunc eciam tangit quem religionis amictus  
 Laruat, vt hinc cicius possit honore frui. 310  
 Turpe pecus monstrum, turpis sine gramine campus,  
 Et sine fronde frutex, et sine crine caput :  
 Turpior est monachus, habitum qui religionis  
 Sumpserit, et monachi condicione caret.

295 sibi om. S (p. m.) vir inserted later bona qui sibi D  
 Cap. vi. Heading 2 f. religionis sibi CE

Vt fugiant mundum iubet ordo vetus monachorum,  
 Dicunt quod fugiunt, set fugiendo petunt.  
 Pauper, quem sulco genuit natiua propago,  
 Vult, licet indignus, esse Priore prior :  
 Quem sibi non dederat mundus, scrutatur honorem  
 In claustro, veteris immemor ipse status : 320  
 Sic quos iure patris humiles natura creauit,  
 Cum monachi fiant, ordo superbit eos :  
 Non dompni set et hii domini nomen sibi querunt,  
 Et faciunt largam que fuit arta viam.  
 Nil graue tangit eos, reputant neque posse grauare,  
 Vix nichil ergo sciunt vnde rogare deum.

**Hic loquitur qualiter paciencia vna cum ceteris virtutibus a quibusdam claustris, viciis superuenientibus, se transulerunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Mortuus est dompnus Paciens, viuitque professus  
 Murmur, et in claustris pax nequit esse suis :  
 Mortuus est eciam modo dompnus Castus, et ipsi  
 Successit Luxus, vastat et ipse domos : 330  
 Dompnus et Inconstans Constanti claustra negauit,  
 Que residens Odium vendicat esse sua :  
 Dompnus et Ypocrisis dompnum copulat sibi Fictum,  
 Dum sibi Fraus magnum spirat habere statum.  
 Quos monachi veteres plantabant nuper amoris,  
 Inuidie fructus iam nouus ordo parit.

Nil modo Bernardi sancti vel regula Mauri  
 Confert commonachis, displicet immo, nouis :  
 Obstat avarus eis que superbus et inuidus alter,  
 Ordinis exemplum qui modo ferre negant. 340  
 Expulit a claustris maledictus sic Benedictum,  
 Sic gula temperiem, sic dolus atque fidem :  
 Mollis adest Abbas, quem mollia claustra sequuntur,  
 Vanaque sic vanos ordinis vmbra tegit.  
 Spiritus hoc quod erat, nunc extat corpus inane,  
 Et dompnus Mundus omne gubernat opus.



**Hic loquitur quod sicut monachi ita et errantes Canonici  
a suis sunt excessibus culpandi.**

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. In re consimili, sicut decreta fatentur,  
Iudicium simile de ratione dabis :  
Quotquot in ecclesia signantur religiosi,  
Si possessores sint, reputantur idem. 350  
Vt monachos, sic canonicos quos deuiat error,  
In casu simili culpa coequat eos.  
Nunc tamen, vt fertur, plures sua iura recidunt,  
Apocapata nouo que quasi iure silent :  
Hunc rigidum textum, quem scripserat auctor eorum,  
Mollificant glosis de nouitate suis.  
Sufficit, vt credunt, signari nomine sancti  
Ordinis, et facere quod petit ordo parum.  
Nomen Canonici si sit de canone sumptum,  
Illud in effectum res tibi raro probat : 360  
Hii tamen ad visum gestant in plebe figuram  
Sanctorum, set in hoc regula sepe cadit.  
Subtus habent vestes albas, set desuper ipsas  
Nigra superficies candida queque tegit ;  
Actus et econtra se demonstrabit eorum,  
Fingunt alba foris, nigra set intus agunt.  
Non sic dico tamen hiis, qui sua claustra frequentant  
Ad contemplandum simplicitate sua :  
Talibus immo loquor, quibus est scrutatus ab infra  
Mundus, et exterius celica signa gerunt. 370

**Hic loquitur qualiter religiosi male viuentes omnibus aliis  
quibuscumque hominibus infelicissimi existunt.**

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Estimo claustrales magis infelicibus horis  
Pre reliquis nasci, sint nisi forte boni :  
Mundo nam monachus moritur viuendo professus,  
Quod nequit in mundo, sic velut alter homo,  
Exterius gaudere bonis, et si quid ab intus  
Sit cupidus mundi, perdit amena poli.  
Sic nec presentem vitam nec habere futuram  
Constat eum, quo bis est miser ipse magis :  
Mortuus hac vita moritur, dum morte secunda  
Computet amissum tempus vtrumque suum. 380

Et quia sic mundo moritur, quod viuus ab illo  
 Ordinis ex iure gaudia nulla capit,  
 Et nisi corde deum solum meditetur et inde  
 Gaudeat, in celo pars sibi nulla manet,  
 Nescio quis stultus claustrali stulcior extat,  
 Qui se sic proprio priuat vtroque bono.  
 Tempus inane perit cui presens vita negauit  
 Gaudia, nec celum vita secunda tenet.

**Hic loquitur qualiter vnusquisque qui religionis ingredi  
 voluerit professionem, cuncta mundi vicia penitus abnegare  
 et anime virtutes adquirere et obseruare tenetur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. O comites claustri sub religione professi,  
 Concludam breuibus, quid sit et ad quid onus. 390  
 Informatus ego sanctorum scripta reuolui,  
 Que magis in vestram sunt memoranda scolam :  
 Sancta valent verba plus, cum plus sint patefacta ;  
 Vos igitur, monachi, cernite quid sit ibi.  
 Vouistis, fratres, vouistis ; vota tenete,  
 Et quod spondistis perficiatis opus :  
 Vouistis domino vestros conuertere mores,  
 Vos deus elegit, stetis amore dei.  
 Propositum vite monachi seruare rigorem  
 Debent, nec pigeat tempore dura pati : 400  
 Exiguus labor est, set merces magna laboris ;  
 Preterit ille cito, premia fine carent.  
 Hinc monachi sancti mentis conamine toto  
 Preteritas culpas flendo, ghemendo, lauent.  
 Nunc humilis viuat, qui vixerat ante superbus,  
 Sit castus quisquis luxuriosus erat :  
 Querebat census quidam, temptabat honores ;  
 Ammodo vilescat omnis inanis honor :  
 Gaudebat dapibus, gaudebat diuite mensa,  
 Nunc tenuem victum sobria cena dabit ; 410  
 Et mundi, quamuis delectent, vana cauebit,  
 Nam certe gustu dulcia sepe nocent.  
 Ille suis letus excessibus esse solebat,  
 Nunc lacrimis culpas diluat ipse suas :

Verbosus taceat, mitescat feruidus ira,  
 Invidus invidie dira venena vomat;  
 Cuique prius gladius placuit, placuere rapine,  
 Nunc pius et mitis pacis amator erit.  
 Quisquis adulantum ventosa laude tumebat,  
 Nunc hominum laudes estimet esse nichil;  
 Et qui rite solet aliis feritate nocere,  
 Nunc eciam lesus discat amara pati:  
 Ad lites facilis fuit hic, ad iurgia preceps,  
 Fortiter alterius nunc maledicta ferat.  
 Que modo pugnarunt, iungunt sua rostra columbe,  
 Nec prior vltius ira manebit eis.  
 Sic sine peccato foret ira brevis, quod in vilo  
 Nesciat interius mentis agenda furor.  
 Hec veniam, fratres, conuersio vera meretur,  
 Hec valet offensum pacificare deum.

420

430

**Hic loquitur qualiter religiosi consorcia mulierum specialiter euitare debent.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi.    Feminum fuge colloquium, vir sancte, caueto  
 Ne te confidas igne furente nimis;  
 Nam que femineo mens capta ligatur amore  
 Numquam virtutum culmen habere potest.  
 Harum colloquium tibi quid fert vtilitatis?  
 Venisti monachus, turpis adulter abis.  
 Ergo virosum nisi declinaueris anguem,  
 Cum minus esse putas, inficieris ea.  
 Accendit mulier quecumque libidinis ignem,  
 Si quis eam tangat, vritur inde statim:  
 Si veterum libros et patrum scripta revoluas,  
 Condoleas sanctos sic cecidisse viros.  
 Numquid non hominem mulier de sede beata  
 Expulit, et nostre mortis origo fuit?  
 Qui bonus est igitur pastor vigilet, que rapaces  
 Eminus a claustris pellat vbique lupas.

440

Depositum serua: tibi que responsa valebunt,  
 Pastor, qui rapide linquis ouile lupe?  
 Sepe sequens agnum lupa stat de voce retenta,  
 Sepeque pastoris ore tacente perit.  
 Ad plures lupa tendit oues, pastoreque lento

450



Sepius insidiis fedat ouile suis :  
Vtque rapax stimulante fame cupidusque cruoris  
Incustoditum captat ouile lupus,  
Sic vetus hic serpens, paradisum qui violauit,  
Claustra magis sancta deuolare cupit.  
Pellat et ergo lupas pastor, ne grex in earum  
Decidat ingluuiem, quam saturare nequit :  
Pastores, vigilate lupas, seruetur ouile,  
Ne maculare gregis sanguine claustra queant.  
Occidunt animas, pluresque ad tartara mittunt ;  
Est monachis pestis nulla timenda magis.

460

Femina, mors anime, monachis accedere numquam  
Debeat, a sacro sit procul ipsa choro ;  
Sit procul a cetu sanctorum femina, namque,  
Et si non poterit vincere, bella mouet.  
O caueant igitur monachi, ne carnea culpa  
Virtutes anime de leuitate terat.

Cum quid turpe facit, qui me spectante ruberet,  
Cur, spectante deo, non magis inde rubet ?  
Si patrie Iudex sciret sua facta, timeret ;  
Scit dominus rerum, cur nichil ergo timet ?  
Funestum monacho cum sic male suggerit hostis,  
Et conatur eum fallere mille modis,  
Esse deum credat presentem semper vbique,  
Nec se, si peccet, posse latere putet.  
Cuncta scit atque videt, nec quicquam preterit illum,  
Omnia sunt oculis semper aperta suis :  
Si tacet et differt et non dum crimina punit,  
Puniet, et meritis arbiter equus erit.

470

480

Non igitur monachos breuis hec et vana voluptas  
Occupet, immo dei debita iura colant :  
Ad quod venerunt faciant, sua votaue soluant,  
Nec queat in claustris hostis habere locum :  
Distinctis vicibusque legant, operentur et orent,  
A studiis sacris tempora nulla vacent :  
Vtilibus semper studeant et rebus honestis,  
Res est segnicies perniciosa nimis ;  
Luxurie fomes, res incentiua malorum,  
Spiritus nequam preparat ipsa locum.

490

489 fomes est res C fomes res est L

**Hic tractat quasi sub compendio super hiis que in religionis professione secundum fundatorum sancciones districcius obseruanda finaliter existunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. Hoc qui dogma vetus sanctorum claudit in antro  
 Cordis, et intendit ordinis acta prius,  
 Scit bene quod mundus est in claustro fugiendus,  
 Quo tamen ad presens vendicat ipse locum.  
 O bone claustralis, mundum qui linquis, eidem  
 Non redeas iterum, que docet immo fuge :  
 Quo caro nutritur, ne queras molle cubile,  
 Sit claustrum cultus, et liber ille iocus.  
 Cor doleat, sit larga manus, ieiunia crebra,  
 Non incastus amor sit neque vanus honor : 500  
 Sit tibi potus aqua, cibus aridus, aspera vestis,  
 Dorso virga, breuis sompnus, acuta quies :  
 Flecte genu, tunde pectus, nudus caput ora,  
 Quere deum, mundum sperne, relinque malum :  
 Hereat os terre, mens celo, lingua loquatur  
 De plano corde, planaue verba sonet.  
 Litus arat sterile deuoto qui sine corde  
 Verba serit precibus, sunt sine namque lucris :  
 Non vox set votum, non musica cordula set cor,  
 Non clamans set amans, cantat in aure dei. 510  
 Mens humilis, simplex oculus, caro munda, pium cor,  
 Recta fides, firma spes tibi prestet iter :  
 Si gustare velis modulamina dulcia celi,  
 Est tibi mundana mirra bibenda prius :  
 Ex humilique tuo te subdas corde Priori,  
 Ordine pacificus murmuris absque nota.  
 Summa quidem virtus monachi parere Priori,  
 Ferre iugum norme seque negare sibi :  
 Non vilis vestis, non te locus vltimus angat,  
 Sepe tui stultos ordinis ista mouent. 520  
 Qui sibi vilescit et se putat esse minorem,  
 Et timet et mundi labilis alta fugit,  
 Hic est et sapiens et celo proximus iste,  
 Non sine re monachi nomen inane gerit.  
 Sit tibi lex domini requies, caro victima, mundus

Exilium, celum patria, vita deus :  
 Iussa molesta data fer, fac et suscipe grata,  
 Sic eris in domino religiosus homo :  
 Que tibi prepositus quamuis vilissima suadet,  
 Dum tamen hec licita sint, pacienter age ; 530  
 Nec tibi turpe putes, et si sit turpe placebit,  
 Cum tuus in Cristo spiritus albus erit.  
 Vt subeunt iuuenes veteris mandata Prioris,  
 Et nichil econtra pondere iuris agunt,  
 Sic Prior in licitis iuuenes tractare modeste  
 Debet, et ex humili vincere corde malum.  
 Aspicias vt pressos ledunt iuga prima iuuenocos,  
 Et noua velocem cingula ledit equm ;  
 Sic importunus iuuenum rector grauatur, et dat  
 Causam, quo solita murmura pectus agit. 540  
 Hec tibi scripta tene mentis per claustra, que caste  
 Mortuus a mundo viue, professe, deo :  
 Paruo perpetuam mercare labore quietem,  
 Et reuoca fletu gaudia longa breui :  
 Nam si nulla tibi fuerit nunc sarcina carnis,  
 Tunc sine fine quies paxque perhennis erit.

**Hic loquitur vterius de mulieribus, que in habitu moniali sub sacre religionis velo professionem suscipientes ordinis sui continenciam non obseruant.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. Errantis Monachi culpas scribendo reliqui,  
 Et tibi velatam religione canam.  
 Conuenit ordo viris, dum conuersantur honeste,  
 Quo procul a mundo celica regna petant ; 550  
 Conueniens eciam castis mulieribus extat  
 Soluere sub velo vota pudica deo :  
 Sic ligat ordo sacer monachos, ligat et moniales,  
 Vnde deo meritis fulget vterque suis.  
 Si tamen in claustris fragiles errent mulieres,  
 Non condigna viris culpa repugnat eis ;  
 Nam pes femineus nequit vt pes stare virilis,  
 Gressus nec firmos consolidare suos ;  
 Nec scola nec sensus, constancia, nullaue virtus,  
 Sicut habent homines, in muliere vigent : 560  
 Set tam materia fragili quam condicione



Femineos mores sepe mouere vides.  
 Quas magis ordo putat sapientes, sepius ipsas  
 Cernimus ex fatuis actibus esse graues;  
 Et que scripta sciunt, magis omnibus hee laicali  
 Ex indiscreto crimine sepe cadunt.  
 Simpliciter textum dum sepe legunt, neque glosam  
 Concernunt, vt agant scripta licere putant:  
 Leccio scripture docet illas cuncta probare,  
 Sic, quia cuncta legunt, cuncta probare volunt. 570  
 Crescere nature sunt iura que multiplicare,  
 Que deus in primo scripsit ab ore suo;  
 Hecque dei scripta seruare volunt, quoque iura  
 Nature solita reddere mente pia.

Nititur in vetitum mulier, set quod licet ipsa  
 Hoc sine mentali murmure raro facit;  
 Set magis hiis scriptis perfecte sunt moniales,  
 Et pacienter agunt que sibi scripta iubent.  
 Scribitur, hec grana que non capiet bona terra,  
 Nil sibi fructificant, set peritura iacent: 580  
 Que tamen et qualis sit terra patet monialis,  
 Est ibi nam decies multiplicata Ceres:  
 Et quia sic teneres subeunt pondus mulieres,  
 Ocia quandoque de ratione petunt.  
 Accidit in Veneris quod sumunt ergo diebus  
 Carnes pro stomachi debilitate sui:  
 Nam Venus ingenuis Genio committit alumpnis  
 Fercula quod nimphis prepararet ipse sui.  
 Set gula sepe grauatur nimiumque repleta tumescit,  
 Dum dolet oppressa de grauitate cibi. 590  
 Est nimis offa grauis, ventrem que tincta veneno  
 Toxicat, et dubium mortis inesse dabit:  
 Esca set occulto que sumitur, est vbi nulla  
 Lux, nocet et morbos sepe dat esse graues.

**Hic loquitur qualiter ordinarii ex sua visitacione, qua mulieres religione velatas se dicunt corrigere, ipsas multociens efficiunt deteriores.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. Quas Venus et Genius cellas modo rite gubernant,  
 Carnis non claustrum iura tenere docent:

587 *Marginal note ins. SCG om. EHDH<sub>2</sub>* Nota quod Genius secundum  
 Ouidium dicitur sacerdos Veneris G 593 ibi SE

Nota quod Genius  
 secundum poetas Sa-  
 cerdos Dee Veneris  
 nuncupatus est.

Conuentus custos Genius confessor et extat,  
Et quandoque locum presulis ipse tenet :  
Sub specie iuris in claustro visitat ipsas,  
Quas veniens thalamis, iure negante, regit. 600  
Sit licet in capa furrata, dum docet ipse,  
Nuda tamen valde iura ministrat eis :  
Iudicio Genii pro culpis sunt lapidate,  
Set neque mortalis aggrauat ictus eas.  
O virtus cleri cum sit custos animarum,  
Quanta sacerdotis gesta beata patent !  
Alter vt ipse deus, quas percutit, ipse medetur,  
Ne foris a cella sermo volare queat.  
Si pater est sanctus, sic mater sancta, set infans  
Sanccior, ex claustro fit quia natus homo. 610  
Hoc genus incesti dampnabile grande putarem,  
Sit nisi quod mulier de leuitate cadit.  
Non temptabis eas igitur, scis namque quod vnam  
Rem poterit fragilem frangere causa leuis ;  
Femina nam iuuenis nisi preseruata frequenter  
Extat eo fragilis quod genus esse docet :  
Dum nouus in viridi iuuenescit cortice ramus,  
Concuciens tenerum quelibet aura ruet.  
In quibus est claustris sapiens discrecio custos,  
Clauditur ex altis sepius ista seges. 620  
Facta fuit fragilis de limo carnis origo,  
Sedibus e superis spiritus ille venit :  
Spiritus est promptus, infirma caro ; magis ergo  
Noli cum sola solus habere locum :  
Non debet sola cum solo virgo manere,  
Famaque, non tacto corpore, crimen habet.  
Sicut et est claustris, ita sit custodia campis,  
Ludus erit licitus et labor aptus eis :  
Hiis sine labe iocis liceat monialibus vti,  
Que pudor et leges et sua iura sinunt. 630  
Velatas ideo fragilis ne subruat error,  
Sub moderante manu frena pudica iuuant.  
Quid michi, si fallat vxor de fraude maritum,  
Qui nichil vxoris scit neque facta videt ?  
Set de fraude sua miror que decipit ipsum,

Cuius in aspectu secula cuncta patent.  
 Si sacra sint hominum, quid plus sponsalia Cristi  
 Debent more sacro casta manere deo.  
 Vestibus in nigris prius est induta puella,  
 Crinibus abscisis, cum monialis erit ;  
 Deformat corpus foris, vt sit spiritus intus  
 Pulcher, et albescat plenus amore dei.  
 Dum foris est nigra, fieret si nigrior intra,  
 Non vt amica dei, feda reiecta foret ;  
 Set dum casta manet, omnis nigredo perextra  
 Mentem candoris signat habere magis.

640

**Hic loquitur de castitatis commendacione, que maxime in  
 religione mulieribus conuenit professis.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. O quam virginitas prior omni laude refulget,  
 Agnum que sequitur cuncta per arua poli ;  
 Splendet et in terris deitati nupta, relinquens  
 Corporis humani que genus acta docet.  
 Fetet vt incasta, fragrat sine labe pudica,  
 Ista deum retinet, illa cadauer habet.  
 Centeno trina fructu cumulata perornant  
 Virginis ante deum florida sarta caput :  
 Angelicas turmas transcendit virginis ordo,  
 Quam magis in celo trina corona colit.  
 Iura sequens aquile mens virginis alta cupiscens  
 Celsius ante deum, teste Iohanne, volat.  
 Vt rosa de spinis oriens supereminet illas,  
 Sic superat reliquos virginis ille status ;  
 Vt margarita placet alba magis preciosa,  
 Sic placet in claustro virgo professa deo.  
 Talis enim claustris monialis dignior extat  
 Sanccior et meritis, dum sua vota tenet.  
 Set quecumque tamen sub velo claustra requirit,  
 Regula quam seruat sanctificabit eam :  
 Si fuerit mulier bona, reddit eam meliorem,  
 Moribus et mores addit vbique magis ;  
 Si polluta prius sit quam velata, que caste  
 Ammodo viuat, erit preuia culpa nichil.

650

660

670



Non licet ergo viris monachas violare sacratas,  
 Velum namque sacrum signa pudica gerit.  
 Alterius sponsam presumens deuiolare,  
 Quam graue iudiciis perpetrat ipse scelus!  
 Crede tamen grauius peccat, qui claustra resoluens  
 Presumit sponsam deuiolare dei.

Postquam tractauit de illis qui in religione possessoria sui  
 ordinis professionem offendunt, dicendum est iam de hiis qui  
 errant in ordine fratrum mendicantium; et primo dicet de illis  
 qui sub fide paupertatis vmbra terrena lucra conspirantes,  
 quasi totius mundi dominium subiugarunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. Dum fuit in terris, non omnes quos sibi legit  
 Cristus, erant fidi, lege nouante dei:  
 Non tamen est equm, quod crimen preuaricantis  
 Ledat eos rectam qui coluere fidem. 680  
 Sic sterilis locus est nullus, quod non sit in illo  
 Mixta reprobatis vtilis herba malis;  
 Nec fecundus ita locus est, quo non reprobata  
 Mixta sit vtilibus herba nociua bonis:  
 Tam neque iustorum stat concio lata virorum,  
 Est quibus iniusti mixtio nulla viri.  
 Sic excusandos, quos sanctos approbat ordo,  
 Fratres consimili iure fatetur opus:  
 Non volo pro paucis diffundere crimen in omnes,  
 Spectetur meritis quilibet immo suis; 690  
 Quos tamen error agit, veniens ego nuncius illis,  
 Que michi vox tribuit verba loquenda fero.  
 Sicut pastor oues, sic segregat istud ab edis  
 Quos opus a reprobis senserit ordo probos:  
 Que magis huius habet vocis sententia scribam  
 Hiis quos transgressos plus notat ordo reos.  
 Crimina que Iudas commisit ponere Petro  
 Nolo, ferat proprium pondus vterque suum.  
 Ordinis officia fateor primi fore sancta,  
 Eius et auctores primitus esse pios; 700  
 Hos qui consequitur frater manet ille beatus,  
 Qui mundum renuens querit habere deum,  
 Qui sibi pauperiem claustralis adoptat, et vltro  
 Hanc gerit, et paciens ordinis acta subit:

Talis enim meritis extat laudabilis altis,  
 Eius nam precibus viuificatur humus.  
 Set sine materia qui laruat in ordine formam,  
 Predicat exterius, spirat et intus opes,  
 Talibus iste liber profert sua verba modernis,  
 Vt sibi vox populi contulit illa loqui.

710

Ordine mendico supervndat concio fratrum,  
 De quibus exvndans regula prima fugit:  
 Molles deveniunt tales, qui dura solebant  
 Ordinis ex voto ferre placenda deo.  
 Acephalum nomen sibi dant primo statuendum,  
 Seque vocant inopes fert quibus omnis opem:  
 Cristi discipulos affirmant se fore fratres,  
 Eius et exempli singula iura sequi:  
 Hoc mentita fides dicit, tamen hoc satis illis  
 Conuenit, vt dicunt qui sacra scripta sciunt.  
 Sunt quasi nunc gentes nil proprietatis habentes,  
 Et tamen in forma pauperis omne tenent.  
 Gracia si fuerit aut fatum fratribus istis  
 Nescio, set mundus totus habundat eis.  
 In manibus retinent papam, qui dura relaxat  
 Ordinis et statuit plura licere modo;  
 Et si quas causas pape negat ipsa potestas,  
 Clam faciet licitas ordo sinister eas.  
 Nec rex nec princeps nec magnas talis in orbe est,  
 Qui sua secreta non fateatur eis.

720

730

Et sic mendici dominos superant, et ab orbe  
 Vsurpant tacite quod negat ordo palam.  
 Non hos discipulos, magis immo deos fore dicam,  
 Mors quibus et vita dedita lucra ferunt:  
 Mortua namque sibi, quibus hic confessor adhesit,  
 Corpora, si fuerint digna, sepulta petit;  
 Set si corpus inops fuerit, nil vendicat ipse,  
 Nam sua nil pietas, sint nisi lucra, sapit.  
 Baptizare fidem nolunt, quia res sine lucro  
 Non erit in manibus culta vel acta suis.  
 Vt sibi mercator emit omne genus specierum,  
 Lucra quod ex multis multa tenere queat;  
 Sic omnes mundi causas amplectit auarus  
 Frater, vt in variis gaudeat ipse lucris.

740

Hii sunt quos retinens mundus non horruit, immo  
 Diligit, hiisque statum tradidit ipse suum :  
 Istos conuersos set peruersos magis esse  
 Constat, vt ex factis nomina vera trahant.  
 Transtulit a vite se palmes sic pharisea,  
 Eius et in gustu fructus acerbus olet.

750

**Hic loquitur de fratribus illis, qui per ypocrisim predicando  
 populi peccata publice redarguentes, blandiciis tamen et  
 voluptatibus clanculo deseruiunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvii. Seminatur ypocrisis sermones dedita fratris,  
 Messis vt inde sui crescat in orbe lucri.  
 Horrida verba tonat, dum publica per loca dampnat  
 Vsum peccandi seruus vt ipse dei;  
 Seruus et vt Sathane, priuatis cum residere  
 Venerit in thalamis, glosa remittit eis;  
 Et quos alta prius stimulabat vox reboantis,  
 Postera blandicies vnget in aure leuis :  
 Et sic peccator aliis peccata ministrat,  
 Namque fouens viciū percipit inde lucrum. 760  
 Hoc bene scit frater, peccatum cum moriatur,  
 Tunc moritur lucrum tempus in omne suum.  
 Dic vbi ter veniet frater, nisi lucra reportet,  
 Est vbi sors vacua, non reddit ipse via.  
 De fundamentis fratrum si crimina tollas,  
 Sic domus alta diu corruet absque manu.  
 O quam prophete iam verificantur Osee  
 Sermones, qui sic vera locutus ait:  
 'In terris quedam gens surget, que populorum  
 Peccatum comedit et mala multa sciet.' 770  
 Hancque prophetiam nostris venisse diebus  
 Cernimus, atque notam fratribus inde damus,  
 Ad quorum victum, fuerit quodcumque necesse,  
 Sors de peccatis omne ministrat eis.  
 Delicie tales non sunt, que fratribus escam,  
 Si confessores sint, aliquando negant.  
 Aspicias vt veniunt ad candida tecta columbe,  
 Nec capiet tales sordida turris aues :  
 Sic nisi magnatum dat curia nulla modernis  
 Fratribus hospiciū quo remanere volunt. 780



Horrea formice tendunt ad inania numquam,  
 Nec vagus amissas frater adibit opes :  
 Immemores florum gestaminis anterioris,  
 Contempnunt spinam cum cecidere rose ;  
 Sic et amicitie fratres benefacta prioris  
 Diuitis aspernunt, cum dare plura nequit.

Nomine sunt plures, pauci tamen ordine fratres ;  
 Vt dicunt aliqui, Pseudo prophetat ibi.

Est facies tunice pauper, stat cistaque diues,  
 Sub verbis sanctis turpia facta latent :  
 Sic sine pauperie pauper, sanctus sine Cristo,  
 Eminent ille bonus, qui bonitate caret.

790

Ore deum clamant isti, venerantur et aurum  
 Corde, viam cuius vndique scire volunt.  
 Omnia sub pedibus demon subiecit eorum,  
 Ficta set ypocrisis nil retinere docet :

Sic mundana tenet qui spernit in ordine mundum,  
 Dum tegit hostilem vestis ouina lupum ;  
 Et sic ficticiis plebs incantata putabit  
 Sanctos exterius, quos dolus intus habet.

800

Vix est alterius fraudem qui corripit vnus,  
 Set magis vt fallant auget vterque dolos :  
 Sic magis infecti morbo iactantur eodem,  
 Inficiuntque suis fraudibus omne solum.  
 Comprimat hos dominus saltem, quos nouit in isto  
 Tempore primeuam preuaricare fidem.  
 Non peto quod periant, set fracti consolidentur,  
 Et subeant primum quem dedit ordo statum.

**Hic loquitur de fratribus illis, qui propter huius mundi famam,  
 et vt ipsi eciam, quasi ab ordinis sui iugo exempti, ad confes-  
 siones audiendum digniores efficiantur, summas in studio scola  
 cathedras affectant.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xviii. Est qui precessor fiat velut ipse minister,  
 Cuius in exemplum Cristus agebat idem :  
 Set qui discipulum Cristi se dicit, ad altum  
 Cum venit ipse statum, non tenet inde modum.  
 Quamuis signa tenet mendici pauperis, ecce

810

799 putabit CEHD putabat SGL  
 CEHGDL et S

807 pereant CEL

811 ad

Frater honore suum spirat habere locum :  
Appetit ipse scolis nomen sibi ferre magistri,  
Quem post exemptum regula nulla ligat :  
Solus habet cameram, propriat commune, que nullum  
Tunc sibi claustralem computat esse parem.  
Vt latrariam statuis claustrales ferre magistris  
Debent et pedibus flectere colla suis : 820  
Sic tumor et pompa latitant sub theologia,  
Ducere nec duci dum fauet ordo sibi.  
Tunc thalamos penetrat sublimes, curia nulla  
Est cuius porta clauditur ante virum.  
Aspiciens varias species variatur et ipse  
Camelion, et tot signa coloris habet :  
Frater ei similis, perpendens velle virorum,  
Vult in consimili par sit vt ipse pari ;  
Et quia sic similem sibi sentit curia fratrem,  
Eius in aduentu presulis acta vacant. 830  
Circuit exterius, explorat et interiora,  
Non opus occultum nec locus extat ei :  
Nunc medicus, nunc confessor, nunc est mediator,  
Et super et subtus mittit ad omne manum.  
Spiritus vt domini, sic frater spirat vbique,  
Et venit ad lectum quando maritus abest :  
Sic absente viro temerarius intrat adulter  
Frater, et alterius propriat acta sibi :  
Sic venit ad strati capitata cubicula lecti,  
Sepius et prima sorte futurus erit. 840  
Sic genitus Salomon est hac que nupsit Vrie,  
Dum pius intrusor occupat inde locum :  
Sponsi defectus suplet deuocio fratris,  
Et genus amplificans atria plena facit.  
Verberat iste vepres, volucrem capit alter ; et iste  
Seminat in fundum, set metet alter agrum :  
In stadio currunt ambo, brauium tamen vnus  
Accipit iniuste longius ipse retro :  
Sic intrat sponsus aliorum sepe labores,  
Ac vbi non soluit in lucra, vana tamen. 850  
Credit et exultat prolem genuisse maritus,  
Vngula nec prolis pertinet vna sibi.  
Predicat ypocrita cum sponso carmina sancta,

Vt deus ex verbo staret in ore suo :  
 Cum sponsa Veneris laudes decantat, et eius  
 Officium summe suplet honore dee :  
 Sic opus in basso tenementum construit altum,  
 Cuius egens nocte fabrica poscit opem.

O pietas fratris, que circuit et iuuat omnes,  
 Et gerit alterius sic pacienter onus : 860  
 O qui non animas tantum, set corpora nostra,  
 In sudore suo sanctificare venit.

Hic est confessor domini non, set dominarum,  
 Qui magis est blandus quam Titiuillus eis :  
 Hic est confessor quasi fur quem furca fatetur,  
 Sic quia ius nostrum de muliere rapit.  
 Hic est confessor in peius qui male vertit,  
 Sordida namque lauans sordidiora facit :  
 Pellem pro pelle, quod habet sibi frater et omne  
 Pro nostri sponsa, se dabit atque sua. 870

O condigna viro tali quis premia reddet,  
 Aut deus aut demon? vltima verba ligant.  
 Peccati finis fert namque stipendia mortis,  
 Est dum culpa vetus plena pudore nouo :  
 Horum, viuentes qui tot miracula prestant,  
 In libro mortis nomina scripta manent.

Inter apes statuit natura quod esse notandum  
 Sencio, qua poterit frater habere notam.

Nam si pungat apis, pungenti culpa repugnat,  
 Amplius vt stimulum non habet ipse suum ; 880  
 Postque domi latebras tenet et non euolat vltra,  
 Floribus vt campi mellificare queat.

O deus, in simili forma si frater adulter  
 Perderet inflatum, dum stimularet, acum,  
 Amplius vt flores non colligat in muliere,  
 Nec vagus a domibus pergat in orbe suis !  
 Causa cessante quia tunc cessaret ab ipsis  
 Effectus, quo nunc plura pericla latent.

**Hic loquitur qualiter isti fratres inordinate viuentes ad  
 ecclesie Cristi regimen non sunt aliquo modo necessarii.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xix. Vna michi mira res est, quam mente reuoluens



Nescio finali qua ratione foret.

890

Quam prius ordo fuit fratrum, quoscumque necesse

Congruit ecclesie fertur inesse gradus.

Papa fuit princeps, alios qui substituebat,

Vt plebem regerent singula iura dedit :

Ius sibi presul habet, sub eo curatus, et ille

Admittens curas pondera plebis agit :

Proprietarius est presul qui proprietatem

Curato tribuit, qua sua iura regat :

Presulis inde loco curatus iurat, vt ipse

Tempore iudicii que tulit acta dabit.

900

Est igitur ratio que vel tibi causa videtur,

Alterius proprium quod sibi frater habet ?

Inter aues albas vetitur consistere coruum,

Quem notat ingratum quodlibet esse pecus ;

Inter et ecclesie ciues consistere fratrem,

Qui negat eius onus, omnia iura vetant.

Caucius in rebus dubiis est semper agendum,

Causa nec est mundi talis vt ipsa dei :

Si tamen vsurpet mundi quis iura, refrenant

Legis eum vires nec variare sinunt.

910

Que mea sunt propria mundo si tolleret alter,

Taliter iniustum lex reputabit eum :

In preiudicium partis lex non sinit equa,

Possit vt alterius alter habere locum :

Que bona corporea sunt alterius, nequit alter

Tollere, ni legum condita iura neget :

Set que sunt anime frater rapiens aliena,

Nescio qua lege iustificabit opus.

Si dicat, 'Papa dispensat,' tunc videamus,

Est sibi suggestum, sponte vel illud agit.

920

Papa mero motu scimus quod talia numquam

Concessit, set ea supplicat ordo frequens :

Papa potest falli, set qui videt interiora,

Est hoc pro lucri scit vel amore dei.

Lingua petit curas anime, mens postulat aurum,

Bina sicque manu propria nostra rapit :

Defraudans animas, talis rapit inde salutem,

Et super hoc nostras tollere temptat opes.

Non ita Franciscus peciit, set singula linquens

Mundi pauperiem simplicitate tulit. 930  
 Gignit humus tribulos, vbi torpet cultor in agris,  
 Quo minus ad messes fert sua lucra Ceres :  
 Pungitur ecclesia, fratrum quos sentit abortos  
 Inuidie stimulis lesa per omne latus.  
 Quilibet ergo bonus tribulos extirpet arator,  
 Ne pharisea sacrum polluat herba locum.

**Hic loquitur qualiter isti fratres inordinate viuentes ad commune bonum vtilis aliquantulum non existunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xx.    Fratribus vt redimant celum non est labor Ade,  
 Quo sibi vel reliquis vina vel arua colunt ;  
 Corporis immo quies, quam querunt forcius, illos  
 Iam fouet, et mundi tedia nulla grauant : 940  
 Hiis neque perspicuus armorum pertinet actus,  
 Publica quo seruant iura vigore suo :  
 Sic neque milicies neque terre cultus adornat  
 Hos, set in orbe vagos linqvit vterque status.  
 Nec sunt de clero fratres, quamuis sibi temptent  
 Vsurpare statum, quem sinit vmbra scole :  
 Non onus admittunt fratres cleri set honorem,  
 In cathedra primi quo residere petunt.  
 Non curant animas populi neque corpora pascunt :  
 Ad commune bonum quid magis ergo valent? 950  
 Vt neque ramosa numerabis in ilice glandes,  
 Tu fratrum numerum dinumerare nequis :  
 Immo, velut torrens vndis pluuiaribus auctus,  
 Aut niue, que zephitho victa tepente fluit,  
 Ordo supercreuit habitu, set ab ordine virtus  
 Cessit, et in primis desinit ire viis.  
 Si ratio fieret, famulorum poscit egestas  
 Tales quod sulcus posset habere suos.  
 Hos Dauid affirmat hominum nec inesse labore,  
 Nec posite legis vlla flagella pati. 960  
 Regia iura nichil aut presulis acta valebunt,  
 Excessus fratrum quo moderare queant.  
 Que sua sunt mundus ea diligit, fratribus ergo  
 Attulit vt caris prospera queque suis :  
 Non sulcant neque nent, falcant nec in horrea ponunt ;  
 Pascit eos mundus non tamen inde minus.

Pectora sic gaudent, nec sunt attrita dolore,  
 Anterior celo dum reputatur humus :  
 Cordis in affectum sic transit frater, et illum  
 Quem querit cursum complet in orbe suum. 970  
 Dic quid honoris habet, si filius Hectoris arma  
 Deserit et vecors predicat acta patris?  
 Aut quid et ipse valet, si frater Apostata sanctum  
 Clamat Franciscum, quem negat ipse sequi?  
 Fictis set verbis mundi sine lumine sensum  
 Obfuscant, que sua sic maledicta tegunt :  
 Sic vbi non ordo, manet error in ordinis vmbra,  
 Et quasi laruatus stat sacer ordo nouus.  
 Hiis qui Francisci seruant tamen ordine iusto  
 Debita mandata, debitus extat honor. 980

**Hic loquitur de fratribus illis, qui incautos pueros etatis  
 discrecionem non habentes in sui ordinis professionem at-  
 tractando colloquiis blandis multipliciter illaqueant.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxi. Est michi suspectum de fratribus hoc, quod eorum  
 Reddere se primo nullus adultus adest :  
 Non sic Franciscum puerilis traxerat etas  
 Ordinis ad votum, quando recepit eum :  
 Sic nec eum pueri primo coluere sequaces,  
 Nec blande lingue fabula traxit eos.  
 Estimo maturos Franciscus sumpserat annos,  
 Dum per discreta viscera cepit opus ;  
 Et puto quod similes sua dogmata sponte sequentes  
 Nec prece nec precio reddidit ordo deo. 990  
 Set vetus vsus abest, nam circumvencio facta  
 Nunc trahit infantes, qui nichil inde sciunt ;  
 Et sic de teneri tener ordo mollia querit,  
 Vmbraque sola manet atque nouerca quasi.  
 Vt vocat ad laqueos volucrem dum fistulat auceps,  
 Sic trahit infantes fratris ab ore sonus :  
 Vt laqueatur auis laqueorum nescia fraudis,  
 Sic puer in fratrem fraude latente cadit :  
 Et cum sic poterit puerum vetus illaqueare,  
 Debet ob hoc frater nomen habere patris. 1000  
 Sic generata dolis patrem sequitur sua proles,  
 Addit et ad patrios facta dolosa dolos ;



Solaque sic radix centenos inficit ex se  
 Ramos, qui fructus fraudis in orbe ferunt.  
 Nam puer a veteri deceptus fratre per illud  
 Decipit exemplum, quando senecta venit:  
 Sic post decipiunt qui primo decipiuntur,  
 Et fraus de fraude multiplicata viget:  
 Sic crescit numerus fratrum, fit et ordo minutus,  
 Dum miser in miseris gaudet habere pares. 1010  
 'Ve, qui proselitum vobis faciatis vt vnum,  
 Mundum circuitis,' dixerat ipse deus:  
 Illud erat dictum phariseis, et modo possum  
 Fratribus hec verba dicere lege noua.

Hic loquitur de apostazia fratrum ordinis mendicantium,  
 precipue de hiis qui sub ficta ypocrisis simplicitate quasi  
 vniuersorum curias magnatum subuertunt, et inestimabiles  
 suis ficticiis sepiissime causant errores.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxii. Vt bona multa bonum fratrem quocumque sequuntur,  
 Sic mala multa malum constat vbique sequi.  
 Sunt etenim domini tres, quorum quilibet vni  
 Seruit homo, per quem se petit ipse regi:  
 Est deus, est mundus, est demon apostata, cuius  
 Ordine transgressus fert sibi frater onus. 1020  
 Regula namque dei non nouit eum, neque mundi  
 Dat sibi milicies libera nulla statum:  
 Non habet ipse deum, nec habere valet sibi mundum,  
 Demonis vt proprium sic subiit ipse iugum:  
 Omnis enim vicii viciosus apostata motor  
 Aut fautor nutrit quod videt esse malum.  
 Testis erit Salomon, vir talis inuictus extat,  
 Et peiora sue crimina mentis agit:  
 Arte vel ingenio, quo talis in orbe frequentat,  
 Ducit in effectum plura timenda satis. 1030  
 Non obstat paries illi, non clausa resistunt,  
 Inuia consistunt peruia queque sibi:  
 Per mare, per terras, per totum circuit orbem;  
 Vt sibi plus placeat, cernere cuncta potest.  
 Nititur in fraudes, componit verba dolosa,

Auget et accumulat multiplicatque dolos ;  
 Proponit lites, rixas accendit in iram,  
 Liuios nutrit invidiamque fouet ;  
 Vincula dirumpit pacis, socialis amoris  
 Federa perturbat, dissociatque fidem ; 1040  
 Suggestit incestum, suadet violare pudorem,  
 Soluere coniugium, commaculare thorum ;  
 Vsurpando fidem vultum mentitur honestum,  
 Caucius vt fraudem palleat ipse suam.  
 In dampnis dandis promissor vbique fidelis,  
 Comoda si dederit, disce subesse dolum :  
 Sub grossa lana linum subtile tenetur,  
 Simplicitas vultus corda dolosa tegit ;  
 Lingua venenato dum verba subornat in ore,  
 Mellificat virus melque venena facit. 1050  
 Vt sub virtutum specie lateat viciorum  
 Actus, et vt turpis Simea fiat homo ;  
 Ipse tumens humilem mentitur sepe professum,  
 Quem fugit occulto spiritus ille dei.  
 Ordinis ipse sacri quicquid Franciscus honeste  
 Virtutis statuit, hic viciare studet :  
 Cuncta colore tamen operit, facieque decora  
 Fallit, dumque latent viscera plena dolo.  
 Inuenies scriptum quod pennas strucio gestat  
 Herodii pennis ancipitrisque pares ; 1060  
 Set non tam celeri viget eius penna volatu,  
 Ypocritamque notat, qui simulando volat.  
 Aurea facta foras similans ypocrita fingit,  
 Set mala mens intus plumbea vota gerit :  
 Sunt etenim multi tales qui verba colorant,  
 Qui pascunt aures, aurea verba sonant,  
 Verbis frondescunt, set non est fructus in actu,  
 Simplicium mentes dulce loquendo mouent :  
 Set templum domini tales excludit, abhorret  
 Verborum phaleras, verba polita fugit. 1070  
 Scripta poetarum, que sermo pictus inaurat,  
 Aurea dicuntur lingua, set illa caue :  
 Est simplex verbum fidei bonus vnde meretur,  
 Set duplex animo predicat absque deo.

1072 lingua SH<sub>2</sub> verba CEHGLT

Despiciat eloquia deus omnia, quando polita  
 Tecta sub eloquii melle venena fouent :  
 Qui bona verba serit, agit et male, turpiter errat,  
 Nam post verba solet accio sancta sequi.  
 Quos magis alta scola colit, hii sermone polito  
 Scandala subtili picta colore serunt.

1080

Sepius aut lucrum vel honoris adeptio vani  
 Fratrum sermones dat magis esse reos :  
 Sub tritici specie zizannia sepe refundunt,  
 Dum doctrina tumens laudis amore studet :  
 Sepe suis meritis ascribere facta, mouere  
 Scisma, peritorum mens studiosa solet.  
 Phiton siue Magus est scismaticus, quia turbat  
 Verum quod credis et dubitanda mouet ;  
 Set contra voces incantantis sapienter  
 Aures obtura, ne cor adheret eis.

1090

Non sunt hii fratres recti nec amore fideles  
 Ecclesie Cristi, sicut habetur ibi ;  
 Imperfecta magis Sinagoga notabit eorum  
 Doctrinam, plene que neque vera docet :  
 Multociens igitur aliis nocet illa superba  
 Copia librorum quos Sinagoga tenet.  
 Non sunt ecclesie recti ciues, Agar immo  
 Parturit ancilla, perfida mater, eos :  
 Ergo recedat Agar, pariat quoque Sarra fidelem  
 Ecclesie clerum, det Sinagoga locum.

1100

Plantauit pietas et amor primordia fratrum,  
 Quos furor ad presens ambiciosus agit :  
 Frater adest Odium, qui federa pacis abhorret,  
 Cuius ab inferno cepit origo viam ;  
 Ille professus enim claustralia iura resoluit,  
 Nec fore concordem quos sinit ipse pares.  
 Qui tamen in culpa frater se sentit, et illam  
 Non delet, tali talia verba loquor :  
 'Culpa mali laudem non debet tollere iusto,  
 Nam lux in tenebris fulget honore magis :  
 Quisque suum portabit onus, culpetur iniquus,  
 Laudeturque suis actibus ipse bonus.'

1110



Hic loquitur qualiter isti fratres mendicantes mundum circuiendo amplioresque querendo delicias de loco in locum cum ocio se transferunt: loquitur eciam de superfluis eorum edificiis, que quasi ab huius seculi potencioribus vltra modum delicate construuntur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiii. Iudeos spersos fratrum dispersio signat,  
Quos modo per mundum deuius error agit;  
Iste nec ille loco stabilis manet, immo vicissim  
Se mouet, et varia mutat vbique loca.  
Sic in circuitu nunc ambulat impius orbis,  
Nec domus est in qua non petit ipse locum;  
Pauperis in specie sibi sic elemosina predas  
Prebet, et ora lupi vellere laruat ouis: 1120  
Absque labore suo bona nemo meretur, et ergo  
Omne solum lustrant, idque piamen habent.  
Nescio si supera sibi clausurit ostia celum;  
Dat mare, dant ampnes, totaque terra viam.  
Hoc lego, quod raro crescit que sepe mouetur  
Planta, set ex sterili sorte frequenter eget:  
Non tamen est aliqua quin regula fallit in orbe,  
Mocio nam fratris crescere causat eum;  
Nam quocumque suos mouet ille per arida gressus,  
Mundus eum sequitur et famulatur ei. 1130  
Vt pila facta pilis solito dum voluitur ipsis  
Crescit, et ex modico magnificatur opus,  
Sic, vbi se voluit frater, sibi mundus habundat,  
Quicquid et ipse manu tangit adheret ei:  
Federa cum mundo sua frater apostata stringit,  
Sic vt in occulto sint quasi *idem*.  
Multis set quedam virtutes esse videntur,  
Qui nil virtutis nec bonitatis habent;  
Ista dabunt vocem, set erunt deformia mente,  
Multaque dum fiunt absque salute placent. 1140  
Ad decus ecclesie deuocio seruit eorum,  
Et veluti quedam signa salutis habent:  
Eminet ecclesia constructa sibi super omnes,  
Edificant petras sculptaque ligna fouent;  
Porticibus valuas operosis, atria, quales  
Quotque putas thalamos hic laberintus habet:

Ostia multa quidem, varie sunt mille fenestre,  
 Mille columpnarum marmore fulta domus.  
 Fabrica lata domus erit, alta decoraque muris,  
 Picturis variis splendet et omne decus ; 1150  
 Omnis enim cella, manet in qua frater inanis,  
 Sculpture vario compta decore nitet :  
 Postibus insculpunt longum mansura per eum  
 Signa, quibus populi corda ligare putant.  
 Fingentes Cristum mundum querunt, et in eius  
 Conspirant laudem clamque sequuntur eum :  
 Talis sub facie deuocio sancta figure  
 Fingitur, et testis fit magis inde domus :  
 Qui tamen omne videt, rimatur et intima cordis,  
 Scit quia pro mundo tale paratur opus. 1160  
 Set docet exemplis historia Parisiensis,  
 Quod contentus homo sit breuiore domo.

Non sibi de propriis habet vlla potencia regis  
 Illorum thalamis tecta polita magis :  
 Non ita fit vestis fratrum nota simplicitatis,  
 Quin magis in domibus pompa notabit eos.  
 In fabrice studio vigilat conuentus eorum  
 Ecclesie, prompti corpore, mente pigri :  
 Sic patet exterius fratrum deuocio sancta,  
 Vana set interius cordis ymago latet : 1170  
 Sunt similes vlnō tales, qui sunt sine fructu,  
 In quibus impietas plurima, pauca fides.  
 Dic, tibi quid, frater, confert, tantas quod honestas  
 Cum feda mente construis ipse domos ?  
 Esto domus domini, quam sacris moribus orna,  
 Virtutem cultor religionis ama.  
 Omnia fine patent, tibi fingere nil valet extra,  
 Per quod ab interius premia nulla feres :  
 Si tibi laus mundi maneat furtiua diebus,  
 Cum celum perdis, laus erit illa pudor. 1180  
 Ordinis es, norma tibi sit, nec ab ordine cedas,  
 Est aliter cassum quicquid ab inde geris.

Hic loquitur qualiter, non solum in ordine fratrum  
 mendicantium set eciam in singulis cleri gradibus, ea que  
 virtutis esse solebant a viciis quasi generaliter subuertuntur :

dicit tamen quod secundum quasdam Burnelli constitutiones  
istis precipue diebus modus et regula specialius obseruantur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiiii. Diuersat fratres tantummodo vestis eorum,

Hii tamen existunt condicione pares :

Regula nulla manet, fuerat que facta per ante,

Set nouus ordo nouum iam facit omne forum.

Sicut enim fratrum nunc ordo resoluitur, ecce

Ecclesie norma fit quasi tota noua ;

Set sacer ordo tamen remanet, quem sanxerat olim

Frater Burnellus, crescit et ille magis.

1190

Hec decreta modo, Burnellus que statuebat,

Omnia non resero nec reserare volo ;

Set duo iam tantum que iussit in ordine dicam,

Et sunt presenti tempore iura quasi.

Mandatum primum tibi contulit, omne iocosum,

Quicquid in orbe placet, illud habere licet :

Si vis mercari, sis mercenarius, autem

Si vis mechari, dat tibi, mechus eris :

Que magis vlla caro desiderat, illa beato

Sunt fratri nostro debita iura modo.

1200

Precipiens vltra statuit de lege secunda,

Quod nocuum carni sit procul omne tibi :

Omne quod est anime reputatur in ordine vile,

Et caro delicias debet habere suas :

Cor dissolue tuum, te nullus namque ligabit,

Quo vis vade tuas liber vbique vias.

Mollibus ornatus sic dignior ordo nouellus

Restat Burnelli, vult quia velle viri.

Nil michi Bernardus, nichil ammodo seu Benedictus

Sint, set Burnellus sit Prior ipse meus ;

1210

Quo viget en carnis requies, quo lingua precantis

A prece torpescens fit quasi tota silens :

Ordoque sic precibus dum vult succurrere nobis,

Linqvo choax ranis et nichil inde magis :

*Heading 5 specialiter S*

1197 autem STH<sub>2</sub> et si CEHGDL 1198 Text STH<sub>2</sub> Mechari  
cupias dat tibi GDL Mechari cupias ordine CEH 1209 seu]  
uel C 1212 Text STH<sub>2</sub> Auribus alma sonat mentequa vana  
petit CEHGDL 1214 Text STH<sub>2</sub> Folia non fructus percipit inde  
deus CEHGDL



Si veniantque michi mala tempora, credo quod isti  
 De clero causam dant nimis inde grauem ;  
 Quis poterit namque nobis bona tempora ferre,  
 Ordine claustrali dum perit ordo dei,  
 Et fugit a reliquo deuocio celica clero ?  
 Sic fugit a nobis vndique nostra salus.  
 Nam quia sic medii fallunt discorditer ipsi,  
 Ignaui populi stamus in orbe vagi.

1220

Quid sibi corpus habet in eo, nisi spiritus extet,  
 Quid nisi nos clerus suplet in orbe pius ?  
 A planta capiti set qui discernere cleri  
 Vult genus aut speciem, vix sciet inde bonum.  
 Sic vbi lux, tenebre, sic mors, vbi norma vite  
 Instrueret sanam gentibus ire viam.  
 Vt dicunt alii de clero, sic ego dixi,  
 Quo creuit reliquis error in orbe magis :  
 Nam sine pastore grex est dispersus, et ecce  
 Pascua peccati querit vbique noui.

1230

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1221-1232. *Text* STH<sub>2</sub> *As follows in* CEHGDL,

Nunc quia sic Cleri sors errat ab ordine Cristi,  
 Vsurpat mundus que negat ipse deus.  
 Dum tua, Burnelle, scola sit communis in orbe,  
 A planta capiti fallitur omnis ibi :  
 Sed cum Gregorii scola fulsit in orbe beati,  
 Vera fides viguit, cunctaque pace tulit.  
 Nunc tamen est Arius nouus, est quasi Iouinianus,  
 Doctor in ecclesiis scisma mouendo scolis.  
 Sic vbi lux, tenebre, sic mors, vbi regula vite  
 Instrueret rectam gentibus ire viam.  
 Quilibet ergo bonus, sit miles siue Colonus,  
 Orans pro Clero det sua vota deo.

1230\*

1215 *Text* STH<sub>2</sub> Si veniant mundi CEHGDL

1225\* fulscit HG

Postquam dictum est de illis qui in statu cleri regere spiritualia deberent, dicendum est iam de hiis qui in statu milicie temporalia defendere et supportare tenentur.

Incipit liber Quintus.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. i.

Quid sit de clero dixi, dicamque secundo  
Quomodo Militibus competit ordo vetus.  
Primo milicia magno fit honore parata;  
Est tribus ex causis ipsa statuta prius.  
Ecclesie prima debet defendere iura,  
Et commune bonum causa secunda fouet;  
Tercia pupilli ius supportabit egeni,  
Et causam vidue consolidabit ope:  
Istis namque modis lex vult quod miles in armis  
Sit semper bellum promptus adire suum. 10  
Sic etenim miles dudum superauerat hostes,  
Vnde sibi fama viuuit in orbe noua:  
Non propter famam miles tamen arma gerebat,  
Set pro iusticia protulit acta sua.  
Ordinis ipse modum miles qui seruat eundem,  
Debet ob hoc laudes dignus habere suas;  
Set si pro laude miles debellet inani,  
Est laus iniusta, si tribuatur ita.

Dic michi nunc aliud: quid honoris victor habebit,  
Si mulieris amor vincere possit eum? 20  
Nescio quid mundus michi respondebit ad istud;  
Hoc scio, quod Cristi nil sibi laudis erit.  
Si quis honore frui cupiat, sibi causet honorem,  
Gestet et illud opus, quod sibi suadet onus:  
Nil nisi stulticiam pariet sibi finis habendam,  
Cui Venus inceptam ducit ad arma viam.  
Non decet vt rutili plumbum miscebitur auro,

Nec Venus vt validi militis acta sciat.  
 Quem laqueat mulier non laxat abire frequenter,  
 Immo magis fatuo voluit amore suo : 30  
 Qui prius est liber, facit et se sponte subactum,  
 Stulcius est stulto sic reputandus homo.  
 Bella quibus miles fieret captivus, ab illis  
 Expedit vt fugiat, vincere quando nequit.  
 Non vada quo mergi liquet est sapientis vt intret,  
 Set magis a visa morte refrenet iter.

**Hic loquitur qualiter miles, qui in mulieris amorem exardescens ex concupiscencia armorum se implicat exercicio, vere laudis honorem ob hoc nullatenus meretur. Describit etiam infirmitates amoris illius, cuius passiones variis adinuicem motibus maxime contrariantur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. O si mutatas miles pensaret amoris  
 Tam subito formas, non pateretur eas.  
 Non amor vnicolor est set contrarius in se,  
 Qui sine temperie temperat esse vices ; 40  
 Detegit atque tegit, disiungit amor que reiuungit,  
 Letaque corda suo sepe dolore furit.  
 Est amor iniustus iudex, aduersa maritans  
 Rerum naturas degenerare facit :  
 Consonat Architeses in amore, sciencia nescit,  
 Ira iocatur, honor sordet, habundat egens ;  
 Leta dolent, reprobat laus, desperacio sperat,  
 Spes metuit, prosunt noxia, lucra nocent ;  
 Anxietas in amore sapit, dulcescit amarum,  
 Vernat yemps, sudant frigora, morbus alit. 50  
 Sic magis vt caueas, miles, tibi visa pericla,  
 Has lege quas formas morbus amoris habet.  
 Est amor egra salus, vexata quies, pius error,  
 Bèllica pax, vulnus dulce, suaue malum,  
 Anxia leticia, via deuia, lux tenebrosa,  
 Asperitas mollis, plumbea massa leuis,  
 Florescens et yemps et ver sine floribus arens,  
 Vrticata rosa, lex sine iure vaga,

*Heading* 1 amore DLT

40 Qui Oui S 45 Architeses (architesis) CEHGDL Archtesis S  
 archtesis T



Flens risus, ridens fletus, modus immoderatus,  
Hostilis socius, hostis et ipse pius, 60  
Instabilis constancia, velle sibi repugnans,  
Spes sibi desperans et dubitata fides,  
Albedo nigra, nigredo splendida, melque  
Acre, que fel sapidum, carcer amena ferens,  
Irrationalis ratio, discrecio stulta,  
Ambiguus iudex, inscius omne putans,  
Numquam digestus cibus et semper sitibundus  
Potus, mentalis insaciata fames,  
Mors viuens, vita moriens, discordia concors,  
Garrula mens, mutus sermo, secreta febris, 70  
Prosperitas pauper, paupertas prospera, princeps  
Seruus, regina subdita, rex et egens,  
Ebrea sobrietas, demens clemencia, portus  
Cille, pestifera cura, salutis iter:  
Mulcebris anguis amor est, agna ferox, leo mitis,  
Ancipiter pauidus atque columba rapax,  
Infatuata scola reddens magis infatuatum  
Discipulum, cuius mens studet inde magis.

**Hic describit formam mulieris speciose, ex cuius concupiscencia illaqueata militum corda rationis iudicio sepiissime destituuntur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Cum pauidus miratur amans candore repletam,  
In cuius facie stat rubor ille rose, 80  
Aurigeros crines, aures patulas mediocres,  
Planiciem frontis, que nitet alba satis,  
Impubesque genas, oculos qui solis ad instar  
Lucent, et stabilis vultus honestat eos,  
Nasum directum naresque decenter apertas,  
Labraque melliflua, fragrat et oris odor,  
Equales lacte sibi dentes candidiores,  
Et formam menti conuenientis ei;  
Splendor et a facie dat eburnea colla nitere,  
Guttur cristalli concomitante sibi, 90  
Et niue candidior nitet eius pectore candor,  
Candida poma cui sunt duo fixa quasi.

Brachia longa videt pauce crassata rotundo,  
 Amplexus quorum celica regna putat,  
 Et videt ornatos splendere manus digitosque,  
 Lanaque nec mollis mollior astat eis;  
 Cernit et insolitos humeros ad onus pueriles,  
 Nec patet os in eis, sic stupet inde magis:  
 Per latus et gracilem videt elongare staturam,  
 Linea nec recta reccior astat ea;  
 Eius et incessus cernit peditare choreis,  
 Passus mensuram denotat atque suam;  
 Nil sibi Sirenes equantur voce canentes,  
 Nec vox angelica vix sonat vtque sua.

100

Et caput amplecti cernit gemmisque nitere,  
 Ac vestis pompam que magis aptat eam:  
 Compta venit nimium, que vult formosa videri,  
 Vnde stupore magis sit semiraptus amans.  
 Omnia membra sibi reputantur in ordine tali,  
 Vt deus in superis fecerat illud opus;  
 Discrimen capitis, frons libera, lactea colla,  
 Ora, labella, rubor, lumina clara placent;  
 Vertex, frons, oculi, nasus, dens, os, gena, mentum,  
 Colla, manus, pectus, pes sine labe nitent,  
 Vnam nec maculam solam natura reliquit,  
 Ad caput a planta transuolat iste decor:  
 Humanam speciem transcendit forma puelle,  
 Excedens hominem numinis instar habet;  
 Pre cunctis aliis, quas ornat gracia forme,  
 Felix et fenix ista fit absque pare.

110

120

Splendida vestis erit, precinctum flore caputque,  
 Flaua verecundus cingit et ora rubor;  
 Forma placet niueusque color flauique capilli,  
 Estque micans nulla factus ab arte decor:  
 Vix erit aspiciens qui non capietur ab illa,  
 Pronus vt in terram vir sua vota ferat;  
 Ipsa suo vultu si quem concernat amantem,  
 Heret in opposita lumina fixus homo.

Qui cum tam dulcem videt ornatam que decoram  
 Femineam speciem, set magis angelicam,  
 Hanc putat esse deam, manibus sub cuius adeptam  
 Dat vite sortem mortis et esse suam:

130

Dum tam mirificam voluit sibi mente figuram,  
Ipse volutus ea non reuolutus abit;  
Non capit exterius quid preter eam sibi visus,  
Corque per interius pungit amoris acus.  
Vt sibi stat saxum non mobile, sic stat et ipse,  
Nec mouet a visu, qui velut extasis est;  
Sic oculus cordis carnis caligine cecus  
Languet, et in dampnum decedit ipse suum. 140  
Quod videt, hoc nescit, set quod videt, vritur illo;  
Sic furit a ceco cecus amore suo:  
Frigidior glacie, feruencior igne cremante,  
Sic et in igne gelat, vritur inque gelu:  
Sicut auis visco volutans se voluitur illo,  
Sic se defendens ardet amore magis.

Sic amor omne domat, quicquid natura creauit,  
Et tamen indomitus ipse per omne manet;  
Carcerat et redimit, ligat atque ligata resoluit,  
Subdit et omne sibi, liber et omnibus est; 150  
Naturam stringit, mulcet, minuit que reformat,  
Plangit et hec per eum, nec sine gaudet eo:  
Militat in cunctis, nullum vix excipit eius  
Regula, nam sanctos sepe dat esse reos;  
Legibus aque suis non est transire quietus  
Qui valet, ipse tamen cuncta quieta gerit.  
Nam quem non poterit probitas, prudentia fallit,  
Nec stat vitalis tutus vt obstet eis:  
Non amor in penis est par pene Talionis;  
Vulnerat omne genus, nec sibi vulnus habet: 160  
Sic quia vulnifico fixurus pectora telo  
Vibrat amor, caute longius inde fuge.  
Est nichil armorum quod prelia vincit amoris,  
Nec sua quis firme federa pacis habet.

Credula res amor est subito collapsa dolore,  
Nec sciet inceptor quis sibi finis erit.  
Non sine stat bello miles qui dicit ad infra,  
'O quam me tacitum conscius vrit amor!'  
Artibus innumeris mens exagitur amantis,  
Vt lapis equoreis vndique pressus aquis; 170  
Nobilitas sub amore iacet, que sepe resurgit,  
Sepius et nescit nobile quid sit iter:



Semper in incerta varians sub ymagine mentis,  
 Nunc leuat interius cordaque versat amor :  
 Cecus amor fatuos cecos sic ducit amantes,  
 Quod sibi quid deceat non videt vllus amans.  
 Impetus in furia, dic, quid non audet amoris?  
 Dum sitit amplexus, scit nichil vnde timet ;  
 Non frondem siluis nec aperto gramina campo  
 Mollia, nec pleno flumine cernit aquas ;  
 Immo quasi cecus sic commoda, sic sibi dampna,  
 Impetus vt mentem cogit amare, facit.  
 Non polus aut tellus, Acheron, mare, sydus et ether,  
 Possunt vi ceptis rebus obesse suis ;  
 Sepe ferens ymbrem celesti nube solutum  
 Frigidus in nuda sepe iacebit humo :  
 Nox et yemps longeque vie seuique dolores  
 Sunt ea que fatuis premia prestat amor.  
 Murmura quot seruis, tot sunt in amore dolores,  
 Sunt furor et pietas eius in orbe pares ;  
 Sentit amans dampna, feruens tamen astat in illis,  
 Materiam pene prosequiturque sue.

180

190

O, quia per nullas amor est medicabilis herbas,  
 Nec vis nec sensus effugit eius onus ;  
 Nullus ab innato valet hoc evadere morbo,  
 Sit nisi quod sola gracia curet eum.  
 O natura viri quam sit grauis, unde coactum  
 Eius ad interitum cogit amare virum !  
 O natura viri, poterit quam tollere nemo,  
 Nec tamen excusat quod facit ipsa malum !  
 O natura viri, duo que contraria mixta  
 Continet, amborum nec licet acta sequi !  
 Bella pudicie carnis mouet illa voluptas ;  
 Que sibi vult corpus, spiritus illa vetat.  
 O natura viri, que naturatur eodem,  
 Quod vitare nequit, nec licet illud agi !  
 O natura viri, fragilis que vim rationis  
 Dirimit, et bruti crimen ad instar habet !  
 Nil prosunt artes, furit inmedicabile vulnus ;  
 Sit cum plus sapiens, vir furit inde magis ;  
 Sique suam vellet flammam compescere quisquam,

200

210

Artem prevideat quam prius ipse cadat.  
 Dum freta mitescunt et amor dum temporat vsum,  
 Tunc inter medium sit cuperanda salus.  
 Vinces si fugias, vinceris sique resistas;  
 Ne leo vincaris, tu lepus ergo fuge.  
 Femina nec flammās nec seuos effugit arcus;  
 Quo magis est fragilis, acrior ignis erit:  
 Vtque viros mulier fallit, sic vir mulieres,  
 Dum vulpinus amor verba lupina canit. 220  
 Fallere credentem non est laudanda puellam  
 Gloria, set false condicionis opus.  
 Est ars nulla viri Veneris subtilior arte,  
 Qua sua iura petat arte perhennat amor.

**Hic loquitur quod, vbi in milite mulierum dominatur amoris  
 voluptas, omnem in eo vere probitatis miliciam extinguit.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiii. Non sibi vulnus habet miles probitate timere  
 Corporis, vt mundi laus sit habenda sibi,  
 Vulnera sed mentis timeat, quam ceca voluptas  
 Tela per ignita non medicanda ferit.  
 Vulnera corporea sanantur, set quis amore  
 Languet, eum sanum non Galienus aget: 230  
 Feminēos mores teneat si miles, abibit  
 Orphanus a stirpe nobilitatis honor.  
 Dum sapiens miles quasi stultus et infatuatus  
 Incidit in speciem, fama relinquit eum:  
 Dum carnalis amor animum tenet illaqueatum,  
 Sensati ratio fit rationis egens:  
 Dum iubar humani sensus fuscatur in umbra  
 Carnis, et in carnem mens rationis abit,  
 Stans hominis ratio calcata per omnia carni  
 Seruit, et ancille vix tenet ipsa locum. 240  
 Set tamen in lance non ponderat omnibus eque,  
 Nec dat condigna premia cecus amor:  
 Pellit ab officio sine causa sepe fideles,  
 Infidosque suo sepe dat esse loco:  
 Denegat ipse michi donum quandoque merenti,  
 Absque nota meriti quod dabit ipse tibi:

Sicut habes varios sine lumine scire colores,  
 Sic amor vt cecus dat sua iura viris.  
 Nunc tamen omnis ei miles quasi seruit, et eius  
 Ad portas sortem spectat habere suam.

250

**Hic loquitur de militibus illis, quorum vnus propter mulieris  
 amorem, alter propter inanem mundi famam, armorum labores  
 exercet; finis tamen vtriusque absque diuine laudis merito  
 vacuus pertransit.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Militie pars vna petit mulieris amorem,  
 Altera quod mundi laus sonet alta sibi.  
 Miles vbique nouum spirat temptatque fauorem  
 Munere lucrari, fama quod astet ei :  
 Scit tamen inde deus, quo iure cupit venerari,  
 Si dabit hoc mundus seu mulieris amor.  
 Si laudem mundi cupiat, tunc copia Cresi  
 Defluit, vt donis laus sonet alta suis :  
 Tunc aurum, vestes, gemmas et equos quasi grana  
 Semināt, vt laudis crescat in aure seges.  
 Set sibi femineum si miles adoptet amorem,  
 Carius hunc precio tunc luet ipse suo :  
 Quod sibi natura, sibi vel deus attulit omne,  
 Corpus, res, animam, tot dabit inde bona.  
 Cum tamen ipse sui perfecerit acta laboris,  
 Laus et vtraque simul perfida fallat eum,  
 Cum nec fama loquax mundi peruenit ad aures,  
 Nec sibi castus amor reddit amoris opem,  
 Tunc deceptus ait, 'Heu, quam fortuna sinistrat !  
 Cum labor a longo tempore cassus abit.'  
 Tardius ipse venit, qui sic sibi plangit inepte,  
 Cum sibi non alius causa sit ipse doli.

260

270

Fert mundus grauia, fert femina set grauiora ;  
 Hic mouet, illa ruit, hic ferit, illa necat.  
 Cum vicisse putet miles sibi vim mulieris,  
 Hec et amore pio cuncta petita fauet,  
 Vincitur ipse magis tunc quando magis superesse  
 Se putat, et mulier victa revincit eum.  
 Aut eciam mundi famam si miles adoptet,



Numquid et ipsa breui tempore vana perit.

280

O, cur sic miles mundi sibi querit honores,

Cuius honor mundi stat sine laude dei,

Vulgi vaniloqui sermones miles honorem

Credit, et hos precio mortis habere cupit?

Nil tamen ipse cauet dum vincitur a muliere,

Quo reus ante deum perdit honoris opem.

Quid sibi vult igitur audacia sic animosa

Militis in vacuum, que ratione caret?

Laus canitur frustra, nisi laudis sit deus auctor;

Dedecus est et honor qui sonat absque deo.

290

Nescio quid laudis cupit aut sibi miles honoris,

Dum deus indignum scit fore laudis eum.

**Hic loquitur interim de commendacione mulieris bone, cuius condicionis virtus approbata omnes mundi delicias transcendit: loquitur eciam de muliere mala, cuius cautelis vix sapiens resistit.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Vna fuit per quam mulier deus altus ad yma

Venit, et ex eius carne fit ipse caro,

Cuius honore magis laudande sunt mulieres

Hee quibus est merito laudis agendus honor.

De muliere bona bona singula progrediuntur,

Cuius honestus amor prebet amoris opem:

Preualet argento mulier bona, preualet auro,

Condignum precii nilque valebit ei;

300

Lingua referre nequit aut scribere penna valorem

Eius, quam bonitas plena decore notat.

Nobilis in portis reuerendus vir sedet eius,

Hospiciumque suum continet omne bonum:

Vestibus ornantur famuli, quas ordine duplo

Eius in actiuis fert operosa manus:

Ocia nulla suos temptant discurrere sensus,

Quos muliebris ope seruat vbique pudor.

Sic laudanda bona meritis est laude perhenni,

Quam mala lingua loquax demere nulla potest.

310

Que tamen econtra mulier sua gesserit acta,

Non ideo reliquas polluit ipsa bonas:

Sunt nichil illa probo cum de vecorde loquamur,

281 sic CEHGD L si S

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P

Improba nec iustos scandala furis habent.  
 Sit licet absurdum nomen meretricis, ab illo  
 Quam pudor obseruat femina nulla capit;  
 Sit licet infamis meretrix, tamen illa pudicas  
 Non fedat fedo nomine feda suo.  
 Hic bonus, ille malus est angelus vnus et alter,  
 Nec valet vlla mali culpa nocere bono;  
 Nec decet infamis nomen mulieris honeste  
 Ledere, vel laudem tollere posse suam.  
 Fetida dumque rose se miscet invtilis herba,  
 Non tamen est alia quam fuit ante rosa:  
 Semper erat quod erit, vbi culpa patens manifestat  
 Crimina, quale vident hoc opus ora canunt.  
 Quod tamen hic scribam, sit saluo semper honore  
 Hiis quibus obseruat gesta pudoris honor:  
 Ergo quod hic agitur, culpandas culpa figurat,  
 Quo laus laudandis sit tribuenda magis.  
 Scire malum prodest, potius vitemus vt illud,  
 Labile pre manibus et caueamus iter.

320

330

De muliere mala mala queque venire solebant,  
 Est etenim pestis illa secunda viris:  
 Femina dulce malum mentem, decus ipsa virile,  
 Frangit, blandiciis insidiosa suis;  
 Sensus, diuicias, virtutes, robora, famam  
 Et pacem variis fraudibus ipsa ruit.  
 Mille modis fallit, subtiles milleque tendit  
 Insidias, vnus vt capiatur homo.  
 Femina talis enim gemmis radiantibus, auro,  
 Vestibus, vt possit fallere, compta venit:  
 Aptantur vestes, restringitur orta mamilla,  
 Dilatat collum pectoris ordo suum;  
 Crinibus et velis tinctis caput ornat, et eius  
 Aurea cum gemmis pompa decorat opus:  
 Vt magis exacuat oculos furientis in illam,  
 Anulus in digitis vnus et alter erit.  
 Non erit huius opus lanam mollire trahendo,  
 Set magis vt possit prendere compta viros:  
 Se quoque dat populo mulier speciosa videndam;  
 Quem trahit e multis forsitan vnus erit.

340

350

Ha quociens fictis verbis exardet amator,  
 Dum temptat forme subdola lingua bone!  
 In vicio decor est, mulier si verba placendi  
 Non habet, vt fatuos prouocet inde viros;  
 Crebraque complexis manibus suspiria mittit,  
 Nec sibi pollicito pondere verba carent:  
 Sepe sonat raucum quoddam, set amabile ridet,  
 Blesaque fit bleso lingua coacta sono. 360  
 Quo non ars poterit? discit lacrimare decenter,  
 Fallat vt hos vultu quos neque sermo trahit;  
 Vultibus et lacrimis in falsa cadentibus ora  
 Decipit et fingit vix sibi posse loqui;  
 Et quociens opus est, fallax egrotat amica,  
 Vultus et exterius absque dolore dolet.  
 Monstra maris Sirenes erant, que voce canora  
 Quaslibet admissas detenuere rates;  
 Sic qui blandicias audit solito muliebres,  
 Non valet a lapsu saluus abire pedem. 370  
 Pingere sicut habet multas manus vna figuras,  
 Que variis formis diuicabit opus,  
 Sola sibi varios mulier sic auget amantes,  
 Quos Venus in fatuam credere cogit opem.  
 Quod natura sibi sapiens dedit, illa reformat,  
 Et placet in blesis subdola lingua suis;  
 Eius enim plures fatuos facundia torquet,  
 Dum modo ridendo, nunc quoque flendo placet.  
 Sic fragili pingit totas in corpore partes,  
 Addit et ad formam quam deus ipse dedit. 380  
 Huius ego crimen detestor ferre loquele,  
 Quam magis expertus alter ab ante tulit;  
 Codice nempe suo referam que carmina vates  
 Rettulit Ouidius, nec michi verba tenent.  
 Vtque suum iuuenis mulier seruare decorem  
 Temptat et in variis amplificare studet,  
 Sic vetus amissi speciem renouare coloris  
 Spirat, et vnguentis sollicitabit opus.  
 Horrida sicut yemps agit vt neque lilia florent,  
 Set riget amissa spina relictæ rosa, 390  
 Sic rapit a forma veteres etas mulieres,

368 detinuere CE

389 hyemps C

390 Sic C



Maior et est ruga quo solet esse rubor.  
 Dextra senectutis, tunc cum sit discolor etas,  
 Protegit antiquas picta colore genas:  
 Nam modus est tali casu quod femina vultum  
 Comat, vt vnguentis splendeat ipsa magis.  
 Arte supercilia mensurat, labraque rubro,  
 Gracius vt placeant, mixta colore iuuat;  
 Sepeque caniciem medicantibus ornat in herbis,  
 Et melior primo queritur arte color; 400  
 Sepeque precedit densissima crinibus empta,  
 Proque suis alios efficit esse suos;  
 Sicque venit rutilis humeros protecta capillis,  
 Et vultum iuuenis arte requirit anus.  
 Sepe crocum sumit, croceo velatur amictu,  
 Quo minus ex proprio lesa colore patet.  
 Quot noua terra parit flores in vere tepenti,  
 Tot habet ad curas femina feda suas.  
 Non omnes vna pulcras se pingere forma  
 Crede, set est vsa quelibet arte sua; 410  
 Ista petit roseum, niueum cupit illa decorem,  
 Ista suos vultus pingit, et illa lauat;  
 Altera ieiunat misere minuitque cruorem,  
 Et prorsus quare palleat ipsa facit;  
 Nam que non pallet sibi rustica queque putatur,  
 'Hic decet, hic color est verus amantis,' ait.  
 Mille modis nostras impugnat femina mentes,  
 Si tibi non videas, illico captus eris.  
 Feminei sensum virus tibi tollit amoris,  
 Recia cuius enim gracia sola fugit. 420  
 Ista dat amplexus dulces et mollia figit  
 Oscula, set tacito corde venena premit:  
 Fraudibus vxorum multi periire virorum,  
 Femina nil horret, cuncta licere putat;  
 Audet quicquid eam iubet imperiosa libido,  
 Et metus et ratio cedit et ipse pudor:  
 Sepius esse solet quia pugnat forma pudori,  
 Raro de pulcris esse pudica potest.

Ve cui stulta comes sociali federe nupsit!  
 Non erit illius absque dolore thorus: 430

Federa seruasset, si non formosa fuisset,  
 Sponsa, que multociens res docet ista patens.  
 Quam Venus inspirat seruat custodia nulla,  
 Ad fatuam nullus limes agendus erit:  
 Cum Venus et mulier tempus que locum sibi spirant,  
 Non caret effectu quod voluere duo:  
 Frustratur custos mulieris, dum tamen ipsa  
 Se non custodit, si foret ipse Cato.  
 Tunc prius incipient turres vitare columbe,  
 Antra fere, pecudes gramina, mergus aquas,  
 Femina cum Veneris fatuum scrutetur amantem,  
 Et non inueniat ad sua facta locum.  
 Littora quot conchas, quot amena rosaria flores,  
 Quotque soporifera grana papauer habet,  
 Silua feras quot alit, quot piscibus vnda natatur,  
 Et tener ex pennis aera pulsat auis,  
 Non faciunt summam talem, que dicitur eque  
 Ad mala que mulier insidiosa parat.

440

Est mundus fallax, mulier fallacior ipso,  
 Senciit infidam nam paradisu eam:  
 Est lupus ecce latens agni sub vellere mundus,  
 Quo lambit primo, fine remordet eo.  
 Hoc tamen est extra, set serpentina columba  
 Prouocat in thalamis dampna propinqua magis;  
 Hec etenim serpens est, que per mille meandros  
 Decipit, et pungens corda quieta ferit.  
 Quis fortis manet aut sapiens illesus ab ipsa,  
 Celicus est, set eam vincere terra nequit:  
 Sampsonis vires gladius neque Dauid in ipsam  
 Quid laudis, sensus aut Salomonis habent.  
 Vt quid ad huc miles temptat superare modernus,  
 Vincere quod tanti non potuere viri?  
 Non est quem faciunt transacta pericula cautum,  
 Set magis in laqueos quos videt ipse cadit.  
 Quis vetat a magnis ad res exempla minores  
 Sumere? set noster non sinit illud amor.  
 Impetuosus agit pugnam gladiator, et idem  
 Immemor antiqui vulneris arma capit.

450

460

450 Text SH<sub>2</sub> Illa quidem fatuos que ligat arte viros CEHGTDL  
 454 in thalamis S interius CEHGD L

**Hic loquitur qualiter milicia bene disposita omnibus aliis gradibus quibuscumque commune securitatis prestat emolumentum.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. O quam milicia terra consistit in ista

Audax, preclara, si bene viuat ea!

470

Si non pro mundi lucro neque laude laboret,

Indomitus nec amor ferrea corda domet,

Miles perpetue laudis tunc vincet honore,

Nomen et eternum nobilitabit eum.

Si bona milicia fuerit, deus astat in illa,

Vincat vt invicto miles in ense suo:

Si bona milicia fuerit, vigilat bona fama,

Que iacet in lecto victa sopore modo:

Si bona milicia fuerit, tum pace reviuat

Sponsus cum sponsa preparat acta sua:

480

Si bona milicia fuerit, tunc hostis ab illa

Sternitur ecclesie, crescit et ipsa fide:

Si bona milicia fuerit, taxacio dura

Que sonat in patria tunc erit absque nota:

Si bona milicia, tunc non tardabit adesse

Pax, cum qua redeunt prospera cuncta simul.

Qui bonus est miles nequit exercere pauorem,

Nec tepide mentis intima lesa gerat:

Qui bonus est miles mundi terit omne superbum,

Vincit et ex humili corde maligna ferus:

490

Qui bonus est miles pro Cristi nomine certat,

Et rem communem protegit ipse manu:

Qui bonus est miles probat et bene scit quod in orbe

De belli fine pacis origo venit;

Talis enim miles de vera laude meretur

Quicquid in hoc mundo regula laudis habet.

**Hic loquitur qualiter milicie improbitas alios gradus quoscumque sua ledit importunitate et offendit.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. Si tamen econtra miles sua gesserit arma,

Euenient plura dampna timenda mala:

Si mala milicia, nichil est scutum, nichil hasta,



Nec manus in gladio fulget honore suo :  
 Si malus est miles, quis nos defendet in armis ?  
 Si mollis fuerit, aspera nostra dabit :  
 Si mala milicia, quid clerus vel sibi cultor  
 Possunt, dum foribus guerra patebit eis ?  
 Si mala milicia fuerit, tunc hostis agenda  
 Dat renouare ferus, qui solet esse pius.  
 Sic bonus ille bona, malus aut mala fert metuenda,  
 Qui gerit in manibus nostra tuenda suis.  
 Munda manus mire probitatis conferet ictus,  
 Dum polluta suis sordibus arua fugit :  
 Conscius ipse sibi, mala dum meditabitur acta,  
 Hesitat, et varia mente vacillat opus.  
 Moribus arma vigent, aliter fortuna recedit,  
 Stat probitas viciis proxima nulla diu.

510

Moribus ergo stude, miles, viciisque resiste  
 Belliger, et valide publica iura foue.  
 Est michi nil cunctas terrarum vincere turmas,  
 Dum solo vicio vincor inermis ego :  
 Nec magis in culpa quid obest quam miles ad arma  
 Tardus, et assissis promptus inesse lucris.  
 Hostibus vt perdix vicinis ancipiterque  
 Miles dum steterit, res sibi vilis erit.  
 Non valet hic dignus amplexibus esse Rachelis,  
 Inclita quem Martis arma beare negant :  
 Que speciosa viro tali concedit amorem,  
 Errat et ignorat quid sit amoris honor.  
 Lya magis feda pro coniuge congruit immo  
 Tali, qui minime gesta valoris habet :  
 Tales ad Lyam redeant et eam sibi iungant,  
 Lya sit hic pauidus, qui nequit esse Rachel.  
 Nullus ametur homo qui non est dignus amore,  
 Sit set amoris egens qui negat eius onus :  
 Non sine sollicito septenni temporis actu  
 Captus amore Iacob colla Rachelis habet.

520

530

Set quem causa lucri mouet vt procedat ad arma,  
 Miles honore suo nil probitatis habet.  
 Vulturis est hominum natura cadauera velle,  
 Vt cibus occurrat bellica castra sequi;

Sunt similes qui bella volunt, qui castra sequuntur,  
 Qui spoliis inhiant esuriendo lucrum : 540  
 Horret aus rapidum quia predat proxima nisum,  
 Et pecus austerum quodlibet esse lupum.  
 Qui tibi delicias, miles, preponis, et arma  
 Deseris, et requiem queris habere domi,  
 Pauperis et spolia depredans more leonis,  
 Quo maceras alios, tu tibi crassa rapis,  
 Que tibi torpor agit, que deliciosa voluptas  
 Suadet, avaricie pelleque lucra simul :  
 Suscipe sanguinei trepidancia munera belli,  
 Credoque quod vicia iam tibi terga dabunt. 550  
 Ante suum lucrum miles preponat honorem,  
 Dans sua vota deo cunctaque vincet eo :  
 Heu ! modo set video quod honor postponitur auro,  
 Preferturque deo mundus et ipsa caro.  
 Milicie numerus crescit, decrescit et actus ;  
 Sic honor est vacuus, dum vacuatur onus.

Postquam dictum est de illis qui in statu militari rem publicam seruare debent illesam, dicendum est iam de istis qui ad cibos et potus pro generis humani sustentacione perquirendos agriculture labores subire tenentur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Que sit militia iam vos audistis, et vltra  
 Dicam de reliquis, regula que sit eis.  
 Nam post miliciam restat status vnus agrestis,  
 In quo rurales grana que vina colunt. 560  
 Hii sunt qui nobis magni sudore laboris  
 Perquirunt victus, iussit vt ipse deus :  
 Est et eis iure nostri primi patris Ade  
 Regula, quam summi cepit ab ore dei.  
 Nam deus inquit ei, dum corruit a Paradisi  
 Floribus, in terram cepit et ire viam :  
 'O transgresse, labor mundi tibi sint quoque sudor,  
 In quibus vteris panibus ipse tuis.'  
 Vnde dei seriem cultor si seruet eundem,  
 Ac opus in cultu sic gerat ipse manu, 570  
 Tunc pariet fructus quam fertilis ordine campus,  
 Vuaque temporibus stabit habunda suis.  
 Nunc tamen illud opus vix querit habere colonus,

Set magis in viciis torpet vbique suis.

Inter quos plebis magis errat iniqua voluntas,  
Sulcorum famulos estimo sepe reos.

Sunt etenim tardi, sunt rari, sunt et auari,

Ex minimo quod agunt premia plura petunt:

Nunc venit hic usus, petit en plus rusticus vnus,

Tempore preterito quam peciere duo;

580

Et dudum solus plus contulit vtilitatis

Nunc tribus, vt dicunt qui bene facta sciunt.

Sicut enim vulpis resonantibus vndique siluis

De fouea foueam querit et intrat eam,

Sic famulus sulci contrarius ammodo legi

De patria patriam querit habere moram.

Ocia magnatum cupiunt hii, nil tamen vnde

Se nutrire queunt, ni famulentur, habent:

Hos seruire deus naturaue disposuerunt,

Ille vel illa tamen hos moderare nequit:

590

Quisque tenens terras has plangit in ordine gentes,

Indiget omnis eis, nec reget vllus eas.

Non impune deum veteres spreuere coloni,

Nec mundi procerum surripuere statum;

Set seruile deus opus imponebat eisdem,

Quo sibi rusticitas corda superba domet:

Mansit et ingenuis libertas salua, que seruis

Prefuit atque sua lege subegit eos.

Nos magis hesterna facit experientia doctos,

Quid sibi perfidie seruus iniquus habet;

600

Vt blada cardo nocens minuit, si non minuatur,

Sic grauat indomitus rusticus ipse probos.

Vngentem pungit pungentem rusticus vngit,

Regula nec fallit quam vetus ordo docet:

Vulgi cardones lex amputet ergo nociuos,

Ne blada pungentes nobiliora terant.

Nobile quicquid habent seu dignum, rustica proles

Ledit in ingenuis, sit nisi lesa prius:

Quod sit rusticitas vilis, docet actus ad extra,

Que minus ingenuos propter honesta colit;

610

Vtque labant curue iusto sine pondere naues,

Sic, nisi sit pressus, rusticus ipse ferus.

Contulit et tribuit deus et labor omnia nobis,



Commoda sunt hominis absque labore nichil ;  
 Rusticus ergo sua committat membra labori,  
 Ocia postponens, sicut oportet agi.

Horrea sicut ager sterilis sub vomere cultus  
 Fallit, et autumpno fert lucra nulla domum,  
 Sic miser ipse, tuo cum plus sit cultus amore,  
 Rusticus in dampnum fallit agitque tuum.

620

Nulla ferunt sponte serui seruilia iura,  
 Nec sibi pro lege quid bonitatis habent :  
 Quicquid agit paciens corpus seruile subactum,  
 Mens agit interius semper in omne malum.  
 Contra naturam fiunt miracula, vires  
 Nature deitas frangere sola potest :  
 Non est hoc hominis, aliquis quod condicionis  
 Seruorum generis rectificare queat.

**Hic loquitur eciam de diuersis vulgi laborariis, qui sub  
 aliorum regimine conducti, variis debent pro bono communi  
 operibus subiugari.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. Gens et adhuc alia cultoribus est sociata,  
 Que stat communis, ordo nec vllus eis :  
 Hii sunt qui cuiquam nolunt seruire per annum,  
 Hos vix si solo mense tenebit homo ;  
 Set conventiciis tales conduco dietis,  
 Nunc hic, nunc alibi, nunc michi nuncque tibi.  
 Horum de mille vix est operarius ille  
 Qui tibi vult pacto fidus inesse suo.

630

Hec est gens illa que denaturat in aula,  
 Potibus atque cibis dum manet ipsa tuis :  
 Dum commensalis conductus sit tibi talis,  
 Omnes communes reprobat ipse cibos :  
 Omnia salsa nocent, tantum neque cocta placebunt,  
 Ni sibi des assum, murmurat ipse statim ;  
 Nil sibi ceruisia tenuis neque cisera confert,  
 Nec rediet tibi cras, ni meliora paras.  
 O cur sic potum petit hic sibi deliciosum,  
 Quem fouet ex ortu limpha petita lacu ?  
 Pauperis ex stirpe natus, quoque pauper et ipse,  
 Vt dominus stomacho poscit habere suo.

640

Nil sibi lex posita prodest, nam regula nulla  
Talibus est, nec quis prouidet inde malis: 650  
Hec est gens ratione carens vt bestia, namque  
Non amat hec hominem, nec putat esse deum.  
Hiis, nisi iusticia fuerit terrore parata,  
Succumbent domini tempore credo breui.

Quia varias rerum proprietates vsui humano necessarias  
nulla de se prouincia sola parturit vniuersas, inter alios  
mundi coadiutores Ciuium Mercatores instituuntur, per quos  
singularum bona regionum alternatim communicantur, de  
quorum iam actibus scribere consequenter intendit.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Si mea nobilibus vrbanis scripta reuoluam,  
Quid dicam, set eis est honor est et onus?  
Est honor vt tantas teneat Ciuis sibi gasas,  
Est onus vt lucra querit habere mala:  
Est honor officium maioris prendere ciuem,  
Est onus officii iura tenere sui: 660  
Transit honor set perstat onus, quod si male gessit,  
Hoc scio, quod pondus non leuiabit honor.  
Vrbs stat communis de gentibus ecce duabus,  
Sunt Mercatores, sunt simul artifices:  
Indiget alterius sic alter habere iuamen,  
Vt sit communis sic amor inter eos;  
Vincula namque duo sibi stringunt forcius vno,  
Sic duo cum socii sint in amore probi.  
Inter maiores dum firmus amorque minores  
Permanet, vrbs gaudet et policia viget: 670  
Crescere rem minimam gentis concordia prestat,  
Maxima res discors labitur inque nichil.  
Vnio dum gentis durat, durabit et vrbis  
Mutua iusticia, plaudit et omnis ea;  
Si sit et econtra, tunc vrbes mutua dampna  
Vexant, et rara sunt magis inde lucra.  
Sicut et audiui, sic possum testificari,  
Vix sedet in Banco regula iusta modo:  
Non sapit ille deum qui totus inheret habendum  
Has pompas mundi, nomen vt addat ei. 680  
In specie nullos statuo neque culpo, set illos  
Qui propter mundum preteriere deum:

Set qui iudicium cordis vult reddere iustum,  
 Credo quod ante deum se dabit inde reum.  
 Omnes namque lucris sic tendimus omnibus horis,  
 Quod iam festa deo vix manet vna dies.  
 O quam Iudeus domini sacra sabbata seruat,  
 Non vendens nec emens, nec sibi lucra petens!  
 Lex diuina iubet, quod homo sua sabbata sacret,  
 Sanctificetque diem, quo colat ipse deum. 690  
 Cum plueret manna per desertum deus olim,  
 Quod fecit populus tunc modo signa notat:  
 Duppla die sexta tollebant facta, laborem  
 Ostendunt, quia lux septima nescit opus.  
 Omnia set licita sunt nobis lege moderna:  
 Respectu lucri quid sacra festa michi?  
 Nil modo curatur, qua forma quisque lucratur,  
 Dum tamen ipse suum possit habere lucrum.  
 Dic michi quis socius est aut tibi carus amicus,  
 Cuius amicitia fert tibi nulla lucra. 700  
 Dic modo quis cuius manet expers fraudis in vrbe:  
 Si fuerit talis, vrbs mea vix scit eum.

Hic loquitur de binis Auaricie filiabus, scilicet Vsura et  
 Fraude, que in ciuitate orientes ad ciuium negociaciones secre-  
 tum prestant obsequium. Set primo dicet de condicione Vsure,  
 que vrbs potencioribus sua iura specialius ministrat.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. O quam subtiles Fraus ac Vsura sorores  
 Sunt, quibus vrbani dant sua iura quasi!  
 Hee fuerant genite diuersis patribus vrbe,  
 Quas peperit sola mater Auaricia;  
 Est pater Vsure magnus diuesque monete,  
 Est Fraus et vulgo degenerata stupro:  
 Sic soror Vsura stat nobilior genitura,  
 Quam clamat natam diues habere suam. 710  
 Nititur hec magnas sub clauē recondere summas,  
 Ex quibus insidias perficit ipsa suas:  
 Ista soror dampno solum viget ex alieno,  
 Alterius dampna dant sibi ferre lucra:  
 Est soror ista potens, aulas que struxit in vrbe,  
 Et tamen agrestes dissipat ipsa domos;  
 Ista soror ciuem ditat, set militis aurum



Aufert et terras vindicat ipsa suas.

Vsuram dominus defendit lege perhenni,

Vnde satis clare scripta legenda patent.

720

Nonne foret sapiens qui posset ponere glosam

Hunc contra textum, quem dedit ipse deus?

Hoc scit mercator instanti tempore ciuis,

Qui probat vsuram posse licere suam :

Omnia nuda patent, quapropter vestibis ipsam

Induit, vt ficto fallat operta dolo.

Sic latet Vsure facies depicta colore

Fraudis, vt hinc extra pulcra pateret ea ;

Si tamen inde genus sic vertat fraude dolosus,

Vsure species stat velut ipsa prius.

730

Nonne deum fallit cautelis institor ipse,

Talia dum scelera celat in arte sua?

Est deus aut cecus, qui singula cernit vbique?

Vsure tunicam cernit et odit eam.

**Postquam dixit de potencia Vsure, iam de Fraudis subtilitate dicere intendit, que de communi consilio quasi omnibus et singulis in emendo et vendendo ea que sunt agenda procurat et subtiliter disponit.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. Ista soror grauia parat, altera set grauiora,

Nam stat communis omnibus ipsa locis :

Quo tamen Vsura pergit Fraus vadit et illa,

Vna viam querit, altera complet opus.

Vrbibus Vsura tantum manet hiis sociata

Quorum thesaurus nescit habere pares ;

740

Set Fraus ciuiles perstat communis ad omnes,

Consulit et cunctis viribus ipsa suis :

Clam sua facta facit, nam quem plus decipit ipsa,

Ipse prius sentit quam videt inde malum.

Stans foris ante fores proclamat Fraus iuuenilis

Merces diuersas, quicquid habere velis.

Quot celi stelle, tot dicet nomina rerum,

Huius et istius, et trahit atque vocat :

Quos nequit ex verbis, tractu compellit inire,

'Hic,' ait, 'est quod vos queritis, ecce veni.'

750

Sic apprenticius plebem clamore reducit,

Ad secreta doli quando magister adest :

Dum Fraus namque vetus componit verba dolosa,  
 Incircumventus nullus abire potest :  
 Si sapiens intrat, Fraus est sapiencior illo,  
 Et si stultus init, stulcior inde redit.

Ad precium duplum Fraus ponit singula, dicens  
 Sic, 'Ita Parisius Flandria siue dedit.'

Quod minus est in re suplent iurancia verba,  
 Propter denarium vulnerat ipsa deum ; 760

Nam nichil in Cristo membrorum tunc remanebit,  
 Dum iuramentis Fraus sua lucra petit.

Hac set in arte tamen nos sepe domos fore plenas  
 Cernimus, et proprium nil domus ipsa tenet :

Sicque per ypocrisim ciuis perquirat honorem,  
 Quo genuflexa procul plebs valedicat ei :

Accidit vnde sibi quasi furtim maior vt ipse  
 Astat in vrbe sua, qui minor omnibus est.

Set cum tempus erit quo singula nuda patebunt,  
 Dedecus euertit quod decus ante fuit ; 770

Nam cum quisque suum repetit, tunc coruus amictus  
 Alterius pennis nudus vt ante volat.

Fraus et ab vrbe venit campestris querere lanas,  
 Ex quibus in stapula post parat acta sua.

Numquid vina petit Fraus que Vasconia gignit ?

Hoc dicunt populi rite nocere sibi :

Fraus manet in doleo, trahit et vult vendere vinum,  
 Sepeque de veteri conficit ipsa nouum.

Fraus eciam pannos vendet, quos lumine fusco  
 Cernere te faciet, tu magis inde caue : 780

Discernat tactus, vbi fallunt lumina visus,

Ne te pannificus fraudet in arte dolus.

Absit enim species quis vendat Fraude negante,

Dumque suis mixtis dat veterata nouis ;

Decimat in lance sibi, partem sepeque sextam

Pondere subtili Fraus capit ipsa sibi.

**Hic loquitur vterius quomodo Fraus singula artificia necnon  
 et vrbis victualia vbicunq; sua subtili dispositione gubernat.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. Nolunt artifices Fraudis deponere leges,

775 gignit CEDL gignit SH

785 sibi SEHH: fraus CGDL

786 fraus capit SEHH: surripit CGDL.

Cuius in arbitrio dant sua facta modo :

Fabricat ista ciphos, argentum purgat et aurum,

Set capit ex puro purius ipsa tuo ;

790

Conficit ex vitris gemmas oculo preciosas,

Nomen et addit eis, fallat vt inde magis.

Si quid habes panni, de quo tibi vis fore vestem,

Fraus tibi scindit eam, pars manet vna sibi ;

Quamuis nil sit opus vestis mensuraque fallit,

Plus capit ex opere quam valet omne tibi.

Set quid pellicibus albis, nigris, quoque gris

Dicam? numquid eis Fraus iuuat ipsa prius?

Fraus prima facie trahit in longum satis apte,

Quod trahit hoc hodie, cras caret inde pede :

800

Fraus quoque debilia vendens care facit arma,

Contractos et equos Fraus facit armigeros :

Fluxum candeles Fraus de pinguedine facte

Prouocat, hinc fluxus sit sibi perpetuus :

Fraus eciam sellas, ocreas facit et sotulares ;

Omnem nunc artem Fraus facit esse suam.

Fraus etenim carnes populo vendit, quoque pisces,

Condolet hinc gustus dum sapit inde prius :

Fraus facit ob panes pistorum scandere clatas,

Furca tamen furis iustior esset eis :

810

Ceruisie domina Fraus est, testante lagena,

Qua vix per seriem scit Thethis esse Cerem :

Fraus cocus et cocta componit et ordinat assa,

Inque cibos horum conuocat ipsa forum :

Vt furit absque modo clamor constanter abisso,

Sic Fraus assa sibi clamat in aure fori.

Hospes in hospiciis Fraus gaudet de peregrinis,

Set peregrinus eam plangit habere malam :

Sinopat in modio, decaudat fraus minuendo

Fena per apocapen, lucra colendo tamen.

820

Dum curat minima, Fraus pullos vendit et oua,

Est nichil inque foro, quin regit ipsa dolo :

Fraus procurator communis in vrbe notatur ;

Dum causas iungit, semper id vna luit.

789 ista SG ipsa CEHD ipse L 799 Stans C 805 eciam CEHDLT  
etenim S sellas] cellas CEL 810 furta EDLT 812 Thethis  
(thethis) SCEHGT Thetis D tethis L



Vt numeranda maris consistunt litora nobis,  
 Sunt infiniti fraudis in ore doli.  
 Fraus facit et facta vendit, quoque iudicat acta,  
 Ambicione sua statque per omne rea.  
 Non commune bonum Fraus cum sit rector agendum  
 Auget, set proprium spectat habere lucrum. 830  
 Sic patet in fine, nunc transiit exul ab vrbe  
 Ipsa Fides sterilis, Fraus parit atque magis.  
 Hoc ego non dico, quod Fraus dominatur in omnes,  
 Iusto nam ciui Fraus nichil addit ibi.

**Hic loquitur de ciue illo maliuolo et impetuoso, qui maioris ministerium sibi adoptans in conciues suam accendit maliciam, quo magis sanum ciuitatis regimen sua importunitate perturbat et extinguit.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. Turpiter errat auis, proprium que stercore nidum,  
 Cuius erit custos, contaminare studet :  
 Dedecus est ciui sociis qui tollit honorem,  
 Quo campestris habet ciue priora loca.  
 Est inter populum furiosus vbique timendus,  
 Saltem dum gladium possidet ipse manu ; 840  
 Est set in vrbe magis hominis metuenda potestas,  
 Iudicis officio dum furit ipse suo.  
 Vtpote sola domum poterit sintilla cremare,  
 Sic malus indigena solus in vrbe grauat.  
 Mutatis subito rebus natura gemescit,  
 Et magis insolita de nouitate dolet,  
 Sorte repentina dum pauper in vrbe leuatur,  
 Et licet indignus culmen honoris habet.  
 Urbis nobilitas poterit tunc dampna timere,  
 Cum noua stultorum gloria laudat eum. 850  
 Arridet stultus stulto, vir iniquus iniquo,  
 Gaudet sensatus cum sapiente viro.  
 Asperius nichil est humili cum surgit in altum,  
 Saltem cum seruus nascitur ipse prius ;  
 Mens antiqua manet serui de condicione,  
 Det quamuis summum sors sibi ferre statum.  
 Si cursoris equi sella sit Asellus opertus,

Cap. xv. *Heading* 1 ciue illo S illo ciue CEHGLT 2 ministerium]  
 officium CE

Non tamen in cursu fit magis inde celer :  
 Indoctus que rudis nec homo mutatur honore,  
 Rusticitate sua quin magis asper erit. 860  
 Coruum perfidie dampnant animalia queque,  
 Sic est de ciue qui stat in vrbe male:  
 Quamuis sors fallax hominem sine moribus vrbe  
 Preponat, quis sit vltima fama dabit.

Vir malus est hominum multorum sepe flagellum,  
 Quem deus ad tempus plura mouere sinit:  
 Fine tamen proprio capiti mala cuncta refundit,  
 Que foris in populo fecerat ipse prius.  
 Mille cados olei premit vncia sola veneni,  
 Solus millenos vir malus atque bonos: 870  
 Ignitus carbo plures producit in ignem,  
 Sic mala multa facit, quo manet ipse, malus:  
 Talis enim summam fuerit cum scansus in arcem,  
 Spirat et imperio subdere cuncta suo,  
 Vertitur ecce rota, prius et qui celsior vrbis  
 Extitit, inferior omnibus ipse cadit.  
 Fraus florere potest, set fructificare nequibit,  
 Nec sua radices plantula firmat humo:  
 Res probat in fine, cum quis tumefactus auare  
 Se dabit in precium, non fore grande lucrum. 880  
 Quisque valet speculo satis ista videre moderno,  
 Vix tamen est sapiens, qui cauet acta videns.

**Hic loquitur eciam de ciue illo, qui linguosus et Susurro inter  
 conciuēs seminator discordiarum existit. Loquitur de variis  
 eciam periculis occasione lingue male contingentibus.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. Dum Susurro manet et vir linguosus in vrbe,  
 Plebis in obprobrium scandala plura mouet;  
 Nam linguosus homo reliquos velut altera pestis  
 Ledit, et vt turbo sepe repente nocet.  
 Set quia lingua mala mundo scelus omne ministrat,  
 Que sibi sunt vires dicere tendo graues.  
 Lingua mouet lites, lis prelia, prelia plebem,  
 Plebs gladios, gladii scismata, scisma necem; 890

876 cadet CE      881 Quis valet in speculo D      Quisquis valet speculo L  
 Cap. xvi. *Heading* 2 f. eciam de variis EDL

\*\*\*\*

Extirpat regnis, dat flammis, depopulatur  
 Lingua duces, lingua predia, lingua domos :  
 Lingua maritorum nexus dissoluet, et vnum  
 Quod deus instituit, efficit esse duo ;  
 Lite fugantque viros nupte, nuptasque mariti,  
 Inque malum dicunt res sibi semper agi.  
 Corporis exigua pars nulli parcere nouit,  
 Fallax et facilis fasque nephasque loqui :  
 Fermentum modicum totum corrumpit aceruum ;  
 Exacuens mentem singula membra mouet.  
 Non nichil est quod eam duplex custodia seruat,  
 Ne fluat in verbis impetuosa suis :  
 Dentibus obstruxit prudens natura palatum,  
 Vt claustro residens clausa silere queat ;  
 Talis eam custos stimulis castigat acutis,  
 Vt nichil abrupte queque licenter agat :  
 Exterius datur alter ei custos labiorum,  
 Vt duplex duplici ianua claudat iter :

900

Osseus ordo prior excessus corrigit, alter  
 Carneus et madidus micia verba facit.  
 Hos tamen erumpit aditus quandoque latenter,  
 Et ruit in verba que reuocare nequit :  
 Impetus huius habet rerum discrimina mille,  
 Que velut ignis edax prospera queque vorant.

910

Dicere qui poterit quot in ethere lumina lucent,  
 Paruaque quot siccus corpora puluis habet,  
 Vix satis est sapiens homo talis vt omnia dicat  
 Semina pestifera que mala lingua serit.  
 Nemo referre potest mala que linguosus in vrbe  
 Parturit, et duplo prouocat ore dolos.

920

Res mala lingua loquax, res peior, pessima res est,  
 Que quamuis careat ossibus, ossa terit :  
 Non locus est pacis vbi regnat lingua loquacis ;  
 Qui nec habet pacem, non habet ipse deum :  
 Qui sine pace dei discordat, habere salutem  
 Non valet, est et opus absque salute nichil :  
 Omne quod acquirit sibi pax, discordia tollit,  
 Quicquid et ista leuans erigit, illa ruit.  
 Est vbi regnat amor deus ; est vbi nullus amator,  
 Dirigat vt causas nescit adesse deus :

930



Est grauior plumbi massa sic garrula lingua,  
Pondere sub cuius corruiat vrbis honor.

Qui mala vult vrbi conciuus nesciat vrhem,  
Ianua fallaci nec sit aperta viro :

Ore licet duplex talis canat vrbis honorem,  
Corde silens tacite semina fraudis habet :

Sicut aqua piscis gaudet, letatur iniquis  
Dum videt alterius dampna patere magis.

Fontem dum solus communem toxicat vnus,  
Plebs perit et pestis magna repente venit :

940

Ciuis qui ciues conturbat et opprimit omnes,  
Exulis aut mortis sit sibi pena prius.

Dum dens solus olet, totum caput inficit ille,  
Si foris extrahitur, cessat ab inde dolor ;

Sic prius extractus sit ciuis in vrbe malignus,  
Quam ciuilis honor perdat in vrbe locum.

Expedit vnus enim moriatur, ne quasi tota  
Gens pereat lesa de grauitate sua.

Vrbis rector, age quod sit concordia, que dat  
Pacem : pax etenim prospera cuncta parit.

950

Non sonet in populis sermo tuus impetuusus ;  
Dulcibus est verbis vrbis alendus amor.

Obsequium tigresque domat tumidosque leones,  
Rustica paulatim taurus aratra subit ;

Sic sibi quod nequeunt, valet hoc prudentia, vires,  
Comptaque de facili pondere complet opus.

Non satis vna tenet agitata anchora puppes,  
Nec satis est liquidis vnicus hamus aquis ;

Sola nec vna viri persona potest sine plebis  
Auxilio cunctas vrbis habere vices,

960

Principiis obsta, si tu potes, aut sapienter  
Discute paulatim quod nequis ipse simul :

Tempora dum veteris queris temeraria dampni,  
Sepe magis morbum quam medicamen habent :

Curando fieri quedam maiora videmus

Vulnera, que melius non tetigisse fuit.

Flumina magna vides paruis de fontibus orta,

Flumina collectis multiplicantur aquis :

Sepius, in primo quod erat sanabile vulnus,  
 Dilatum longo tempore nescit opem. 970  
 Ad vomitum scelus est reuocabile fitque nouatum  
 Vulnus, et infirmis causa pusilla nocet:  
 Vulnus in antiquum rediet mala sana cicatrix;  
 Defectus cure causa prioris erat.

Vt vix extinctum cinerem sub sulphure tangas,  
 Viuit, et ex minimo maximus ignis erit;  
 Sic indiscrete veterem qui corripit iram,  
 Commouet ex facili ferre quod ipse nequit:  
 Quelibet extinctos iniuria suscitât ignes,  
 Quo prius oblita forcius ira redit. 980

Ira subit, deforme malum, lucrique cupido;  
 Est vbi nullus amor, vrbs habet omne nephas:  
 Crimina dicuntur, resonat clamoribus ether,  
 Inuocat iratum sic sibi quisque deum.  
 Pertinet ad ciues rabidos compescere mores  
 Candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras:  
 Nulla fides, vbi nullus amor, set amore remoto  
 Ignorat proprium quisquis in vrbe gradum.  
 Dum diuisa manet plebs a sapientibus vrbs,  
 Consilium multe calliditatis init: 990

Ignis, aqua dominans duo sunt pietate carentes,  
 Vulgus et indomitus peior habetur eis.

Nuper iusticia pax et concordia ciues  
 Rebus et in causis rectificare solet.  
 Nunc vbi sunt? dicas. Non hic. Cur tunc abierunt?  
 Liur et argenti lamina causa fuit.

Quod dolus acquirit, lucrum durabile non est,  
 Invidie nec amor durat in vrbe comes.  
 Ablue preteriti periuria temporis, oro;  
 Ablue preterita perfida verba die. 1000

Sic plus quam credi poterit fortuna reuiuet,  
 Surget et in precium quod modo vile cadit.  
 Assolet interdum fieri placabile numen,  
 Nube solet pulsa clarior esse dies:  
 Pax datur in terris quibus extat honesta voluntas;  
 Vir malus omne quod est pacis ab vrbe fugat.  
 Roma caput mundi fuit omni tempore, saltem

Dum communis amor rexit in vrbe forum:  
Set diuisa statim viduata recessit honore,  
Eius et imperium perdidit omne decus.  
Non honor Athenis decessit, dummodo ciues  
Vnanimis odium non habuere simul;  
Postea quando grauis vrbem diuisio persit,  
Ammodo de veteri sumpsit honore nichil.  
Sors tamen illa deo mediante recedat ab vrbe  
Nostra, que magno fulsit honore diu.

1010



Exquo de errore in singulis temporalium gradibus existente tractatum est, iam quia vnumquemque sub legis iusticia gubernari oportet, tractare vltcrius intendit de illis qui iuris ministri dicuntur, quamuis tamen ipsi omnem suis cautelis iusticiam confundunt, et propter mundi lucrum multipliciter eneruant.

### Incipit liber Sextus.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. **S**unt modo quam plures nomen de lege gerentes,  
 Qui tamen in parte nomen habent sine re :  
 Hii sine lege dei sub lege viri quasi fictum  
 Vsurpant nomen legis habere suum ;  
 Est quibus omnis amor extraneus, omnis et error  
 Proximus et proprii causa creata lucri :  
 Hic labor, hoc opus est primo cum munere iungi,  
 Est sine quo lingue muta loquela sue.  
 Qui tamen ad veras leges vacat, et sine fraude  
 Iusticiam querule proximitatis agit,  
 Vt psalmista canit, est vir magis ille beatus ;  
 Paucos set tales iam sibi tempus habet.  
 Aurea pugna nouo sic conterit vlcere leges,  
 Lesa quod vltcrius iura salute carent.

10

Hoc ego quod plebis vox clamat clamo, nec vllos,  
 Sint nisi quos crimen denotat, ipse noto.  
 Talibus in specie, quos deuiat error auare,  
 Non aliis ideo scripta sequenter ago.  
 Legis sub clamide latet ars, qua lex sine iure  
 Vertit vt est velle quolibet acta die ;  
 Causidici talem poterunt dum plectere legem,  
 Transformant verbis iura creata suis.  
 Iuris in effigie sunt omnia picta colore,  
 Quo magis occultum fert sibi lucra forum :  
 Iusta vel iniusta non curant quomodo causa

20

Stat, set vt illa lucris fertilis astet eis.  
Nunc cum causidicus aduerse ius fore partis  
Scit, tunc cautelas prouocat ipse suas:  
Quod nequit ex lege, cautelis derogat ipse,  
Cum nequeat causam vincere, vexat eam: 30  
Si tamen hanc vincat, mos exigit et modo prestat  
Legis sensati nomen habere sibi:  
Nam nisi cautelis laruare sciat sibi leges,  
Tunc dicent alii, deficit actus ei.  
Sic actus falsi leges confundere veri  
Preualet, et lucro plus capit inde suo;  
Sic cum causidicus fuerit sapiencior, auctis  
Legem cautelis opprimit ipse suis.  
Sic lex pro forma patet, et cautela perita  
Stat pro materia iuraque vincit ea. 40

Hec est linguosa gens, que vult litigiosa  
In falsis causis vociferare magis.  
Vult sibi causidicus seruare modum meretricis,  
Que nisi sit donum nescit amare virum,  
Est et, vt ipse vides, semper venalis ad omnes;  
Aurum si sibi des, corpus habere potes.  
Cuius enim generis aut ordinis est homo nusquam  
Curat, dum poterit quicquid habere lucri.  
Vt via communis astat Rome peregrinis,  
Qui veniunt sanctis reddere vota locis; 50  
Est ita vulgaris domibus via causidicorum,  
Qua graditur populus donaque reddit eis.  
Nam velut antiqui iustos strinxere tiranni,  
Qui renuerunt diis reddere thura suis,  
Sic modo causidicus vicinos stringit auarus,  
Qui sunt inviti ferre tributa sibi,  
Sic video populos modo sacrificare coactos  
Causidico legis, ne male fiat eis.  
Diuerse gentes, vt sufficit ipsa facultas,  
Munera diuersa dant sibi sepe noua: 60  
Conuenit immo tibi, donum si deficit auri,  
Munus vt argenti des reuerenter ei;  
Si tamen argentum non est, exennia prebe  
Illi, quem saciat est quod in orbe nichil.

Singula que terra bona gignit, et ether in alto,  
 Seu mare, de dono querit habere tuo;  
 Ex omni parte, sic post, sic congregat ante;  
 Dum tamen omne capit, nil tibi retro dabit.

Non vno volucres laqueo set pluribus auceps  
 Carpit, nec pisces vnicus hamus habet;  
 Lex in non leges iam transmutata nec vnum  
 Rethe, set in lucrum recia mille parat.

Vndique casus adest legis, quo pendulus hamus  
 Aurea de burse gurgite dona capit;  
 Non via talis erit qua non scrutabitur auri  
 Arte vel ingenio, vi vel amore, lucrum.

Contextat tenues subtilis aranea telas,  
 Possit vt hiis predas illaqueare suas;

Si veniat musca volutans, cadit ipsa retenta,  
 Nisus et a medio transiet absque malo;

Quod volat ex alis euadet fortibus illud,  
 Voluitur et laqueis debile quicquid adest.

Causidicus cupidus pauidos de lege propinquos  
 Voluit et illaqueat condicione pari;

Ignauum populum, cuius defensio nulla est,  
 Opprimit, et legis rethe coartat eos;

Plebs cadit in telas simplex, hominique potenti  
 Recia causidici dant lacerata viam.

Vespere pronus humi vespertilio volat, vti  
 Pennis pro pedibus in gradiendo solet;

Sic cuius mentem terrena sciencia ditem  
 Efficit, huic volucris se facit esse parem;

Iste velut circa terram volutat, quia veri  
 Luminis ignarus terrea sola rapit.

Dicitur in noctem subtilis noctua visu

Esse, nitente die luce minore frui;

Hanc imitantur auem legis qui sunt sapientes,  
 Vt mala noctis agant, nec bona lucis habent.

Sepius illa tamen quam preda rapit sibi mors est,  
 Dum latet occulto finis habendus ei:

Improuisus adest cum pullos tollere miluus,  
 Esurit, et fraude fraus sua sepe cadit:



Sic capiens capitur, sic qui vorat ipse voratur,  
Infelix hamum quo capietur amat.

Hic loquitur de causidicis et aduocatis illis, qui vicinum  
populum depredantes, ex bonisque alienis ditati, largissimas  
sibi possessiones adquirunt: de quibus tamen, vt dicitur, vix  
gaudet tercius heres.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Plusquam Cilla maris rapiens sibi deuorat vndas,  
Causidicus patriam deuorat ipse suam;  
Plus cane qui siluis predam sibi querit in amplis,  
Causidicus lucrum querit habere suum;  
Nec canis hic predam plus stringit, dum capit illam  
Dentibus, vt carnes deuoret ipse suas, 110  
Quin plus causidicus stringit de lege clientem,  
Munus vt argenti possit habere sibi.  
Vt solet ancipiter trepidas vrgere columbas,  
Causidicus gentes vrget et angit eas:  
Vt tremit agna pauens, nouiter que saucia canis  
Est euasa lupis, nec bene tuta manens;  
Vtque columba suo madefactis sanguine plumis  
Horret adhuc vngues, heserat illa quibus;  
Sic pauet a laqueis oppressus causidicorum  
Pauper, et inde sui clamat in aure dei. 120

Vulnera plebeia medicus desiderat, vt sic  
Det dolor alterius munera leta sibi;  
Gentes causidicus discordes optat, vt ipse  
Prospera de lite gentis habere queat.  
Ex hoc quod perdis lucratur, sique lucreris,  
Hinc tecum partem querit habere suam;  
Cum plenam dextram teneat, tunc ipse sinistram  
Tendit, que sibimet insaciata manet.  
Sic quacumque via furit Eurus, semper in aura  
Velum tranquillum gestat ad omne fretum: 130  
Sic viget ex auro oculus pregnans alieno;  
Quod male concepit, peius id ipse parit:  
Nam modus est legis cito cum locuplex fore nummis  
Possit, tunc terras appetit ipse nouas.

Vt constricta fame lupa more suo catulorum  
Querit habere suos lata per arua cibos,  
Sic cum causidico sit proles aucta, per omnes

Machinat insidias, de quibus auget opes.  
 O sine tunc requie conspirans nocte dieque,  
 Vt capiat lucrum, temptat vbique forum; 140  
 Tuncque domos domibus, campos iungit quoque campis,  
 Vellet vt hiis per se solus in orbe fore:  
 Sic rapiens oua fouet vt perdix aliena,  
 Set de fine patet quid sibi iuris habet.  
 Que pater in studio quesuiuit vix sibi magno,  
 Dissipat in vicio filius ipse cito;  
 Et que fraude sua sapiens mundi cumulata  
 Strinxerat, hec stultus laxat abire vagus;  
 Sic male quesitis non gaudet tercius heres,  
 Set rapit hec mundus que dedit ipse prius. 150  
 Causidico fore ve patet ex dictis Ysaïe,  
 Namque domum vidue dissipat ille male.

Hic loquitur de causidicis et aduocatis illis, qui quanto  
 plures sunt in numero, tanto magis lucra sicientes patriam  
 deuorant, et iuris colore subtilia plectentes, suis cautelis in-  
 nocentem populum formidantem illaqueant.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Cum fuerint tribuli summe maioris aborti,  
 Sunt blada depresso facta minora solo;  
 Cum magis atque suis Sus fuderit vbera natis,  
 Est macies lateris macrior acta Suis.  
 Cum magis et numerum lex auget causidicorum,  
 Tum gemit in patriis plebs spoliata magis.  
 Vt blada que mersa torrens supervndat aquarum,  
 Vellit et extirpat quicquid adheret humo, 160  
 Concio lege rapax sic multiplicata virorum  
 Lucra, superficies que tenet orbis, habet.  
 Non valet esse salus, medicus dum vulnerat egros,  
 Addit et ad dampnum dampna furore suo;  
 Sic, vbi causidici causas sine iure revoluunt,  
 Esse quies longo tempore certa nequit.  
 Sunt ita continua presentibus ista diebus,  
 Vix vt ab hoc morbo sanus abibit homo.  
 Aurea dum leges lanx ponderat, equa statera  
 Non erit, hoc et opus iura moderna docent. 170  
 Scribitur, os auri Crisostomus ipse gerebat;

Sub sermone latens illa figura fuit :  
 Aurea de facto gestant tamen ora potentes  
 Causidici, qui nunc aurea cuncta vorant.  
 Pondere subtili species venduntur, vt emptor  
 Circumventus eo nesciat inde forum ;  
 Est tamen ecce modo pondus subtilius, in quo  
 Venduntur verba legis in arte sua.  
 Quicquid agant leges, hominis lex interioris  
 Gestat ab interius iudicis illud onus : 180  
 Omnia dat gratis dominus, set legis auarus  
 Sermonem nullum dat nisi vendat eum.  
 Si bene promittant, totidem promittere verbis  
 Ius foret, et pactis pacta referre suis :  
 Hii tamen ante manum, quicquid de fine sequetur,  
 Sepius inmerito premia ferre petunt.  
 Sic magis obliqua lanx nescit pondera iuris,  
 Quo ruit in tortam, que foret equa, viam ;  
 Sic solet iniustum fieri sub nomine iusto,  
 Quod foret et fidum, fit magis absque fide : 190  
 Causidici legem proponunt esse beatam,  
 Concludunt set eam facta per ipsa malam.

De ligno quicquid rectum si vir sibi sumat,  
 Ad visum claris subdet et illud aquis,  
 Apparet tortum sibi quod fuit ordine rectum ;  
 Sic ad propositum lex agit ecce meum.  
 Nam si causidico modo dicam ius manifestum,  
 Quod michi iusticia nulla negare potest,  
 Ipse suum lucrum conspirans quicquid ad ipsum  
 Dixero subuertet, multa pericla mouens ; 200  
 Conficit ex mellis dulcedine fellis amarum,  
 Vrtice similem fingit et esse rosam,  
 Et velut ex flatu Basiliscus toxicat oris  
 Aera, quo peste proxima vita perit,  
 Est quod plus sanum, sic ius vir iuris ad aures  
 Inficit ex verbis, plenus in ore dolis :  
 Et sic vulpis ouem terret predoque viantem  
 Predat, sicque dolus cogit abire fidem.  
 Micius est lapso digitum supponere mento,  
 Mergere quam liquidis ora natantis aquis : 210



Miror eo, causas inopum qui lege tueri  
Deberet, cicius aggrauat auctor opus.

Sompnia perturbant quam sepe viros sine causa,  
Non res set sompno visa figura rei;  
Sic tibi causidicus fingens quam sepe pericla,  
Est vbi plus rectum, diuaricabit iter:  
Mente tibi loquitur dubia, nam nemo dolose  
Mentis securis vocibus esse potest;  
Questio precedit, rationem fallere pergit,  
De quo non dubitat te dubitare facit: 220  
Incutit ipse tibi ficta sic lege timorem,  
Vertat vt in brutum de ratione virum:  
Ex oculis primum dabis, vt retinere secundum  
Possis, dum causam lex regit ipsa tuam.  
Causidici nubes sunt ethera qui tenebrescunt,  
Lucem quo solis nemo videre potest:  
Obfuscant etenim legis clarissima iura,  
Et sua nox tetra vendicat esse diem;  
Istis inque viris perdit sua lumina splendor,  
Verum mentitur, fraus negat esse fidem. 230  
Lex furit et pietas dormit, sapiencia fallit,  
Pax grauat, et lites commoda queque ferunt:  
Et sic lex legis a ledō ledis in isto,  
Et ius a iurgo, tempore iura legit.  
Vnio set populi firmo si staret amore,  
Causidici vanus tunc foret ille status.

Est bona lex in se fateor, tamen eius inique  
Rectores video flectere iura modo.  
Non licet, vt dicunt, quod conspiracio fiat,  
Non tamen hoc faciunt quod sua iura docent: 240  
Contra causidicum si quid michi lex det agendum,  
Et peto consilium iuris habere meum,  
Tunc dicunt alii, nolunt obstare sodali;  
Sic ledunt, set eos ledere nemo potest.  
Sic sibi causidicus mundi perquirat honores,  
Subuertens lingue iura vigore sue:  
Castiget reliquos lex quos vult, non tamen ipsos,  
Quos deus aut mundus nescit habere probos.

Hic loquitur qualiter isti causidici et iuris aduocati, in sua gradatim ascendentes facultate, Iudicisque aspirantes officium, iudicialis solii tandem cacumen attingunt; vbi quasi in cathedra pestelencie sedentes, maioris auaricie cecitate percussi, peioris quam antea condicionis existunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Est Apprenticius, Sergeantus post et Adultus,

Iudicis officium fine notabit eum.

250

Si cupit in primo, multo magis ipse secundo,

Tercius atque gradus est super omne reus;

Et sic lex grauibus auri moderatur habenis,

Quod modo per iustas non valet ire vias.

Libera qualis erat lex non est, immo ligatam

Carcere nummorum ceca cupido tenet:

Aurea ni clauis dissoluerit ostia clausa,

Eius ad introitum nullus habebit iter.

Nil manus in pulsu, nil vox clamore iuuabunt

Te cum lege loqui, qui sine claue venis:

260

Dux tibi si nummus non sit, conducat et ipse

Custodes legis, cassus abire potes.

Et sic causidicus causam, iudex neque iustum

Iudicium cernit, dux nisi nummus erit.

Sunt tria precipue, quibus est turbacio legis,

Vnde sui iuris. perdit vbique locum;

Munus, amicitia, timor, hec tria iure negante

Pacta ferunt, quod eis obstat in orbe nichil.

Dicit enim Salomon oculos quod Iudicis aurum

Cecat, et est ratio contaminata lucro;

270

Scimus et hoc omnes, qui iudicis extat amicus,

Perdere iudicio nil valet ipse suo.

Nouimus hoc eciam, tangat si causa potentem,

Cernere iusticiam dat timor inde fugam;

Horrendasque minas iudex non sustinet ipsas,

Sepius et precibus flectitur absque minis:

Litera magnatis dum pulsat iudicis aures,

Tollit vis calami debita iura sequi.

Set super omne modo sibi ve, qui pauper egendo

Quid petit in lege, dum nequit ipse dare!

280

Publica sunt ista nobis, quod lege moderna

Pauperis in causa ius negat acta sua.

Sic ego non video mea que sunt, set dubitando  
Auribus attonitis quero cauenda malis.

Ecce dies in qua, fuerat que iuris amica,  
Nunc magis econtra lex gerit acta sua :  
Larua tegit faciem, confundit glosaque textum,  
Vertit et in logicam lex variata scolam ;  
Absque tamen numero sunt legis in orbe scolares,  
Plurima sunt folia, fructus et inde minor. 290  
Nomine sub iusto quam sepe nephanda parantur,  
Subque dolus facie plurima iuris agit :  
Qui magis in causis discernunt talibus orbem,  
Crimina sunt cautis ista timenda viris.  
Grandia per multos tenuantur flumina riuos,  
Alueus et sterilis sic vacuatur aquis :  
Pluribus expensis patitur thesaurus eclipsim,  
Fit, nisi preuideat, sepeque diues inops :  
Sic humus ista breui ditissima tempore pauper,  
Excessus legum ni moderetur, erit. 300  
Tollere nodosam nescit medicina podagram,  
Sic nec auaricie lex medicamen habet.  
Est mea bursa potens, lex inde subacta silebit,  
Preueniens auro singula iura fugo :  
Aut si magnatis michi curia sit specialis,  
Nil opus est legum viribus, ipse loquor.  
Continuata diu sic vlcerat illa cicatrix,  
Non habet vltcrius iam noua plaga locum.

Hic loquitur quasi per epistolam Iudicibus illis directam, qui  
in caduca suarum diuiciarum multitudine sperantes, deum adiu-  
torem suum ponere nullatenus dignantur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. O qui iudicia vite mortis quoque rerum

Clauditis in manibus apreciata lucris, 310  
De qua iusticia vosmet saluare putatis,  
Cum sit lex aliis vendita vestra dolis ?  
O dilectores mundi falsique potentes,  
Terre quique deos esse putatis opes,  
O qui mundanos sic affectatis honores,  
Est quibus assidua sollicitudo comes,  
Discite precipitem quia sepius ardua casum



Expectant que leui mobilitate cadunt.  
 Sepius alta cadit ventorum flatibus arbor,  
 Planta satis placido permanet atque gradu : 320  
 Aerias alpes niuibuscandescere scimus,  
 Quas subito torquent frigus et omne gelu ;  
 Est ibi ventorum rabies seuissima, dumque  
 Temperiem gratam proxima vallis habet.  
 Sic vobis numquam desunt aduersa, potentes,  
 Nec pax est vobis certa nec vlla quies.

Dic michi diuitibus si quando defuit hostis :  
 Quin magis hos quassat sepe ruina grauis.  
 Non dat securos nec ebur nec purpura sompnos,  
 Paupertas vili stramine tuta iacet : 330  
 Perdere quo possunt, torquet timor omnis auaros,  
 Vanaque sollicitis incutit vmbra metus.  
 Auri possessor formidat semper, et omnem  
 Ad strepitum fures estimat esse prope ;  
 Arma, venena timet, furtum timet atque rapinas,  
 Fiduciam certam diues habere nequit.  
 Hunc, dum querit opes, cruciat miseranda cupido,  
 Cum iam quesitas cepit habere, timor.  
 Sic igitur miser est, dum pauper querit habere,  
 Et miser est diues, perdere dumque timet. 340  
 Dum iacet in plumis, vigilans mens aspera sentit,  
 Feruet enim variis exagitata dolis :  
 Dicit, ' Habere volo vicini pauperis agrum,  
 Est etenim campus proximus ille meis.'  
 Sic fugat a domibus pupillos iste paternis,  
 Insequitur viduas iudiciisque premit :  
 Deliciis fruitur de rebus pauperis iste,  
 Dampna set alterius computat esse nichil.  
 Si posset mundum lucrari, quis deus esset,  
 Vltius scire nollet in orbe deum. 350

Iudex, nonne tui fulgor tibi sufficit auri,  
 Vt careat tenebris mens tua ceca tuis ?  
 Apropias aurum tibi fertile, nec tamen vmquam  
 Ad sterilem vitam respicis ipse tuam.  
 Iusticie montes Iudex vix ardua purus  
 Scandit, dum mundi rebus onustus erit.

Agrorum fines longos extendere queris,  
Nec reputas vite tempora curta tue.  
Quid petis argentum tibi? spem quid ponis in aurum?  
Sunt nam communes omnibus orbis opes. 360  
Sepius ista dei data conspicias hostibus esse,  
Ante deum nulla laus et habetur eis:  
Ista paganus habet, Iudeus, latro cruentus;  
Crede quod iratus sepe dat ista deus.  
Parua puto, quecumque malos contingit habere,  
Non est prauorum copia grande bonum.  
O quociens vir iustus eget, scelerosus habundat,  
Hic set non alibi, ius quia regnat ibi.  
Dilectus domini moritur, dum viuit adulter,  
Non tamen hii Cristi sunt in amore pares: 370  
Egrotat iustus, dum sanus floret iniquus,  
Fine tamen proprium quisque reportat onus.  
Si tamen in mundo iudex sibi ferre salutem  
Possit, non curat quid sibi finis erit.

O qui cuncta cupis, cur temet deseris? Omne  
Est quod in orbe tenes, set neque temet habes.  
O qui scis alios non te, tu notus ad omnes,  
Non tibi quid prodest illa sciencia, nil.  
Te noscas igitur primo, me nosce secundo,  
Rectum iudicium sic sapienter age. 380  
Omnia que mundi sunt diligis, omnia Cristi  
Linqvis, et ex nichilo credis habere satis:  
Tu celum perdis, mundum lucraris, inane  
Corpus supportas, spiritus vnde cadit.  
Est tibi perfectum vanum, tibi mobile firmum,  
Talis enim iudex non bene sentit opus:  
Edificas turres, thalamos nouitate politos,  
Quicquid et est orbis plus deitate colis:  
Edificas ampla, fossa clauderis in arta,  
Quo medium frontis ostia clausa prement. 390  
Quid vestes referam, lectos vel iudicis edes,  
Quorum luxuries nescit habere pares?  
Qui modo prospiceret habitacula queque fuerunt,  
Alterius nouiter diceret illa Iouis.  
Gloria nonne tuis erit aut tibi pompa perhennis,  
Quas facis in domibus, dum tua lucra rapis?

En cecidit Babilon, cecidit quoque maxima Troia,  
Romaque mundipotens vix tenet illa locum.

Omnis habet subijum mundana potencia finem,  
Atque fuga celeri deserit ipsa suos : 400

Iudex, ergo time, magnos qui scandis honores,  
Teque ruinoso stare memento loco.

Omne quod est mundi tibi carum transiet a te,  
Inque tuis meritis iudicat ipse deus :  
Equaque lex domini tunc que modo cernis ineque  
Discernet, que tibi pondera iusta dabit.

Cum te terribilis exactor missus ab equo

Iudice sulphurei merget in yma laci,

Prodolor! infelix tunc, quamuis sero, dolebis,

Talibus in falsis spem posuisse bonis : 410

Gemma vel argentum nec ibi descendet et aurum,

Nec fragilis mundi gloria lapsa breui.

Iudicibus populi vanum tamen est quod in ista

Materia scripsi; perdita verba dedi :

Que nam iusticia, que vel sit Iudicis equa

Conditio, non est tempore visa modo :

Iusticiarius est; sub tali nomine fallit,

Qui sine iusticia nomen inane gerit.

**Hic loquitur de errore Vicecomitum, Balliuorum, necnon et  
in assisis iuratorum, qui singuli auro conducti diuitum causas  
iniustas supportantes, pauperes absque iusticia calumpniantur  
et opprimunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. Nunc eciam vicecomitibus quid dicere possum?

Numquid in assisis dant nocumenta viris? 42

Macra fit hec causa, de qua viget vnccio nulla

Distillans, vt eis vncta sit inde manus :

Legis in assisa si sint tua dona recisa,

Ius perit et causa scinditur inde tua;

Si tamen assessa sint pre manibus tua dona,

Tunc potes assisis sumere lucra tuis.

Vtque bouem, precio qui stat conductus aratro,

Sic tibi iuratos munere ferre vales :

Hii tibi proque tuis vendent periuria nummis,

Sic aurum iura vincit in vrbe mea : 430



Diuitis iniustam causam sic cerno quietam,  
 Et iustam causam pauperis esse ream.  
 Non comes a vice, set vicio comes accipit ortum,  
 Iuris auaricie fert tamen ipse vices.  
 Sic dico vicecomitibus, quod munere victi  
 Communi populo dant nocumenta modo:  
 Nec sibi iurati sapiunt quid, sit nisi lucri,  
 De sale conditum quod dabis ante manum:  
 Causidici lanam rapiunt, isti quoque pellem  
 Tollunt, sic inopi nil remanebit oui.  
 Sic ego legiferis concludens vltima primis,  
 Dico quod ex bursa lex viget ecce noua;  
 Vt margaritas si porcus sumat in escas,  
 Sumunt legiferi sic modo iura sibi.

440

Vendere iusticiam quid id est nisi vendere Cristum,  
 Quem Iudas cupido vendidit ipse dolo?  
 Numquid adhuc Iude similis quis viuit in orbe?  
 Immo sibi plures viuere credo pares.  
 Namque semel Iudam talem committere culpam  
 Nouimus, hunc et eo penituisse lego;  
 Nunc tamen vt merces vendunt communiter omnes,  
 Gaudentes lucrum sic habuisse suum.  
 Rettulit hoc precium Iudas quod cepit iniquum,  
 Nec liquet hinc veniam promeruisse suam:  
 Nunc erit ergo quid hiis, vendunt qui iura sinistris,  
 Est quibus hora fori cotidiana quasi?  
 Vt vorat et stricte tenet ipsa vorago gehenne,  
 Nec redit vllus homo liber ab ore suo,  
 Sic modo qui vendunt leges que premia carpunt,  
 Hec valet a manibus tollere nemo suis;  
 Et quia sic similes inferno suntque tenaces,  
 Credo quod infernus fine tenebit eos.

450

460

Quid seu Balliuis dicam, qui sunt Acherontis  
 Vt rapide furie? Tu magis inde caue.  
 Quo portas intrant, prenostica dampna figurant,  
 Cunctis namque viis ve comitatur eis.  
 Vt Crati bufo maledixit, sic maledico  
 Tot legum dominis et sine lege magis.

Hic loquitur quod sicut homines esse super terram necessario expedit, ita leges ad eorum regimen institui oportet, dummodo tamen legis custodes verum a falso discernentes vnique quod suum est equo pondere distribuunt. De erroribus tamen et iniuriis modo contingentibus innocentiam Regis nostri, minoris etatis causa, quantum ad presens excusat.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Pro transgressore fuerant leges situate,

Quilibet vt merita posset habere sua: 470

Nunc tamen iste bonus punitur, et alter iniquus,

Dum viget ex auro, iustificatur eo.

Omnia tempus habent et habet sua tempora tempus,

Causaque sic causas debet habere suas.

Quid mare conferret, altis dum fluctuat vndis,

Sit nisi nauis ei quam vehit vnda fluens?

Set quid fert nauis nisi nauta regens sit in illa?

Quid valet aut nauta, si sibi remus abest?

Quid mare, quid nauis, quid nauta, vel est sibi remus,

Sit nisi portus aquis ventus et aptus eis? 480

Gens sine lege quid est, aut lex sine iudice quid nam,

Aut quid si iudex sit sine iusticia?

In patria nostra si quis circumspicit acta,

Hec tria cernit ibi sepe timenda michi.

Omnia dampna grauant, set nulla tamen grauiora,

Quam cum iusticiam iustus habere nequit.

Ex iniusticia discordia crescit, et inde

Cessat amor solitus, murmurat atque domus:

Murmur si veniat, venit et diuisio secum,

Terraque diuisa non bene stabit ea; 490

Et quodcumque sit hoc per se quod stare nequibit,

Ve sibi, nam subito corruet absque modo.

Testis enim deus est, dicens quod regna peribunt

In se diuisa, credoque dicta sua.

Ergo videre queunt quotquot qui regna gubernant,

Nostre pars sortis maxima spectat eis.

Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achiui,

Nam caput infirmum membra dolere facit:

Cap. vii. *Heading* 5 ff. innocentiam—excusat] omnipotens qui cuncta discernit causas melius nouit G (*ras.*) D (*Heading om.* L)

476 quem S

493 *No paragr.* S

Dux si perdat iter, errant de plebe sequentes,  
 Et via qua redient est dubitanda magis. 500  
 Propter peccatum regis populi perierunt,  
 Quicquid et econtra litera raro docet;  
 Regia set bonitas fert plebi gaudia pacis,  
 Nam deus ad sancti regis agenda fauet:  
 Si viciosus enim sit rex, quia lex nequit, ipsum  
 Vult punire deus, qui super omne potest.  
 Expediens populo foret vt bene viueret omnis  
 Rex, iacet in manibus sors quia bina suis:  
 Vna salus populi rex qui bene viuit habetur,  
 Plebis et in pestem rex malus acta parit; 510  
 Eius enim scelera constat magis esse nociua,  
 Cuius habent populi condita iura sequi.

Cum sit maior homo, sunt plus sua crimina tanto;  
 Dum cadit ex altis, leditur inde magis.  
 Plures cerno reos, magis attamen omnibus ipsos,  
 Legiferi qui sunt et sine lege manent.  
 Cum sine lege furit regni viciata potestas,  
 Esse nichil toto tristius orbe potest:  
 Sanccius esse pecus animoque capacius ipso  
 Estimo, qui iura dat neque seruat ea. 520  
 Imperium Regis non solum bella triumphis  
 Ornant, set leges seruet vbique bonas.  
 Nonne domus poterit componere se sine lignis;  
 Set sibi quid ligna, si nec acuta foret?  
 Set quid acuta valet, nisi persistens operantis  
 Vnitis causis sit manus artificis?  
 Hec sibi si fuerint coniuncta, per omne iuuabunt,  
 Et si diuisa, pars sibi nulla iuuat.

Terra quid est sola, populus nisi sistat in illa?

*After 522 D has the following:—*

Regis namque modus alios moderatur, et omnis  
 Iuris ad officium dicitur esse caput.  
 Si bonus esse velit Rex, hii qui sunt bonitatis  
 Sunt magis edocti condicione sua:  
 Si malus esse velit, simili Rex sorte clientes,  
 Vt sibi complaciant, eligit, ornat, amat.  
 Iamque supercreuit dolus et defecit honestas,  
 Sentit et opprobrium, quod fuit ante decus.

*Then l. 522 (repeated) and 523 ff.*



Quid populus ve sibi, rex nisi regnēt ibi? 530  
 Est quid rex, nisi consilium fuerit sibi sanum?  
 Sunt quid consilia, rex nisi credat ea?  
 Attamen in nostra sic stat diuisio terra,  
 Quod sibi quisque suam iam legit ire viam:  
 Conciues hodie discordia vexat in vrbe,  
 Extinguit quod ius quilibet alterius;  
 Nec lex campestris est iam memorata magistris,  
 Set qui plus poterit, ipse magister erit.  
 Nunc clerus populum, populus culpat quoque clerum,  
 Et tamen in culpa perstat vterque sua: 540  
 Invidus alterius nunc culpat quemlibet alter,  
 Parsque suum proprium nulla reformat iter.  
 Si videas vtrumque statum, dices quia certe  
 In magnis lesi rebus vterque sumus.

Nunc magis in specie vox plebis clamat vbique  
 Pectore sub timido que metuenda fero.  
 Curia que maior defendere iura tenetur,  
 Nunc magis iniustas ambulat ipsa vias:  
 Infirmo capite priuantur membra salute,  
 Non tamen est medicus qui modo curat opus. 550  
 Est ita magnificus viciorum morbus abortus,  
 Quod valet excessus tollere nulla manus:  
 Sic oritur pestis, per quam iacet obruta virtus,  
 Surgit et in viciū qui regit omne forum.

545-580 *Text SCEHGDL As follows in TH<sub>2</sub>*

Nunc magis ecce refert verbi clamantis ad aures  
 Vox, et in hoc dicit tempore plura grauant.  
 Crimen et, vt clamat, fert maius curia maior,  
 Que foret instructor, legibus extat egens.  
 Ad commune bonum non est <modo> lingua locuta,  
 Immo petit proprii commoda quisque lucri. 550\*  
 Agmen adulantum media procedit in aula,  
 Quodque iubet fieri, curia cedit eis:  
 Set qui vera loqui presumunt, curia tales  
 Pellit, et ad regis non sinit esse latus.

536 vterius SH (v nearly erased in S)

545\* magis om. T

549\* modo om. TH<sub>2</sub>

552\* iubent H<sub>2</sub>

Rex, puer indoctus, morales negligit actus,  
 In quibus a puero crescere possit homo:  
 Sic etenim puerum iuuenilis concio ducit,  
 Quod nichil expediens, sit nisi velle, sapit.  
 Que vult ille, volunt iuuenes sibi consociati,  
 Ille subintrat iter, hiique sequuntur eum: 560  
 Vanus honor vanos iuuenes facit esse sodales,  
 Vnde magis vane regia tecta colunt.  
 Hii puerum regem puerili more subornant,  
 Pondera virtutum quo minus ipse gerit.  
 Sunt eciam veteres cupidi, qui lucra sequentes  
 Ad pueri placitum plura nephanda sinunt:  
 Cedunt morigeri, veniunt qui sunt viciosi,  
 Quicquid et est vicii Curia Regis habet.  
 Error ad omne latus pueri consurgit, et ille,  
 Qui satis est docilis, concipit omne malum: 570  
 Non dolus immo iocus, non fraus set gloria ludi  
 Sunt pueris, set ei sors stat aborta doli.

---

Stat puer immunis culpe, set qui puerile  
 Instruerent regimen, non sine labe manent:  
 Sic non rex set consilium sunt causa doloris,  
 Quo quasi communi murmure plangit humus.  
 Tempora matura si rex etatis haberet,  
 Equaret libram que modo iure caret: 560\*  
 Regis namque modus alios moderatur, et omnis  
 Iuris ad officium dicitur esse caput.  
 Si bonus esse velit rex, hii qui sunt bonitatis  
 Sunt magis edocti condicione bona:  
 Si malus esse velit, simili rex sorte clientes,  
 Vt sibi complaciant, eligit, ornat, amat:  
 Hoc set eum tangit discretum quem probat etas,  
 Non puerum, quia tunc fit sibi culpa minor  
 Non est nature lex nec rationis, vt illud  
 Quod mundum ledit sit puerile malum; 570\*  
 Non dolus, immo iocus, non fraus set gloria ludi,  
 Sunt pueris, nec ibi restat origo mali.

555 negligit S respuit CEHGD. 564 virtum H  
 561\* omnes TH<sub>2</sub> 564\* magis om. T 566\* complaciant H<sub>2</sub>

Sunt tamen occulte cause, quas nullus in orbe  
 Scire potest, set eas scit magis ipse deus:  
 Nescit enim mater nato que fata parantur,  
 Fine set occultum clarius omne patet.  
 Talia vox populi conclamat vbique moderni  
 In dubio positi pre grauitate mali:  
 Sic ego condoleo super hiis que tedia cerno,  
 Quo Regi puero scripta sequenda fero.

580

Hic loquitur quod, exquo omnes quicumque mundi status  
 sub regie magestatis iusticia moderantur, intendit ad presens  
 regnatura iam Regi nostro quandam epistolam doctrine  
 causa editam scribere consequenter, ex qua ille rex noster,  
 qui modo in sua puerili constituitur etate, cum vberiores  
 postea sumpserit annos, gracia mediante diuina, in suis  
 regalibus exercendis euidencius instruatur. Et primo dicit  
 quod, quamuis regalis potencia quodammodo supra leges  
 extollatur, regiam tamen decet clemenciam, quod ipse bonis  
 moribus inherendo, quasi liber sub iusticie legibus se et  
 suos in aspectu Regis altissimi assidue gubernet.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. Cumque sui Regis legi sit legius omnis  
 Subditus, et toto corpore seruit ei,  
 Est ita conueniens quod eum de corde fideli  
 Mentis in affectu legius omnis amet:  
 Regis et est proprium, commissam quod sibi plebem  
 Dirigat, et iusta lege gubernet eam.  
 Hinc est, quod normam scriptis de pluribus ortam  
 Regis ego laudi scribere tendo mei.  
 O pie rex, audi que sit tua regula regni,

---

Dixit enim Daniel, quod de senioribus orta  
 Exiit impietas, quam furor orbis habet:  
 Omne quod est mundi vicium plantant veterani,  
 Et quasi de peste spersa venena serunt.  
 Horum namque scelus fertur maculare figuras  
 Tocius mundi, quo furit ira dei.  
 Iamque supercreuit dolus et defecit honestas,  
 Sentit et opprobrium quod fuit ante decus.

580\*

Cap. viii. *Heading* 3 regnatura] excelentissimo T (*text over erasure* SCHG)  
 doctrine causa] in eius honore T (*text over erasure* SCHG)

576\* de peste H<sub>2</sub> depiste T

579\* supercernit T

deficit T



Concordans legi mixtaque iure dei. 590  
 Legum frena tenens freno te forcius arce;  
 Dum nullum metuis, sis metus ipse tibi:  
 Namque timor, virtus humilis, fugit omne superbum,  
 Et quasi virtutum clauiger esse solet.  
 Est tibi, rex, melius quod te de lege gubernes,  
 Subdere quam mundi singula regna tibi:  
 Est propter mundum tibi subdita sors aliorum,  
 Tu propter celum subditus esto deo.  
 Vt tibi deseruit populus de lege subactus,  
 Cristi seruiciis temet ad instar habe: 600  
 Vincere te studeas, alios qui vincis, et omnes  
 Excessus animi subdere disce tui:  
 Iustificans alios cupias te iustificare,  
 Iuraque dans plebi, des ita iura tibi.

Qui superas alios, temet superare labora;  
 Si rex esse velis, te rege, rex et eris.  
 Qua fore se regem poterit ratione fateri,  
 Mentis qui proprie non regit acta sue?  
 Non valet hoc regimen aliis conferre salutem,  
 Dum sibi non fuerit rector, vt esse decet. 610  
 Dum tibi cuncta licent, ne queras cuncta licere,  
 Res etenim licite noxia sepe ferunt:  
 Tu super es iura, iustus set viue sub illis,  
 Spesque tui nobis causa salutis erit.  
 Est mors ira tua, potes id quod non licet, et te  
 Prestita vota tamen ducere iuris habent:  
 Quod licet illesa mentis precordia seruat,  
 Omne tamen licitum non probat esse probum:  
 Quod licet est tutum, set que potes illa sub arto  
 Discute iudicio fultus honore tuo. 620  
 Micius acta regas, aliter nisi causa requirat;  
 Asperitas odium seuaque bella mouet.  
 Non te pretereat populi fortuna potentis  
 Publica, set sapiens talia fata caue.  
 Vita Pharaonis et gesta maligna Neronis,  
 Que iusto regi sunt fugienda docent.

O bone rex iuuenis, fac quod bonitate iuuentus  
 Sit tua morigeris dedita rite modis.

Quid tibi forma iuuat vel nobile nomen Auorum,  
 Si viciis seruus factus es ipse tuis? 630  
 Doctor Alexandri Magni prauos sibi mores  
 Primitus edocuit, dum puer ipse fuit:  
 Rex puer hec didicit, que post dum dedidicisse  
 Temptauit, primus obstat abusus ei:  
 Vicit Alexander Darium simul et Babilonem,  
 Set nequit impressum vincere corde malum.  
 Nuper in exemplis scripserunt sic sapientes,  
 Quod prius imbuerit, testa tenere solet:  
 Rex, igitur cicius viciosos pelle remotos,  
 Nam vix turpe vetus nescit abire foras. 640  
 Plaude bonis, fuge prauorum consorcia, labem  
 De pice tractata contrahit egra manus.

Hic loquitur qualiter rex sibi male consulentes caucius  
 euitare, proditoresque regni sui penitus extinguere, suorum  
 eciam conditiones ministrorum diligencius inuestigare, et quos  
 extra iusticiam errantes inuenerit, debita pena corrigere debet  
 et districcius castigare.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. Sordibus implicitos falsosque cauebis amicos,

Qui tua deposcunt, te nec amare volunt:  
 Blanda dolosorum fugias per verba leuari,  
 Ne speciale tuum nomen ad yma ruant:  
 Verba nimis leuiter audire que credere dicta  
 Sepe supervacuus cogit inire metus.  
 Vir qui bella mouet, qui predas consulit, et qui  
 Conspirat taxas plebis habere tue, 650  
 O rex, oro tuas quod claudas talibus aures,  
 Ne tua nobilitas lesa fatiscat eis.  
 Consilium regale tuum vir nullus auarus  
 Tangat, set tales mortis ad instar habe.  
 Illud in orbe malum non est, quod cordis auari  
 Non latet in cella, dum sitit inde lucrum:  
 Ambulat in tenebris, opus exercet tenebrarum,  
 Odit et impugnat nil nisi pacis opus.  
 Qui mel in ore gerens, set habens in corde venenum,  
 Pacis habet verbum, mente notando malum, 660

Cap. ix. *Heading* 1 rex om. C

652 fatescat H

658 impugnat S

Hic est versutus, inimicis regis amicus,  
Semper venalis, dum vacat ipse lucris;  
Vipereum genus et vanum plenumque veneno,  
Fraudibus, insidiis, artibus arma parat:  
Semper in insidiis sedet incautisque nocere  
Temptat, et occulto fabricat ipse dolos.  
Hic rimans animos hominum secreta reuelat,  
Et similis Iude fabricat acta sua.

Qui te sollicitat, rex, et subuertere temptat,  
Qui te persuadet soluere iussa dei, 670  
Quis sit et ipse vide, qualis vel condicionis,  
Aut tibi si vera dicere verba velit.  
Discute mente prius animum temptantis, et audi  
Si vel constanter vel dubitanter agat,  
Si tibi preponat dubium, mendacia fingens:  
Semper deprendi verba dolosa timent.  
Cum sit causa doli, pie rex, tu credere noli,  
Si quis agat praue, tu sua facta caue.  
Multus non credit, nisi cum res noxia ledit;  
Ante manum sapiens prouidet acta regens: 680  
Decipiuntur aues per cantus sepe suaues;  
Blande, rex, lingue mellea verba fuge.  
Rex, bona digna bonis da premia, rex, et iniquis  
Que sua promeruit premia culpa dabis:  
Latro bonus veniam Cristo miserante meretur,  
Penam promeruit in cruce latro malus.  
Obsequium prauum trahit e manibus graue donum,  
Que sunt facta suo fine notabit homo.

Si scelus vlcisci ratio certissima poscit,  
Iustus in hoc casu quod decet illud age. 690  
Ficta tibi pietas non mulceat aspera iuris,  
Vlcio iudicium compleat immo tuum:  
Sepe pericla fera fert iudicis vlcio tarda,  
Destruit ille bonos qui sinit esse malos.  
Diuersas penas diuersis addito culpis,  
Mille mali species, mille salutis erunt.  
Iudicii signum gladius monstrare videtur,  
Proditor vt periat, rex tenet arma secus:  
Rex iubeat tales laqueo super alta leuari,



Ne periat Regis legis et ille status.  
 Rex, age, ne plebis furiens discordia dicat,  
 'Lex caruit rege iura paterna regens':  
 Absit et hoc vulgo ne dicat, iure remoto,  
 Quod nichil auxilii principis vmbra facit.  
 Fraus cum fraude sua periat de morte remorsa,  
 Vt stet iusticia regia laude tua:  
 Sic dicant populi, 'Sit semper gloria regi,  
 Quo bona pax vigit, quo reus acta luit.'

700

Precipitur gladius vibratus semper haberi,  
 Promptius vt crimen iudiciale ferat:

710

Ense quiescente, compescere non valet orbem;  
 Qui regnare cupit sanguine iura colat.  
 Arma ferunt pacem, compescunt arma rapacem,  
 Vt reus hec timeat, rex probus arma gerat;  
 Nomine subque tuo ledant ne forte quirites,  
 Plebem te tenero corde videre decet:  
 Si vis namque tuos non castigare ministros,  
 Crimen habet culpe regia culpa sue.  
 Euolat ancipiter ad predas, lucra suisque  
 Deseruit dominis in rapiendo cibos:  
 Sic sunt qui regi famulando suos et ad vsus  
 Tollunt pauperibus dampna ferendo nimis.  
 In prece pondus habet pauper qui clamat egenus  
 Ad dominum, memor est pauperis ipse sui.  
 Sicut enim presul, qui custos est animarum,  
 Pondus in officio debet habere suo;  
 Compotus vtque suus, sic stabit et vltima merces,  
 Gloria vel pena perpetuatur ei;  
 Rex ita qui nostrum moderaris legibus orbem,  
 Dona tuis meritis conferet equa deus.  
 Posse tuum grande, rex, est, que potencior ille,  
 Omne tuum cuius dextera librat opus.

720

730

Hic dicit quod rex sano consilio adhereat, ecclesie iura  
 supportet et erigat, equus in iudiciis et pius existat, suamque  
 famam cunctis mundi opibus preponat.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. Sperne malos, cole prudentes, compesce rebelles,

700, 705 periat SHT pereat CEDL

Cap. x. *Heading 2* supportet erigat et defendat D

Da miseris, soutes respue, parce reis.  
 Quicquid agas, vicio numquam mergatur honestum;  
 Fama lucro, rebus preficiatur opus.  
 Nil tibi, rex, fingas pro mundo, quo reputeris  
 Iustus apud procures et reus ante deum:  
 Ecclesiam studeas multa pietate fouere,  
 Cuius enim precibus vult diadema geri. 740  
 Pauperis et vidue dum cernis adesse querelas,  
 Iudicium miseris cum pietate geras.  
 Expedit interdum sanccita remittere legum,  
 Ne periat pietas de feritate tua:  
 Indulgere tuis tua sic dignetur honestas,  
 Nam puto sepe deum viuere velle reum.  
 Par quoque portet onus sic nobilis atque colonus,  
 Et nichil archanum polluat ante manum.  
 Ardua si causa tibi sit, videas, quia certe  
 Tarda solet magnis rebus inesse fides. 750  
 Rebus in ambiguis tu certum ponere noli,  
 Fallitur augurio spes bona sepe suo:  
 Est magis humani generis iactura dolori,  
 Nescit principium quid sibi finis aget.  
 Dum tibi suadet opus tractare negocia regni,  
 Consilium regat hoc cum seniore senex.  
 Ibit in occasum quicquid dicemus ad ortum,  
 Lingua loquax habitum nesciat ergo tuum.  
 Consilium prauum regalem turbat honorem,  
 Prouocat inque scelus que bona pacis erant. 760  
 Iura dabit populo senior, discretaque iustis  
 Legibus est etas vnde petatur honor.  
 Est satis ille senex, cuius sapiencia sensum  
 Firmat in etate, sit licet ipse minor.  
 Non stabiles animos veteres fatuam ve iuuentam  
 Comprobo, non etas sic sua iura dedit:  
 In sene multociens stat condicio iuuenilis,  
 Dum iuuenis mores obtinet ipse senis.  
 Caucius ergo statum videas, pie rex, ad vtrumque;  
 Vnde legas homines, tu prius acta proba. 770  
 Qui tibi seruicium prebet nec inuutilis aurum  
 Appetit, hic seruus debeat esse tuus:

Dulcius est mercede labor qui regis honorem  
 Spectat, et in tali spem tibi ferre potes.  
 Est qui pacificus, est vir qui iuris amicus,  
 Liber auaricie, largus ad omne bonum,  
 Vtere consilio tali, pie rex, vt habundet  
 Cronica perpetue laudis in orbe tue.  
 Fama volans gratis, nullo soluente catenas,  
 Proclamat meritis ista vel illa tuis : 780  
 Nomen, crede, bonum gasas precellit, honorem  
 Conseruat, remouet scandala, laude viget :  
 Tange bonum florem, dulcem prestabit odorem,  
 Sic virtusque viri fragrat vbique boni.  
 Consule doctores legis, discede malorum  
 A conuenticulis, concomitare bonos :  
 Vt granum de messe tibi, de fonte salubri  
 Pocula, de docto dogmata mente legas.

**Hic loquitur qualiter regiam libertatem in viciorum nulla-  
 tenus decet incidere seruitutem, set sicut coram populo alios  
 excellit potencia, ita coram deo pre ceteris ampliori virtutum  
 clarescat habundancia.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Gloria nulla, precor, te, rex, extollat inanis,  
 Tedia nam populis vita superba parit. 790  
 Musca nocet modica, modicis sis prouidus ergo,  
 Non faciunt tutos regia ceptra suos :  
 Exiguus magnum vicit Dauid ille Goliath,  
 Nam virtus humilis corda superba domat.  
 Cristus amans humiles leuat, et de corde superbos  
 Obruit, ergo pie, rex, tua regna rege.  
 Sit tibi credibilis sermo consultaque verba,  
 Quo, quibus et quando, sicut oportet agi :  
 Vt scriptura fidem tuus addat sermo per aures,  
 Verba minus certi ficta timoris habent. 800  
 Mocio, rex, in te subito non irruat ire ;  
 Causas iusticie set moderanter age :  
 Ira mouens animum tollit sibi vim rationis,  
 Et discreta sue mentis agenda negat.



Mors et vita tuis manibus de lege feruntur,  
 Prouidus in causis te decet esse magis :  
 Nulla cupido tuam valeat corrumpere famam,  
 Immo tuis donis gaudeat omnis humus.  
 Seruus auaricie non debet nobilis esse  
 Rex, set. erit regis liber vbique status.

810

Larga tuis meritis inopes elemosina curet,  
 Qua poteris regem pacificare deum :  
 Fac bona queque potes modico dum tempore viuis ;  
 Multa metes, si nunc semina pauca seris.  
 Da tua non parce, cui des tamen aspice caute ;  
 Crede, satis res est ingeniosa dare :  
 Non perit hec probitas que dona rependit honeste,  
 Namque piam laudem res data dantis habet.  
 Sepe iuuat, nec eo minor est substantia ponti,  
 Qui modicam pleno flumine sumit aquam :  
 Sic tua rite iuuat miseros elemosina sumpta,  
 Nec erit argenti sic tua summa minor.  
 Si quis amore dei miseris sua dona ministrat,  
 Munera tempus habent, fama perhennis erit.  
 Scindantur vestes, gemme frangantur et aurum,  
 Porrige pauperibus que dedit ante deus.  
 Est ancilla dei simplex elemosina, mortis  
 Antitodum, venie porta, salutis iter :  
 Disputat aduersus dantis peccata, perorat  
 Auctori, redimit probra, precatur opem.  
 Peccatum mors est anime, mors debita pena  
 Peccato, set in hoc mens pia delet eam.

820

830

Absit culpa gule tibi, rex, nam regis honestas  
 Omnis mundicie debet honore frui :  
 Illud enim viciū primeuum labe parentem  
 Dampnauit, fragilis quo cadit ipse reus :  
 Hostis in hoc vicio Cristum temptauit, et ipse,  
 Qui rex est verus, respuit illud opus :  
 Ecce Saül pugnare volens ieiunia cunctis  
 Imposuit, donec hostica tela domet.  
 Rex, tibi pigriciem pellas et motibus obsta  
 Carnis, et ad mores arripe fortis iter :  
 Regius vtque status plebem supereminet omnem,  
 Nobilis in gestu sic magis ille foret.

840

O tener annorum, dolus in quo nullus habetur,  
 Simplex nobilitas, perfida tela caue:  
 Etas namque doli non te sinit esse capacem,  
 Non te vultque tuum degenerare genus.  
 Sunt tibi forma, genus, honor, ordo, decus que potestas;  
 Contulit hec ortus libera dona tuus: 850  
 Teque sequantur ita laus, virtus, gracia morum,  
 Et sic plenus homo, rex pie, viue deo.

Hic loquitur qualiter rex a sue carnis voluptate illicebra specialiter se debet abstinere, et sub sacre legis constitutione propter diuinam offensam sue coniugis tantum licito fruatur consorcio.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. O super omne fuge, pie rex, ne ceca voluptas  
 Carnis ad illicebra prouocet acta tua;  
 Sponsus set propria de legibus vtere sponsa,  
 Nec spolies sacrum laudis honore thorum.  
 Nulla vetus scriptura docet regum quod ab euo  
 Stant Venus et regnum pacificata simul:  
 Intendat Veneri quod homo simul et rationi,  
 Numquam possibile creditur illud opus. 860  
 Pluribus exemplis tibi luxus erit fugiendus;  
 Biblia que docuit, respice facta Dauid:  
 Involuit regem processu temporis error,  
 Eius dum rapuit cor mulieris amor:  
 Quis dolor inde fuit, seu que vindicta secuta,  
 Terret adhuc animum qui legit illa viri.  
 Sit tibi culpa Dauid speculum, speculeris in illo,  
 Casus vt alterius te super alta leuet:  
 Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum,  
 Precauet vnde vias quas videt ante manum. 870  
 Respice, dum populum fraus nulla valebat Hebreum  
 Vincere, femineus vicit amore dolus.  
 Exemplis Balaam docearis, quomodo regem  
 Ipse Balak docuit, qualiter ecce fuit.  
 Consilium dedit ipse Balak, qua turbet Hebreos  
 Arte, quibus frangat hostica bella dolis.

849 *decorque C*Cap. xii. *Heading 1 illicebra CE (so also below)*873 *Exemplo C*

'Accipe, rex,' inquit, 'quo consilio potes vt i:  
 Non vincit populus viribus ille suis;  
 Immo colendo deum corpusque gerendo pudicum,  
 Vincere semper habet ille per ista duo. 880  
 Vt superes illum non Marte set arte, puellas  
 Elige, quas ornat vestis et oris honor;  
 Que manibus plaudant, pede ludant, noctibus ignem  
 Spirant, plectra gerant, astra decore premant:  
 Non rigor armorum set lusus pugnet amorum,  
 Non acuum ferrum, set muliebre forum:  
 Sic species vincat acies, sic arma virorum  
 Forma puellarum sub pede victa terat.  
 Celestis sic ira dei consurget in illos,  
 Sic victor populi leta trophea feres.' 890

Rex hoc consilium credens dedit esse, puellas  
 Preparat insignes sidereasque genas:  
 Prelia mira parat, arcu non arcet Hebreos,  
 Non ferit hos ferro nec feriendo fugat:  
 Pugnat non equitum loriceis, set nec equorum  
 Loris, immo liris femineisque choris.  
 Hec canit, hec ludit, hec adiuuat arte decorem,  
 Vt gemino vultu fallat in ore decor;  
 Per faciem iacit ista facem, vomit hec per ocellos  
 Sintillas, profert illa per ora fauos: 900  
 Hee species animos predantur plebis Hebreæ;  
 Peccant, peccantes opprimit ira dei.

Rex tibi sume notam, quam te docet experimentum,  
 Et vetus exemplum det tibi scire modum.  
 Rex, et in exemplis regis concerne Saülis,  
 Femina dum superest, qualia mira potest:  
 Demonis arte potens Maga suscitât illa prophetam,  
 Regis et ad nutum stare coegit eum.  
 Corpora que poterat sibi subdere mortua, viuos  
 Arte magis facili subderet illa viros. 910  
 Qui premunitur non fallitur, ergo cauendum  
 Est tibi, rex, corpus vt sine labe regas.  
 Rex es, regina satis est tibi sufficit vna;  
 Hanc tibi consocias, sic docet alma fides:



Rex, ita si fugias viciorum pondera, mores  
Et teneas, poteris quicquid habere velis.

**Hic loquitur et ponit magnifico iam regi nostro Iuueni nuper Serenissimi Principis patris sui exempla, dicens quod, vbi et quando necessitatis illud exigit facultas, rex contra suos hostes armorum probitates audacter exerceat, et quod ille nulla aduersitate constanciam sui vultus videntibus aliis amittat.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. Est tibi, rex, aliud, quod sis defensor in armis

Plebis ; et vt iura de probitate tegas,  
Huius in exemplum reminiscere facta paterna,  
Cuius adhuc vigilans laus vbicumque sonat. 920  
Numquam de terra nomen delebitur eius,  
Precellunt armis Hectoris arma sua ;  
Inque suam laudem que tuam mea scripta reuoluo,  
Vt probitate memor sit tibi patris honor.  
Iustus erat iustos, probus vnde probos sibi legit,  
Nec sinit vrticas commaculare rosam :  
Confluit in donis non parce dona merenti,  
De largo corde fit sibi larga manus :  
Extera depredat loca, set sua propria seruat,  
Et sibi commisse prospera plebis agit. 930  
Eius enim laudes si nos cantabimus omnes,  
Omnia sunt meritis ora minora suis :  
Nulla suum meritum poterit complectere fama,  
Vox minor est omnis laude ferenda sua.  
Vt breuitate loquar, tantus princeps fuit ille,  
Laudantum poterit quantus ab ore cani.

Francia sentit eum, recolens Hispannia vires,  
Vnde subegit eam de probitate, timet.  
Turbans hostiles turmas mediosque per hostes  
Irruit, et rumpit more leonis iter : 940  
Vt lupus ipse fame strictus dispergit ouile,  
Hos premit, hos perimit, hos secat hosque necat.  
Sobrius in gestis semper fuit ille, set hostis  
Sanguine sepe suus ebrius ensis erat :  
Pugnat et impugnat expugnans acriter hostes,

Cap. xiii *Heading* 4 exerceat C exerciat L

945 Pugnat et impugnat expugnans CEDL Pugnat et impugnat  
expugnans S Pugnat et impugnat expugnans HGT

\*\*\*\*

Vaginam siccus mucro subire negat :  
 Fit satur hostilis hostili sanguine mucro,  
 Armorum pascit sanguinis vnda sitim  
 Intra vaginam mucro torpere recusat,  
 Euomitur gladius eius ab ore foras. 950  
 Sicut aper querulis siluis latratibus actus  
 Letifero celeres conterit ore canes,  
 Sic magis audaces prope se quos attingit hostes,  
 Fulmineo gladii triuit in ore sui.  
 Singula perdomuit fera prelia more leonis ;  
 Depopulans populos forcia castra ruit :  
 Vt predas raperet, audax descendit in hostes,  
 Hostica sunt eius colla subacta manu :  
 Colla superborum premit eius dextra per orbem ;  
 Sic leopardus eo dicitur esse leo. 960

Terra quieta fuit sub tali principe magno,  
 Non terret gladius quos tegit illa manus :  
 Sub ficu, sub vite sua, sub fronde, sub vmbra,  
 Quisque manet tutus nobilis ense ducis :  
 Sic robusta sua virtus plus surgit in altum,  
 Plus viget hoste suo, plus probitatis habet.  
 O rex, facta tui retine tibi patris, vt illa  
 Laus, quam promeruit, sit tribuenda tibi.  
 Audaces fortuna iuuans consummat in actum  
 Que sibi vult animus, et pociora dabit. 970  
 Pax super omne bonum scandit, set quando probata  
 Bellum iura petunt, illud oportet agi :  
 Est tempus belli, sic sunt et tempora pacis,  
 Actibus in cunctis tu moderamen habe.  
 Hector, Alexander, fuerant dum nobiliores,  
 Sistere disparibus non potuere rotis :  
 Acta patris vince, maiorque vocaberis illo,  
 Totaque vox clamet laudis honore tue.  
 Rebus in aduersis ne laxes frena timori,  
 Si dolor in mente sit, sine teste dole : 980  
 Si dolor incurrat animum, simulacio vultum  
 Erigat, et facies contegat inde metum :  
 Vultus iocundus timor hostibus est et amicis  
 Gloria, nam facies nuncia mentis erit.

Hic loquitur, quod absque iusticie experta causa rex bellare non debet. Dicit insuper quod regie congruit dignitati, discreto tamen prouiso regimine, magis amore quam austeritatis rigore suos subditos tractare.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. Alta petens aquila volat alite celsius omni,

Et regem mundum corde figurat ea.

Vt sacra testantur citharistea scripta prophete,

In celum tales cor posuere suum.

Pennatum Grippes animal pedibusque quaternis

Invitos homines carpit et horret equos:

990

Designatur in hoc facinus crudele potentum,

Qui mortes hominum cum feritate vorant.

Est igitur melius aquile tibi sumere formam,

Rex, vt amore pio regna quieta regas,

Griphis quam specie populum terrere pauore,

Semper enim superat acta timoris amor.

Non omnis qui timet amat, set amans timet omnis;

Plebs in amore manens plectit vtrumque simul.

Omnia vincit amor, amor est defensio regis,

Gloria plebis amor, laus et in orbe deo:

1000

Plebs est regis ager, rex cultor qui colit agrum;

Si male, fert tribulos, si bene, grana parit.

Qui bene regis agit regimen, rex est, set inique

Qui regit in viciis, ipse tyrannus erit.

Si rex de prediis viuat, maledicchio plebis

Murmurat, et regi mota fit ira dei.

Lucratur populum que deum rex iustus vtrumque,

Statque per hoc regni firma corona sui.

Tange tuum pectus, pie rex, quo sumere possis

Regis ad imperium que meliora parant:

1010

Si te nobilitas generosaque nomina tangunt,

In genus exemplum fer magis ipse tuum:

Nomine perspicuo cum sis generosus auorum,

Equipares stirpis moribus acta tuis.

Hoc in honore dei communi voce precamur,

Vt gemines animi nobilitate genus.

Pars sit in aspectu tibi quem deus equiparauit

Natura, precio, condicione pari:

987 cytharistea CE citharistea D citheristia L 993 aliquile S  
1001 agrum] illum C



Disceque cunctorum quod sit communis origo,  
 Ortus et occasus vnus, et vna caro. 1020  
 Nobilis est mentis quisquis virtute refulget,  
 Degener est solus cui mala vita placet;  
 Mores namque bonos veneratur curia celi,  
 Et celum iustus, non generosus, habet.  
 Esto memor, quod fratris amor tibi cuncta ministrat,  
 Datque tibi solus omnia fratris amor:  
 Fratris amor transit terrena, superna resumtis  
 Viribus ascendit, astra polumque petit:  
 Noticiamque dei dum querit, ad astra volare  
 Non timet, vt videat quis deus ipse Syon, 1030  
 Quis rex immensus et que sit visio pacis,  
 Quis ve locus celi, gloria quanta dei.  
 Ista decent regem meditari, sit quod in illis  
 Aprior vt reddat debita iura deo.  
 Noscere te studeas et amare deum, duo namque  
 Hec sunt, que tibi, rex, scire necesse iubet.  
 Hec est condicio sub qua tibi contulit esse  
 Viuendique modum conditor ipse tuus.

**Hic loquitur secundum Salomonis experienciam, quod ceteris  
 virtutibus ad regni gubernaculum preualet sapiencia, que deo  
 et hominibus regem magis reddit acceptabilem.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. O pie rex iuuenis, iuuenili quid Salomoni  
 Contigit intende, sis memor vnde tui: 1040  
 Hic bis sex puer annorum cum sacra dedisset  
 Dona deo, meruit nocte videre deum:  
 Quem deus alloquitur, 'Pete quod vis munus,' et inquit  
 Ille, 'Peto sensum, quo mea regna regam.'  
 Regia diuino placuerunt verba fauori,  
 Responsumque deus reddidit istud ei:  
 'Non plures annos nec opes nec ab hoste triumphos  
 Quesisti, dentur que petis ergo tibi:  
 Non solum sapiens, set diues eris super omnes,  
 Quos habuit mundus, quos vel habere potest.' 1050  
 O bene si speculo, rex, te speculeris in isto,  
 Quid magis expediens sit tibi scire potes.  
 Hiis tamen exemplis patet vt sapiencia regis  
 Ad regimen plebis est adhibenda prius.

Annus et annus abit, semper sapientia stabit;  
 Stans super hanc petram non cadet vlla domus.  
 Res est grata senem iuueniliter esse iocosum,  
 Gracior est iuuenem moribus esse senem.

Qui gressu morum sequitur quo vult deus, illum  
 Precedit que suas firmat vbique vias.

1060

Mane precare deum, quod leta dies tibi plaudat,  
 Vespere, quod tutus tempora noctis agas:

Nam rex qui summo se vult submittere regi,  
 Optinet in regno cuncta petita suo.

In manibus regum regalia ceptra tenentur,  
 Vt quasi per virgam cuncta nociua fugat.

O rex, ergo tue tua legi debita solue,  
 Corporis ac anime quod sit honoris age:

Sume bonos, depelle malos, sis iuris amator,  
 Sis pius et populum dirige lege tuum:

1070

Set lex vt prosit, accedat gracia legi

Per Cristum, sine quo lex bona nulla datur:

Sit tibi iuris honor, timor excicii, pudor almus,  
 Simplicitas animi, proximitatis amor.

Rex, ita si sapiens sapias sapienter ad omnes,  
 Tunc sapis in Cristo regna sapore bono.

**Hic loquitur qualiter celi deus, qui est rex regum et dominus  
 dominancium, a regibus terre pura mente precipue colendus est  
 et super omnia metuendus.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. O rex, quicquid habes dedit hoc deus, et nichil a te

Est quod habes proprium, vel quod habere potes:

Esse creaturam te nosce dei, nec ab eius

Tu discede viis, si bene stare velis.

1080

Nobile corpus habes et singula membra decora,

Sit virtus animi sic magis illa tibi:

Vt foris est forma tibi splendida, splendeat intra

Mens tua, quod tibi, rex, sit decor ille duplex.

Labile forma bonum, species inimica pudoris

Vtile virtutum sepe retardat iter:

Forma dei munus, forma pars multa superbit,

Non tamen in sanctis stat viciata viris:

Non tibi forma deum set mens sincera meretur,

Iusticie soli vita beata datur.

1090

Non decet in rege quod mens contraria forme  
Sit, set ab interius exteriora regas.

Qui tibi regna tulit, alii quo te venerantur,  
Rex, in honore dei da tua vota deo.

Qui pius est Cristo, regi nichil ingruit hostis,  
Subdita fortune sors magis immo fauet.

Si cupis vt timeant hostes tua ceptra, superni  
Ceptra dei timeas, tuque timendus eris:

Sit tibi celsithronus metuendus ab arce polorum,  
Cuius ad imperium flectitur omne genu.

1100

Hic ruit, exaltat, infirmat, firmat et orbem,  
Singula fertque sua regia corda manu:

Hic est rex in quo regnant per secula reges,

Hic est rex sine quo regna subacta cadunt,

Hic est rex per quem mors fine suo rapit omnes  
Reges, reddit eos actibus atque suis.

Magnus erat Cesar totoque potencior orbe,  
Nunc quem nec mundus ceperat, vrna capit.

Sic et Alexander fortissimus ille Macedo

Clauditur angusto, pulvis et ossa, loco:

1110

Maior erat magno mundo, modo nobile corpus  
Exulis et victi vilis arena tegit.

Ecce diu res nulla manet mortalibus, ecce

Nullus honor prohibet, gloria nulla mori:

Non prosunt quicquam preconia vana sepultis,  
Torquent famosos tartara sepe reos.

O de preteritis, pie rex, memorare futura,

Et reputa firmum quod sit in orbe nichil:

Cumque tibi spacium vite conceditur huius,

Semper ad omne bonum viue paratus opus.

1120

Subditus esto deo, si tu vis vincere mundum:

Qui Cristo seruit, optima regna regit.

**Hic loquitur qualiter rex in caritate dei et proximi viuens,  
contra superuenientem mortem, que nulli parcit regi, omni se  
debet diligencia providere.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvii. Omnes de morte statuit natura timere,



Sub cuius lege terminat omne genus:  
 Doctus et indoctus, pauper que potens moriuntur,  
 Omnes fine pari mors facit esse pares.  
 Vnccio nil valet hic, nichil hic insignia rerum  
 Regia, non sanant nec medicamen habent:  
 Gloria nulla potest in mundi rebus haberi,  
 Nec quo se mundus tunc tueatur habet. 1130  
 Disce quod omnis honor oneri coniunctus adheret,  
 Est onus in fine maius honore tamen:  
 Cum magis excelsus fueris, magis adde timorem,  
 Ardua nam precepta gloria vadit iter.  
 Est hominis vita quasi milicies reputata,  
 Bella super terram nam tria semper agit:  
 Rex qui per medium belli transibit inermis,  
 Sepius incaute stulcius ipse cadit.  
 O rex, ergo tibi bene prouideas, quod iturus  
 Es, set ubi nescis, alta vel yma petens. 1140  
 Omnia leta vale tibi sunt dictura memento,  
 Pauperis et regis exitus vnus erit;  
 Nam nemo per se subsistere, nemo supremum  
 Securo poterit claudere fine diem.  
 Vt te de mundo moueas, bonus esse viator  
 Incipias, Cristi te sacra scripta monent:  
 Vt fugias hiemem scelerum, te floribus orna  
 Morum, virtutum luce choruscus eas.  
 Motus ab Egipto veluti tentoria tendis,  
 Ad patriam vite dum properare studes. 1150  
 Esto memor quod sis factus factoris ymago:  
 Cur? vt ei similis iure sequaris eum.  
 Expediit ergo tibi, totis vt viribus illum,  
 Qui te formauit teque redemit, ames.  
 Tanti regis opem, rex, ora, quod tibi vitam  
 Supleat et mortem muniat ipse tuam.  
 Fac ea que tibi vis, bona vel mala, sic et habebis,  
 Te tamen in melius dirigat oro deus.

Hic in fine regis epistolam breuiter concludit, dicens quod, sicut rex ex sue libertatis priuilegio sublimari et inde coram populo dominari magnificus affectabit, ita ad onus sui regiminis cum omni iusticia supportandum coram deo iustum et humilem se presentabit. Non aliter stabit regnum quod rex variabit.

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xviii. Regia maiestas veneracior est super omnes,  
 Dum probus in regno rex regit acta suo. 1160  
 Ipse deum primo placat, populique secundo  
 Corda trahit, mundum sic habet ipse bonum:  
 In terra pacem scrutatur et inuenit illam,  
 Quo celi regnum possidet ante deum:  
 Sic magnus mundo viuus, set maior olimpo  
 Mortuus, in Cristo regnat vtroque loco.  
 Ista bono regi bona de bonitate superni  
 Adueniunt; aliter non ita stabit iter.  
 Si rex sit vanus, sit auarus, sitque superbus,  
 Quo regnum torquet, terra subacta dolet. 1170

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*The chapter stands as above in SCEHG (over erasure in all except E): the original form is given by DTH<sub>2</sub>, and both forms (the original first) by LL<sub>2</sub>.*

Hic loquitur in fine istius Epistole, vbi pro statu Regis devocius exorat, vt deus ipsius etatem iam floridam in omni prosperitate conseruet, et ad laudem dei sui que et sibi commisse plebis vtilitatem feliciter perducatur in eum.

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. xviii\*. Rex celi deus et dominus, qui tempora solus  
 Condedit, et solus condita cuncta regit; 1160\*  
 Qui rerum causas ex se produxit, et vnum  
 In se principium rebus inesse dedit;  
 Qui dedit vt stabili motu consisteret orbis  
 Fixus in eternum mobilitate sua;  
 Quique potens verbi produxit ad esse creata,  
 Quique sue mentis lege ligauit ea;  
 Ipse meum iuuenem conseruet supplico Regem,  
 Quem videant sanum prospera Regna senem;  
 Ipse iuuentutem regat et producat in eum,  
 Semper et in melius dirigat acta deus. 1170\*

Omne quod est regi placitum non expedit illi,  
 Que sibi iura volunt, absque rigore licent:  
 Mira potest regis pro tempore ferre potestas,  
 Vana tamen finis comprobata acta satis.  
 Si positum lance sit onus cum regis honore,  
 Non honor est tantus sicut habetur onus.  
 Rex sibi commissas regni componere leges  
 Debet, et a nullo tollere iura viro:  
 Nunc tamen in plebe vox est, quod deficiente  
 Lege dolus iura vendicat esse sua: 1180  
 Sic bona iusticie fraus compta subintrat, et inde  
 Inficit occultam lex hodierna fidem.  
 Quo lex decessit, error sibi regna repressit,  
 Vnde decet regem ponere iuris opem.  
 O rex, ergo tui detergas crimina regni,  
 Et rege discretus que tibi suadet opus:  
 Perdita restaures communia iura, que leges  
 Ad regnum reuoca, crimen et omne fuga.

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Consilium nullum te tangere possit iniquum,  
 Rex nec in hac terra proditor esse tua;  
 Omne malum cedat, ne ledere possit, et omne  
 Est quod in orbe bonum, det deus esse tuum.

O tibi, Rex, euo detur, fortissime, nostro  
 Semper honorata ceptra tenere manu;  
 Assit et illa dies, qua tu, pulcherrime Regum,  
 Quatuor in niueis aureus ibis equis.  
 Qualis et Augusti nuper preconia Rome  
 Extiterant laudis sint renouanda tibi. 1180\*  
 Augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos,  
 Protegat et nostras aucta corona fores:  
 Stes magis, o pie Rex, domito sublimis in orbe,  
 Cunctaque sint humeris inferiora tuis.  
 Que magis eterne sunt laudis summus ab alto  
 Aurea det dextre fulgida ceptra tue:  
 Qui tibi prima dedit, confirmet Regna futuri,  
 Vt poteris magno magnus honore frui.



Si tibi subiectum cupias conuertere regnum,  
 Te prius in Cristo fac revenire deo: 1190  
 Postque tuum populum stabilem tibi pacificatum  
 Non vice terroris fac set amore magis.  
 Corda tue plebis ita dum pacienter habebis,  
 Nobilis in regno stabis vbique tuo:  
 Dumque tuas leges mixtas pietate gubernes,  
 Cuncta tue laudi gesta feruntur ibi.  
 Si tamen econtra rigidus tua verteris acta,  
 Vertet se populus qui solet esse tuus.  
 Hec tibi, rex, scribo pro tempore nunc que futuro;  
 Semper in ambiguo sors variatur humo. 1200

Quia, prout de communi voce audistis, modernorum  
 condiciones per vniuersum orbem erroribus vbique  
 mutantur, nunc de illorum condicionibus qui nos pre-  
 cesserunt, precipue in ecclesia, que iam diuisa est,  
 diuersitatem sub exemplis figuratam consequenter  
 videamus.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xix. Poma cadunt ramis, agitantur ab Illice glandes,  
 Marcescunt flores, defluit orta seges:

Sic tua processus habeat fortuna perhennes,  
 Vt recolant laudes secula cuncta tuas. 1190\*  
 Ad decus imperii, Rex, ista tui metra scripsi  
 Seruus ego Regni promptus honore tibi.  
 Hec tibi que, pie Rex, humili de corde parauit,  
 Scripta tue laudi suscipe dona dei:  
 Non est ista mea tantum doctrina, sed eius  
 Qui docet, et dociles solus ab ore creat.  
 O iuuenile decus, laus Regia, flos puerorum,  
 Vt valor est in te, sic tibi dico vale.

1189 O qui subiectum poteris tibi flectere regnum H O quam subiectum  
 poteris tibi flectere regnum CE 1190 Si prius in mundo sis pius ipse  
 deo C\*

Cap. xix. *Heading* Hic recapitulat quodammodo sub figuris et exemplis  
 tam veteris quam noui testamenti, in quibus pretendit quod eorum loco  
 qui in omni sanctitate legem dei et fidem Cristi primitus augmentantes  
 Ecclesiam colebant, et a diu mortui sunt, iam resurgunt alii precipue de  
 Clero, qui illam omni viciorum multitudine suffocantes corrumpunt DLTH<sub>2</sub>  
 (but multitudinem for multitudine)

1189\* perennes D

Proles granifera desistit reddere grana,  
 Irrita thura deo templa geruntque modo:  
 Qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo,  
 Pallet et hec gemma que renitere solet.  
 Nunc est quod Babilon super vrbes nobilitatur,  
 Nec manus est fidei talis vt obstat ei;  
 Ecclesieque nouis virtus iacet obruta sompnis,  
 Et Synagoga quasi fit modo sponsa dei. 1210  
 Nunc iustos veteres constat nec habere sequaces,  
 Omnes set morti preteriere boni:  
 Sique mali fuerant tunc temporis, ecce reuiuunt,  
 Dummodo consimilis mos sit in orbe malis.

Decidit in mortem Noë iustus, surgit et ille  
 Nembrot in arce Babel, spernit et ipse deum:  
 Mortuus estque Iaphet, operit patris ipse pudenda,  
 Set modo deridens Cham patefecit ea.  
 Mortuus est Abraham fidei primordia querens,  
 Belus adest, que deos fabricat ipse nouos. 1220  
 Mortuus est Ysaac, oritur genus vnde beatum,  
 Set modo degenerans Hismael obstat ei:  
 Mortuus estque Ioseph, erat ille pudicus, et Oza  
 Nunc sequitur carnem luxus amore suam.  
 Mortuus est Moyses veteri de lege refulgens,  
 Transgrediens Abiron viuuit in orbe tamen.  
 Quem deus elegit Aron mors morte subegit,  
 Fomes et inuidie dat thimiama Chore.  
 Mortuus est curru celum qui scandit Helias,  
 Infera qui meruit viuuit et ipse Dathan. 1230  
 Micheas moritur, viuuit nec in orbe secundus,  
 Qui modo veridicus audet obesse malis;  
 Nam Sedechias super omnes esse prophetas  
 Vendicat, et cuncti nunc famulantur ei.

1208 Text SCEHG Subditur ecce sibi vrbsque beata dei DTH<sub>2</sub> Both  
 forms given in LL<sub>2</sub> 1210 fit modo sponsa dei SCEHGL peruigil  
 obstat ei DTH<sub>2</sub> 1216 Nembroth CED 1219 primordia querens  
 SCGL scrutator et ecce EHDTH<sub>2</sub> 1220 Text SCGL qui diis dat  
 thimiama suis EHDTH<sub>2</sub> (que E) 1221 cui rite deus benedixit EHDTH<sub>2</sub>  
 1222 Nunc maledictus enim viuuit et ipse Caym EHDTH<sub>2</sub> 1223 f. et alter  
 Qui facit econtra regna moderna regit EHDTH<sub>2</sub> et alter Nunc sequitur  
 carnem nilque pudoris habet LL<sub>2</sub> 1225 Mortuus estque docens Moyses  
 EHDTH<sub>2</sub> (decens D) 1226 Ac Abiron murmur cum grauitate datur  
 EHDTH<sub>2</sub> 1230 Infera descendens EHDLTH<sub>2</sub>

Est nec Heliseus, Naaman neque fit modo sanus,  
 Vult tamen en Giesi sumere dona sibi.  
 Euolat ex archa modo nec redit ipsa columba,  
 Cuius enim coruus iam regit ipse vices.  
 Sic capit exempla nullus de lege vetusta,  
 Quo testamentum defluit ecce nouum.

1240

Dic vbi sunt illi qui nuper in ordine Cristi  
 Rebus et exemplis dogmata sancta dabant.  
 Mortuus est Petrus, stat Liberius modo, cuius  
 Custodit portas Simon in arte Magus.  
 Nuper conuersum de Saulo sencio Paulum,  
 Saulum de Paulo nuncque redire scio.  
 Gregorii scripta verbis seruanda iubemus,  
 Nostris set factis ipsa neganda damus.  
 Martini legimus donum, set diuitis aures  
 Nos surdas gerimus, quo bona nulla damus.  
 Dic vbi defunctis alter sit in orbe Thobias,  
 Dic vbi vel pietas corda moderna mouet.  
 Aduerso paciens, conuerso tempore mitis,  
 Iob fuit, et stabili mente remansit idem :  
 Nunc tamen econtra de prosperitate superbit  
 Omnis, et aduerso tempore murmur agit.

1250

Ordinis instructor nunc mortuus est Benedictus,  
 Set Iulianus adhuc viuit et obstat ei.  
 Fallit sal terre, non est in quo salietur,  
 Fetet ob hoc anima crimine carnis olens.  
 Non moritur granum, manet in se set modo solum,  
 Occupat et terram cardo que vastat eam :  
 Non manet in vite modo palmes, sic neque fructus  
 Fert ea, set sterilis sicca cremanda iacet.  
 Lux perit a Phebo stellarum lumine verso,  
 Et sinit eclipsim subdita luna suam.  
 Nunc nouus est Arius, nouus est quasi Iouinianus ;  
 Dum plantant heresim, dant dubitare fidem :  
 Ecce diem noctem dicunt, tenebras quoque lucem,  
 Iniustum rectum ; sic perit omne bonum.

1260

1270

Hic tractat quod, sicut virtuosus nuper in ecclesia existen-  
 tibus succedunt viciosi, sic et mundi proceribus omnis milicie



nuper de probitate famosis succedunt modo alii, qui neque  
diuine neque humane laudis digni efficiuntur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xx. Legis diuine si cultores abiere,

Sic procures mundi nunc abiere probi.

Mortuus est iustus Troianus, et ecce tyrannus

Iusta statuta modo deprimit ipse Nero :

Conditor et legum nunc Iustinianus abiuit,

Set Dionisius has dampnat habere suas.

Mortuus est castus probus atque Valentinianus,

Tarquinius ceptri iam regit acta sui.

Largus Alexander moritur rex nuper opimus,

Et modo successit Cresus auarus ei.

1280

Mortuus ille pius est Constantinus, et ecce

Antonius solio iam sedet ipse suo.

Ecclesie cultor Theodosius ipse recessit,

Successitque Leo, soluere vult et eam :

Insultor fidei Constancius acta prophanat,

Tiberiique modo deperit alma fides.

Mortuus est Iulius, qui regna subegit in armis,

Et Romam statuit omnibus esse caput.

Mortuus est Hanibal, per quem Cartago vigeat,

Iam neque Cartago, set neque Roma viget.

1290

Hector, in ense suo qui nuper erat metuendus,

Nunc magis est Heleno bella timente pauens :

Corruit Eacides, pro quo surrexit inermis

Tersites, que suus indiget ensis ope.

Mortuus est sapiens Salomon Roboasque reuiuít,

Quo superant iuuenes prouida dicta senum.

Distat amor Ionathe que Dauid modo dissociatus,

Ex odioque furit inuidus ipse Saül :

Consulit hic eciam modo Phitonem mulierem,

Dumque dei vacuum gracia linquit eum.

1300

Nunc induratum persistit cor Pharaonis ;

Sentit amara dei, nec timet inde deum :

Sic redit in vulnus nullo medicante cicatrix,

Que prius et tenuit sors mala, peior habet.

Consilium prauum nunc creditur Achitofellis,

Consulit et Cusay, quis neque credit ei :

Inuidiaque Ioab immunem iam necat Abner,

Nec sibi cum rege quem sinit esse parem.

Qui fuerat iudex Cato iustus ab vrbe recessit,  
 Pilatusque loco iudicat ecce suo. 1310  
 Nunc occisus Abel iustus fratris perit ense,  
 Approbat hoc licitum lex tamen esse modum :  
 Nunc Mardocheum suspensum cerno, set Aman  
 Eripitur laqueo, lex sinit ista modo.  
 Nunc iterum Cristus sine culpa fit crucifixus,  
 Et Barabas latro liber abibit eo.  
 Sic cadit et stratum ius nescit noscere iustum,  
 Nec virtus animi iam regit acta viri.

**Hic loquitur adhuc vltcrius super eodem, qualiter loco eorum  
 qui nuper casti fuerunt et constantes, surrexerunt modo alii,  
 qui huius seculi vanitatem concupiscentes pudoris constanciam  
 penitus amiserunt.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxi. Mortuus est vicia Socrates virtute restringens,  
 Dispensare quibus nunc Epicurus adest : 1320  
 Vana relinquendo nunc mortuus est Dyogenes,  
 Vanus et hunc mundum nunc Arisippus habet.  
 Mortuus est corpus castigans virgo Phirinus,  
 Mechus et Agladius viuut in vrbe nouus.  
 Mortuus est Troilus constanter amore fidelis,  
 Iamque Iasonis amor nescit habere fidem :  
 Solo contenta moritur nunc fida Medea,  
 Fictaque Crisaida gaudet amare duos.  
 Estuat in lumbis incasta Semiramis, et nunc  
 Vix si Cassandra casta manere queat : 1330  
 Mortua Penelope, sic est Lucrecia Rome,  
 Et regnant Circes atque Calipsa pares.  
 Ammodo Iustina, luxus que spreuit iniquos,  
 Transiit, et Thais fit resupina magis.  
 Nunc amor est Paridis communis in orbe quietus,  
 Vt sine nunc bello quisque fruatur eo.  
 Non Hymeneus in hiis conseruat pacta diebus,  
 Set Venus in thalamis reddit agenda suis :  
 Aurum sponsatur, vultuque decora paratur

1312 esse] ecce CE  
 HGLT

1313 Mardocheum S (corr.) CED Madocheum

Cap. xxi. *Heading* 1 adhuc om. CE

1334 Taysis CE

Ad thalamum Veneris pluribus apta viris.  
Mutua cura duos et amor socialis habebat  
Nuper, et vna tamen nunc sibi quinque trahit:  
Vt duo sint carne simul vna lex dedit olim,  
Ad minus inque tribus nunc manet ordo nouus.  
Nunc iubet ipsa Venus et habet sua castra Cupido,  
Custus et ad presens tempus abiuit amor.  
Ales habet quod amet; cum quo sua gaudia iungat,  
Invenit in media femina piscis aqua:  
Cerua parem sequitur, serpens serpente tenetur:  
Femina virque thoro sunt magis vna caro. 1340

Heus, vbi pacta fides? vbi connubialia iura?  
Responsis careo, que ferat alter homo.  
Ferrea frons laus est, nescit que signa pudoris,  
Et pudor a vicio desinit esse pudor:  
Quam solet inque genis ornare rubor muliebris,  
Absque pudore malo plus furit ipsa viro.  
Graculus ipsa quasi tacet, et quasi casta columba  
Se gerit, et paciens est tibi spina rosans:  
Vt laticem cribro, sic in muliere recondo  
Consilium, set eo scire potes quod amo. 1360  
Dum Iesabel regnat blando sermone pervngens,  
Qui fuerat Iosue, vertitur hic in Achab.  
Dum caput inclinat viciis, sibi subdita membra  
Succumbunt ipsis vi vel amore malis:  
Comptaque sic viciis stat florigerata voluptas,  
Est quoque virtutis flos pede trita viris.



Postquam de singulis gradibus, per quos tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus error vbique diffunditur, tractatum hactenus existit, iam secundum quorundam opinionem tractare intendit de pedibus statue, quam Nabugodonosor viderat in sompnis, quorum videlicet pedum quedam pars ferrea, quedam fictilis, in figura deterioracionis huius mundi extiterat, in quam nos ad presens tempus, quod est quodammodo in fine seculi, euidencius devenimus. Et primo ferri significacionem declarabit.

### Incipit liber Septimus.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. i. **Q**uod solet antiquis nuper latitare figuris,  
 Possumus ex nostris verificare malis :  
 Quod veteres fusca sompni timuere sub vmbra,  
 Iam monstrat casus peruigil ecce nouus.  
 Nunc caput a statua Nabugod prescinditur auri,  
 Fictilis et ferri stant duo iamque pedes :  
 Nobilis a mundo nunc desinit aurea proles,  
 Pauperies ferri nascitur atque sibi.  
 Non modo magnanimi volat inclita fama per orbem,\*  
 Cuius honor mundo congruit atque deo : 10  
 Non modo pauperibus spergit sua munera largus,  
 Nec fouet in mensa vix modo diues eos :  
 Vix pietate modo nudos quis vestit egenos,  
 Nec capit hospicio quos scit egere vagos.  
 Non manet obtrusis qui carcere vult misereri,  
 Sana nec infirmos que iuuat vlla manus :  
 Inter discordes antiquum fedus amoris  
 Non est ad presens qui reparare venit.  
 Nunc tamen esse duas specialius estimo causas,  
 Ex quibus hic mundus desinit esse bonus. 20  
 Harum luxuria reperitur in ordine prima,  
 Ex qua torpor hebes nascitur atque quies.  
 Sic causatur ea miles modo tardus ad arma,  
 Quem mulier thalamis mulcet amore suis ;  
 9 magnanimi CEHDL magnatum S

Et clauduntur ea cleri communiter ora,  
 Quod nequit ipse modo psallere vota deo.  
 Concilium Balaam nos vicit per mulieres,  
 Vnde deo moto plebs sua quassa perit.  
 Altera set causa nunc temporis astat auara,  
 Que fouet invidiam semper in orbe nouam. 30  
 Hec predat, pugnat, occidit iuraque falsat,  
 Quod nequit a bello pax reuenire suo :  
 Exterius domini tractant bona pacis auari,  
 Set tamen interius stant sibi bella prius.  
 Dum poterit guerra plus pace recondere lucra,  
 Nescit auaricia pacis amare bona :  
 Nec sinit invidia tua te michi ferre quieta,  
 Lacrima namque mea ridet in aure tua.  
 Nil tibi si populus plangat sua dampna subactus,  
 Dum commune malum dat tibi ferre lucrum. 40

Sic et auaricia procerum se subdere corda  
 Dicit, et hii dicunt subdere iura volunt :  
 Sic honor ingenuus descendit victus ab auro,  
 Ad loca iusticie nec revenire studet :  
 Sic patet ydropicus nummorum gustus auari ;  
 Dum bibit, inde sitis appetit ipsa magis :  
 Sic census non diues habet, set habetur ab ipsis,  
 Sic dominus seruo seruit et ipse suo :  
 Sic viget ipse foris diues, tamen intus egenus ;  
 Sic habet ipse nichil, dum nichil omne putat. 50  
 Saxea duricies mentisque liquescere nescit,  
 Nec pietatis ope soluitur inde gelu :  
 Pauperis in lacrimis deridet, vultque labore  
 Pauperis oppressi ferre quieta sibi.  
 Sic etenim nummis animus sepelitur auari ;  
 Hos habet ipse deos, nec scit habere deum.

Hic loquitur contra istos auaros omni ferro in hoc precipue  
 tempore duriores, quorum diuicie, nisi participentur, nullius, vt  
 dicit, possunt esse valoris.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ii. Heu ! quid opes opibus cumulat qui propria querit,  
 Cum se nemo queat appropriare sibi ?

Nil possessus habet, quia quisquis habetur habere  
 Nulla potest; se non possidet, ergo nichil. 60  
 Seruit habens habitis, nec habet set habetur, auarum  
 Census habet, domino predominantur opes.  
 Cum nequeas tuus esse, tuum nichil est; suus esse  
 Nemo potest, igitur est nichil hoc quod habes.  
 Si quis enim dominum rerum sibi subdit, et ipsa  
 Res serui domini dicitur esse sui:  
 Euicto seruo sequitur possessio seruuum,  
 Et cedunt domino seruus et eius opes:  
 Adquirat domino, nil adquirit sibi seruus;  
 Quicquid habet, dominum constat habere suum. 70  
 Seruus auaricie sibi non dominatur, abutens  
 Arbitrio proprio proprietate caret.  
 Cum proprium nichil esse scias, est danda facultas,  
 Queque retenta nocent, particulata iuuant.  
 Nullus enim poterit veraciter esse beatus,  
 Qui sua cum socio participare nequit.  
 Qui dare nulla potest, satis ipsum constat egere;  
 Cum desit cui det, diues egenus erit;  
 Diues in hoc quod habet, set semper egenus in illo,  
 Quod non sit cum quo participabit opes. 80  
 Si tibi sit rerum possessio larga, nec vllus  
 Sit tua cui dones, copia nulla tibi:  
 Si tibi sit facies, sit honor, sit forma, sit alta  
 Mens tibi, si tamen hoc nesciat alter, eges.  
 Dispensa quod habes, vt consulit vsus, ad vsum,  
 Non ad auaricie pabula confer opes:  
 Da nudis, da pauperibus de pinguibus vti;  
 Pingit amiciciam commoditatis amor.  
 Cum bona cuncta regas, vel ad esum sunt vel ad vsum;  
 Velle tuum rebus vttere sicut habes. 90  
 Instat auaricia set tanta modo, quod ad aures  
 Diuitis est nichilum quod mea scripta ferunt.  
 Non modo magnatos tantum fore constat auaros,  
 Hos set vulgares nouimus esse reos.  
 Vt gallina suum granis iecur implet habundum,  
 De minimis magnum sumit et ipsa cibum,



Striccus hic nummos imbursat et auget auarus,  
Nil sibi tam modicum, quin dat habere lucrum.

Iniungit proprio talis ieiunia ventri,

Vt pariat locus fercula plura suos.

100

Ferreus ille tenax sua seruat corde tenaci

Propria, quod nullus participabit eis;

Perdidit et cordis clauem, qua vult pietatis

Officium claudi, ne deus intret ibi.

Sic nequit ipse suis sibi sumere gaudia questis;

Omnia dumque tenet, nec sibi quicquid habet.

Pectora sic ferri gestant homines quasi cuncti,

Dum caput a statua decidit ecce sua.

Aurea que fuerant iam ferrea tempora constant;

Ferrea condicio sic manet inque viro:

110

Aureus atque modus probitatis, quem coluerunt

Patres, nunc cupido deperit ecce modo.

Plus cupiens miser est, non qui minus optinet; immo

Qui sibi contentus est, habet ipse satis.

Diuitis autem diuicias non dampno, set illas

Approbo, si dentur quando requirit opus:

Non quia diues habet nummos, culpabitur, immo

Se quia nec fratres non iuuat inde suos.

Si sibi larga manus foret, vnde pararet egenti

Partem, tunc laude mammona digna foret:

120

Se tamen vnde iuuat alios vel, diues in orbe

Vix hodie viuit, qui sibi seruat opes.

Sermo, 'Tene quod habes,' qui scribitur Apocalipsi,

Iam sua completi iura vigoris habet:

Iam noua sunt silicis circum precordia vene,

Et rigidum ferri semina pectus habet.

Pauperis ex clamore sonos non percipit, immo

Diues in auditu fingitur esse lapis.

Tempus erit quo tu, qui nunc excludis egentes,

Ibis in extrema pauper egendo loca.

130

Ad ferrum, secla, iam vos venistis ab auro,

Et magis est vile, nobile quicquid erat:

Posterior partes superatque cupido priores,

Nec scit honor solium, quod solet esse suum.

Hic loquitur de statue secunda parte pedum, que fictilis et fragilis erat, et de eiusdem partis significacione.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iii. Vltima per terras superest modo fictilis etas,  
 Vnde pedes statue dant michi signa fore.  
 Non cicius figuli fragilis nam fictilis olla  
 Rupta fit in testas, dum lapis angit eas,  
 Quin plus condicio fragilis temptata virorum  
 Rupta iacet vicii de grauitate sui. 140  
 Fictilis est laicus, set fictilior modo clerus  
 Eius in exemplis causat agenda malis:  
 Sic sacra scripta caro conscribitur vndique mundo,  
 Littera quod Cristi nulla videtur ibi.  
 Qui iubet vt carnem vincamus, cernere victum  
 Possumus, et doctum spernere dogma suum.  
 Clerus habet voce sibi nomen spirituale,  
 Spiritus in carnem vertitur ipse tamen:  
 Carnis enim vicia sunt sic communiter acta,  
 Quod de continuis vix pudet vsus eis. 150  
 Fit quasi nunc mulier hominis dominus que magister,  
 Vir fit et ancilla subdita, prona, pia:  
 Debilis in fortem ruit et vecordia vincit,  
 Qui foret et sapiens, fictilis ipse cadit.  
 Preuia dum clerus Veneris vexilla subibit,  
 Iam Venus a tota gente tributa petit.  
 Gallica peccata, nuper quibus hii ceciderunt,  
 Clamant iam nostras intitulare domos:  
 Nunc licet alterius sponsam quod quisque frequentet  
 Est status ingenui, dicitur illud amor. 160  
 Non erit hoc laicis vicium set gracia magna,  
 Dum sit adulterio magnificatus homo,  
 Dummodo sponsa stuprum perquirat adultera donis:  
 Soluet ob hoc sponsus, qui luet illud opus.  
 Sic se nunc homines vendunt, quasi sint meretrices,  
 Prospera dum Veneris larga sit illa manus:  
 Sic sub mendaci specie grossantur amoris,  
 Perque nephas tale lucra pudenda petunt.  
 Set qui de clero sponsam promotus adoptat,

Plura dabit Veneri, sit quod adulter ibi:  
 Pauper enim frater capit hic quod ibi dabit, et sic  
 Aut dans aut capiens proficit ille magis.  
 In causa fragili sic causat fictilis etas,  
 Quo nunc de facili frangitur omnis homo.

170

Ficta set ypocrisis fraudes celare latentes

Temptat, et occulto turpia plura facit:

Sic viget in facie ficti palloris honore,

Macrior vt vultus sordida facta tegat:

Set neque iusticia maxillas mentis adornat,

Immo placens mundo fert maledicta deo.

180

Sic vrtica rose faciem furatur, et auri

Sub specie plumbum dat latitare dolum:

Sic latet iniustum sub iusto, sic maledictum

Sub sancto, que scelus sub recolente fidem:

Virtutum clamidem foris induit, interiorem

Contegat vt culpam, ne quis abhorret eam.

Sic foris apparet rutilans albedo, set intus

Omnis spurcie tecta nigredo latet:

Sic quasi vox pacis odium blanditur ad aures,

Os dat amicitias mensque timenda minas;

190

Sicque columbinis stat pennis coruus amictus,

Turturis et falco fingit habere modum:

Sic animus Sathane gerit aspectum Gabrielis,

Est caput ancille, cauda set anguis erit:

Sic mellita bona visu tibi monstrat aperta,

Que si gustabis, sunt tibi mirra magis.

Disce quod ypocrisis est demonis archa, reclusum

Sub qua peccati continet omne nephas.

Non acus abscondi valet in sacco, set ad extra

Feruidus ex stimulo quod videatur agit;

200

Nec latet ypocrisis ita quod non se manifestat,

Et sua quod virtus non viciata patet;

Hocque sui vicium vicii vult pandere glosam,

Dum furit impaciens, ira reuelat eum:

182 dolum SCGDL suum EHT 184 scelus] dolus EH 187 ru-  
 tilans albedo set SCGDL albus paries tamen EHT

189f. Sic foris ex auro tumulus splendescit, et intro

Fetet putredo, vermibus esca caro. EHT

DL have both this couplet and that in the text  
 nisus EHT

192 falco SCGDL



Mendacisque diu pietatis fallitur umbra,  
 Tam cito, cum grauius quid sibi ferre velis.  
 Sic lupus agnelli tectus sub vellere dentes  
 Nudat, et infecta pandit operta mala:  
 Sub vicii taxa sic virtus victa laborat,  
 Liber et a seruo nil modo iuris habet.  
 Ad placitum viciis laxantur frena pudoris,  
 Vt tollant gratam moribus ire viam.  
 Sic ego concludo breuiter, virtus quod vbique  
 Subiacet, et viciū scanna priora tenet:  
 Omnis et econtra fallit modo regula versa,  
 Sunt et in orbe nouo cuncta referta dolo.

210

**Hic loquitur adhuc vltcrius de miseris que in pedum statue  
 diuersitate nouissimis iam temporibus eueniendis figurabantur :  
 dicit enim quod ea que nuper condicionis humane virtuosas  
 fuerant, in suum modo contrarium singula diuertuntur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. iiii. Res fit amara modo dulcis, fit dulcis amara,  
 Fedaque fit pulcra, deficit ordo quia :  
 Fit scola nunc heresis, fiunt peccataque mores,  
 Fit dolus ingenium, raptaque preda lucrum :  
 Fit sacer ordo vagus, fingens ypocrita sanctus,  
 Magniloquus sapiens, stultus et ipse silens :  
 Confessor mollis peccator fit residuius,  
 Verba satis sancta, facta set ipsa mala.  
 Custodit vulpis modo pullos et lupus agnos,  
 Perdices nisus lignaque sicca focus.  
 Doctores vicia mendacia suntque prophete ;  
 Fabula ficta placet, litera sacra nichil :  
 Displicet expediens doctrina, set illa voluptas  
 Dictorum Veneris gaudet in aure satis.  
 Nunc amor est luxus, et adulterium modo nubit,  
 Et iubet incestus iura pudica michi :  
 In vulgum clerus conuertitur, et modo vulgus  
 In forma cleri disputat acta dei.  
 Sunt serui domini, sunt et domini modo serui ;  
 Qui nichil et didicit, omnia scire putat :  
 Rusticus ingenui se moribus assimilari  
 Fingit, et in veste dat sua signa fore ;

220

230

Isteque se miserum transfert gentilis in illum,  
Vultque sui vicii rusticitate frui.

240

Sic modus est pompa, probitas iactancia, risus  
Scurrilitas, ludus vanus et absque deo.  
Nunc fautor scelerum specialis habetur, et obstans  
Alterius vicii est inimicus ei:  
Nunc magis est carus vir blandus in aure pervngens,  
Et duplex lingua rethor habetur ea.  
Nunc puer impubes sapiencior est Citherone  
Regis in aspectu, plusque Catone placet:  
Blandicieque sue nunc gestant premia lingue,  
Quas mundi proceres magnificare vides.

250

Absit honor cunctis nisi lingue, que velut Eccho  
Auribus in regis consona verba sonat.

Quod culpas culpat, quod laudas laudat et ipse,  
Quod dicis dicit, quod colis ipse colit.  
Rides, arridet: fles, flebit: semper et equas  
Imponet leges vultibus ipse tuis.

Premia iudicium Philemonis nulla meretur,  
Dum tamen hoc verum sit quod ab ore refert.

Quem prius infantem textit pastoria pellis,  
Iam subito blanda sindone verba tegunt.

260

Curia nulla suum veterem conseruat honorem,  
Vrbs neque iusticiam, terra nec vlla fidem.  
Sunt magis arma forum quam nobilitas, quibus ille  
Garcio sutoris nunc galeatus adest:

Fuluus iam talus nimis est communis, eoque

Non honor est armis vt solet esse prius:

Namque superbus inops, dum non habet vnde superbe  
Se regat, ex prediis viuunt vbique suis.

Debilitas regni surgit, vires requiescunt,

Sic paleas multas granaque pauca vides:

270

Corda latent leporum, panduntur et ora leonum,

Aurea nunc verba plumbeus actus habet.

Nuncque solent homines consumere larga loquendo

Tempora, sermoni deficiente die;

Et bona, que regnum concernunt, vttiliora

Discordes animo posteriora sinunt.

Factis de nostris hodie conuertitur in cras,  
 Dicuntur facta que peragenda manent.  
 Nunc aliena sibi vult regna superbia subdi,  
 Que vix in proprio stat semituta solo.  
 Bella tonat valide thalamis audacia lingue,  
 Vecors set campis non mouet illa manus:  
 Sub facie guerre nos multant vndique taxe,  
 Vniusque lucro milia dampna scio.  
 Libertas solita nuper modo fertur auara,  
 Et magis ingrata condicione grauat:  
 Omnia pre manibus promittit premia seruis,  
 Nec memoratur eo, cum bene fecit homo.  
 Nil vetus exemplo nunc regula sufficit, immo  
 Acta loco iuris ammodo velle reget.

280

290

Est modo fel mellis, et liuor amoris ad instar;  
 Quod patet exterius, hoc nichil intus habet.  
 Vox leuis illa Iacob, Esau manus hispida nuper  
 Fallebant, set ob hoc signa futura dabant:  
 Quicquid verba ferunt modo nam bonitatis ad aures,  
 Cum probat illud opus actus, iniqua gerit.  
 Cessit iusticia cessitque fides sociata,  
 Fraus, dolus atque suum iam subiere locum.  
 Nunc socii luctus socio velut organa plaudunt;  
 Vnus si presit, invidet alter ei.  
 Ex dampno fratris frater sua commoda querit,  
 Et soror ad laudem raro sororis agit:  
 Filius in matre iam sentit habere nouercam,  
 Sentit et hec nati plurima facta doli:  
 Filia maternos actus detractat, et ipsa  
 Mater iam natam spernit et odit eam.  
 Filius ante diem patrios iam spectat in annos,  
 Nec videt ex oculis ceca cupido suis:  
 Sit licet ipse parens, natis minus impius ipse  
 Non est, nec cordis viscera suplet eis:  
 Nullus amor parcit cuiquam quem ledere possit;  
 Quod voluere duo, tercius esse negat.  
 Plebs sine iure manet, non est qui iura tuetur,  
 Non est qui dicat, 'Iura tenere decet.'  
 Viuitur ex raptu, vix hospes ab hospite tutus,

300

310



Nec socer a genero, dum vacat ipse lucro.

Tempore nunc plures odio remanente salutant,

Tempus et ad vomitum ruminat ira suum :

Facta mouent odium, facies exorat amorem,

Oscula pretendit os, manus atque ferit.

320

Pectoribus mores tot sunt quot in orbe figure,

Nec longum stabile quid bonitatis habent :

Vtque leues Protheus sese tenuauit in vndas,

Nunc leo, nunc arbor, nunc erat hircus, aper,

Sic modus ad presens hominum mutabilis extat,

Nec scio quo possum firmus adire gradum.

Vacca sit an taurus non est cognoscere promptum,

Pars prior apparet, posteriora latent :

Sic prima facie non est cognoscere verbum ;

Qui nichil occultat, pondera finis habet.

330

Dum fueris felix, plures numerantur amici,

Aspera si fuerint tempora, solus eris :

Vt lepus in variis fugiens se munit in aruis,

Errat et in nulla sede moratur amor.

Tempore creuit amor antiquo, set resolutus

Vix vltra quo nunc progrediatur habet :

Illud amicitie quondam venerabile nomen

Cessit, et in questu pro meretrice sedet.

Orbis honorifici periunt exempla prioris,

Et nichil est de quo iam sit habenda fides.

340

Nunc amor est solus, nec sentit habere secundum,

Stans odioque tibi diligit ipse tua.

Sic est quod non est lepus et leporarius vnum ;

Nescio quod video, sum neque cecus ego.

Est odium commune modo, set amor quasi fenix

Per loca deserta solus in orbe latet.

Est nocuum ferrum ferroque nocencius aurum,

Cuius nunc bello sternitur omnis homo.

Quid modo, cumque manus mentitur dextra sinistra,

Dicam, numquid homo credet id ipse sibi?

350

Omnibus in causis, vbi commoda sunt ve voluptas,

Nunc modus est que fides non habuisse fidem :

Sicque pedum statue duplex variata figura

Quam varios hominum signat in orbe dolos.

350 credet CEHGD L credit S

Vndique dampna fluunt, quod in isto tempore liber  
 Nescio pacificis quo fruar ipse viis.  
 Expers invidie paupertas sola manebit,  
 Quam supplantare nullus in orbe studet.  
 O miser et felix pauper, qui liber vbique  
 Cum requie mentis absque pauore manes!  
 'O mundus, mundus,' dicunt, 'O ve tibi, mundus,  
 Qui magis atque magis deteriora paris!'  
 Quid sibi sit mundus igitur, que forma vel eius,  
 Que vel condicio, singula scire volo.

360

**Quia vnusquisque ad presens de mundi fallaciis conqueritur,  
 intendit hic de statu et condicione mundi, necnon et de miseria  
 condicionis humane, tractare consequenter.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. v. Mundus enim sibi dat nomen, set mundus haberi

Ex inmundiciis de ratione nequit:  
 Sordibus est plenus, viciorum germine plenus,  
 Plenus peccatis, plenus vbique dolis.  
 Tempora mutantur mutantur condiciones,  
 Mutanturque status, nec manet ordo diu.  
 Discite quam prope sit et quam vicina ruina,  
 Talis enim nullum que releuamen habet:  
 Discite quam nichil est quicquid peritura voluptas  
 Possidet et false vendicat esse suum.

370

Vita quid est presens? temptacio, pugna molesta;  
 Hic acies semper, semper et hostis adest:  
 Fur opibus, guerra paci, morbusque saluti  
 Inuidet, et corpus nostra senecta premit:  
 Sicque perit placite paulatim gracia forme,  
 Nullaque de multis que placere manent.  
 Nam gustata minus sapiunt, vix sentit odores,  
 Vix quoque clamoros percipit aure sonos:  
 Caligant oculi, de toto sola supersunt  
 Vix cutis et neruis ossa ligata suis.  
 Estates odit, hyemes et frigora culpat,  
 Nec querulo possunt vlla placere seni:  
 Frigore nunc nimio, nimio nunc leditur estu,  
 Et stabili numquam permanet ille statu.  
 Dens dolet aut ceruix, aut forsan lingua ligatur,  
 Splen tumet, egrotat pulmo, laborat epar;

380

390

Cor marcet, renes paciuntur, soluitur alius,  
Brachia vix possunt, languida crura dolent.  
Longius in curis viciatum corpus amaris  
Non patitur vires langor habere suas:  
Singula non paucis pars est obnoxia morbis,  
Et patet infelix ad mala totus homo;  
Ingratusque suis morbis confectus et annis,  
Conqueritur vite tempora longa sue.

Omnis enim virtus, qua gaudet corpus inane,  
Desinit et vario pressa dolore perit. 400  
Es sapiens? marcet sapiencia morte. Redundas  
Diuiciis? lapsu mobiliore fluunt.  
Es probus? expirat probitas. Es honestus? honestas  
Labitur. Es fortis? forcia morte iacent.  
Set cum te viciis victum succumbere cernis,  
Miror te fortem dicis et esse putas.  
Bella libido mouet; primos tu cedis ad ictus,  
Et tua das fedo colla premenda iugo:  
Sic et auaricie seruis, sic motibus ire,  
Sic facis ardentis iussa pudenda gule. 410  
Sic vbicumque tuam faciem cum mente revoluas,  
Corporis et mundi singula vana scies.  
Si corpus penses, ex omni parte videbis  
Naturam fragilem, que remanere nequit:  
Si mundum penses, ex omni parte volutum  
Rebus in incertis fraude videbis eum.  
Excussas aliquis deplorat grandine vites,  
Iste mari magno deperiisse rates:  
Istum luxuries illumque superbia vastat,  
Hunc et tristicie seua procella quatit. 420  
Et sic de variis mundus variatur, et ipsum  
Quem prius exaltat forcius ipse ruit:  
Labilis ille locus satis est, et more fluentis  
Et refluentis aque fluminis instar habet.  
Si cui blanditur, fallit, nec creditur illi;  
Eius quo doleas gaudia semper habent.

Rebus in humanis semper quid deficit, et sic  
Ista nichil plenum fertile vita tenet.  
Quam prius in finem mundi deuenerit huius,



Nulla potest certo munere vita frui.  
 Si te nobilium prouexit sanguis auorum,  
 Hinc est quod doleas, degenerare potes:  
 Prospera si dederit tibi sors, et sorte recedunt;  
 Si mala succedunt, deteriora time.

430

Si tibi persuadet vxorem fama pudicam,  
 Hinc eciam doleas, fallere queque solet:  
 Hic gemit incestum corrupte coniugis, alter  
 Delusus falsa suspicione timet:

In quam suspirant multorum vota timebis  
 Perdere, vel soli ne sit habenda tibi;  
 Sic illam metuis ne quis corrumpat adulter,  
 Et pariat quorum non eris ipse pater.  
 Si tamen illorum succrescit turba bonorum,  
 Hinc iterum doleas, mors tibi tollit eos:  
 Si tibi diuicie modicam famulantur ad horam,  
 Has, vt plus doleas, auferet vna dies.

440

Tempora si viridis promittit longa iuuentus,  
 Fallit, et vt doleas Attropos occat eam.  
 Si tibi perspicue pollet sapiencia mentis,  
 Vt merito doleas, in Salomone vide.  
 Si facies niuea rubicundo spersa colore  
 Splendeat, hinc doleas, curua senecta venit.

450

Non habet hic requiem tua mens, set et intus et extra  
 Prelia cum multis irrequieta geris.

Dum potes, amissum tempus suple, quia Cristus  
 Heu nimium tardo tempore dampnat opus.

Vltima qui vite peiora prioribus egit,  
 Si perdat, caueat, qui malus emptor erat.  
 Discat homo iuuenis, celeri pede labitur etas,  
 Nec bona tam sequitur quam bona prima fuit:

460

Non que preteriit iterum revocabitur vnda,  
 Nec que preteriit hora redire potest:  
 Stare putas, et eo procedunt tempora tarde,  
 Et peragit lentis passibus annus iter.

Ancipitrem metuens pennis trepidantibus ales  
 Audet ad humanos fessa venire sinus;  
 O vetus in viciis, Sathanas quem spectat in ymis,  
 Quid fugis, et pro quo non venis ipse deo?  
 Ecce senilis yemps tremulo venit horrida passu,

Pulcher et etatis flos iuuenilis abit:

470

Labitur occulte fallitque volatilis etas,

Et celer annorum cursus vt vmbra fugit.

Hec quoque nec perstant que nos elementa vocamus,

Immo gerunt varias diuaticata vices:

Corpora vertuntur, nec quod fuimus ve sumus nos

Cras erimus, set idem se neque tempus habet:

Nil equidem durare potest forma sub eadem,

Mutari subito quin magis omne liquet.

Cerne, fretum quod erat, nunc est solidissima tellus,

Quod fuit et tellus, iam maris vnda tegit:

480

Nunc fluit, interdum suppressis fluctibus aret

Fons, nec et ipse statu permanet ecce suo.

Conteritur ferrum, silices tenuantur ab vsu:

Numquid homo fragilis rumpitur ipse magis?

Qui nunc sub Phebo ducibusque palacia fulgent,

Nuper araturis pascua bobus erant:

Nuper erant rura, quo nunc sunt castra, quæ culti

Quo nunc sunt campi, castra fuere prius:

Frondebis ornabant que nunc capitolia gemmis,

Pascebatque suas ipse senator oues.

490

Et si regna loquar hominum, scimus quia nullum

Principis imperium perstat in orbe diu.

Hec que preteritum tempus dedit, illa futurum

Post dabit, estque nouus nullus in orbe status.

Dicere quis poterit, 'Ego persto quietus in orbe?'

Et quis non causas mille doloris habet?

Quo se vertit homo, dolor aut metus incutit ipsum;

Excipitur nullus qui sit in orbe gradus.

O quantos regum paciuntur corda tumultus,

Quamque procellosis motibus ipsa fremunt!

500

Inter regales epulas variosque paratus

Tabescunt vario sollicitata metu:

Mille satellitibus cinctus telisque suorum

Non valet e trepido pellere corde metus.

Sic inmundi suis de fraudibus omnia mundus

Polluit, et nullo tempore munda facit:

Iste per antifrasim nomen sibi vendicat vnum,

Quo nullo pacto participare potest.

Hic loquitur de principio creacionis humane. Declarat eciam qualiter mundus ad vsum hominis, et homo ad cultum dei creatus extitit; ita quod, si homo deum suum debite non colat, mundus que sua sunt homini debita officia vltius reddere non teneatur.

- Cap<sup>m</sup>. vi. O si vera loquar, quicquid sibi mundus iniquum  
 Gestat, homo solus est magis inde reus. 510  
 Scripta docent Genesis, primo cum conditor orbem  
 Fecerat, hec dicens ipse creauit Adam:  
 'Nos faciamus,' ait, 'hominem, qui nos imitari  
 Possit; et vt nobis seruiat atque colat,  
 Inspiremus ei sensum rationis, amorem,  
 Vim discretiuam, quid sit et vnde venit:  
 Inspiremus ei factoris cognicionem,  
 Vnde creatorem noscat ametque suum,  
 Quis suus est auctor, quis ei dedit esse vel vnde:  
 Mundus eum sequitur et famulatur ei. 520  
 Solus rimetur mentis secreta superne,  
 Et perscrutetur singula solus homo:  
 Singula scrutetur, set quod sibi postulat vsus,  
 Vtile vel credat, quod ve necesse putet.'
- O sublime decus, honor eximius, decor altus,  
 Vt sit homo terra tectus ymago dei!  
 Vt sit ad exemplum factoris fabrica facta,  
 Resque creatori consimilata suo!  
 Cetera queque deus solo sermone creauit,  
 Hoc formauit opus appositque manum. 530  
 Terrula suscipitur, formatur massa pusilla,  
 Fit corpus solidum, quod fuit ante solum:  
 Ossa medullata neruis compegit in vnum,  
 Firmauit gressus composuitque gradum:  
 Hiis super induxit venas set sanguine plenas,  
 Carnes vestiuit pellibus atque pilis:  
 Visceribus plenis fudit spiracula vite,  
 Ex quibus officiis singula membra vacant:  
 Os loquitur, manus exercet, pes currit, et aures  
 Ascultant, oculus sidera solus habet. 540  
 Viuificatur homo, surgit factura biformis,



Stat caro, statque comes spiritus, vnus homo.  
 Hec caro que carnis sunt sentit, spiritus alta  
 Sidera suspirat et sua iura petit.

Stat formatus homo, miratur seque suosque  
 Gestus, et nescit quid sit et ad quid homo:  
 Corporis officium miratur, membra moueri,  
 Artificesque manus articulosque pedum:  
 Artus distendit, dissoluit brachia, palmis  
 Corporis attractat singula membra sui:

550

In se quid cernit sese miratur, et ipsam  
 Quam gerit effigiem non videt esse suam:  
 Miratur faciem terre variasque figuras,  
 Et quia non nouit nomina, nescit eas.  
 Erexit vultus, os sublimauit in altum,  
 Se rapit ad superos, spiritus vnde fuit:  
 Miratur celi speciem formamque rotundam,  
 Sidereos motus stelliferasque domos:  
 Stat nouus attonitus hospes secumque revoluit,  
 Quid sibi que cernit corpora tanta velint.  
 Noticiamque tamen illi natura ministrat;  
 Quod sit homo, quod sunt ista creata videt:  
 Quod sit ad humanos vsus hic conditus orbis,  
 Quod sit ei proprius mundus, et ipse dei.  
 Ardet in auctoris illius sensus amorem,  
 Iamque recognouit quid sit amare deum.

560

Hic loquitur quod, exquo creator omnium deus singulas  
 huius mundi delicias vsui subdidit humano, dignum est quod,  
 sicut homo deliciis secundum corpus fruitur, ita secundum  
 spiritum deo creatori suo gratum obsequium cum gratiarum  
 accione toto corde rependat.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. vii. Dic, Adam, dic, Eua parens, dic vnus et alter,

Dic tibi si desit gracia plena dei.  
 Cuncta tuis pedibus subiecit, ouesque bouesque,  
 Et volucres celi pisciculosque maris:  
 En, elementa tibi, sol, aer, sidera, tellus,  
 Diuitis vnda maris, cetera queque fauent.  
 Auctor enim rerum sic res decreuit, vt orbis  
 Queque creatura consequeretur eum;

570

Vt seruiret ei factura, suumque vicissim  
 Factorem solum consequeretur homo.  
 Erige sublime caput et circumspice mundum,  
 Collige cuncta, sue dant tibi queque manus :  
 Omnia subiecta tibi sunt, tibi cuncta ministrant,  
 Omnia respondent obsequiumque parant. 580  
 Qui tibi tanta tulit, qui pro te tanta peregit,  
 Qui pro te mundum duxit ad esse suum,  
 Qui dedit ex nichilo tantarum semina rerum,  
 Confusumque chaos ordine stare suo,  
 Sortes distribuens per partes quatuor equas,  
 Iratos motus temperat arte sua :  
 Sidere depingens celum, septemque planetas,  
 Et si nitantur, ad sua puncta vocans,  
 Signifer accessu solis signis duodenis  
 Tempora per totidem dat variare vices. 590  
 Qui totum mundum, postquam decreuerat illum,  
 Ornauit vario multiplicique bono,  
 Esse feras siluis, in montibus esse leones,  
 In planis pecudes, rupibus esse capras.  
 Pluma tegit volucres et oues sua lana decorat,  
 Inque tuos vsus est tamen hoc quod habent.  
 Respice delicias mundi, quas flumina dotes,  
 Quas tibi donat opes diuitis vnda maris ;  
 Arboribusque sitis, herbis, radicibus ortos,  
 Floribus et foliis fructiferisque bonis. 600  
 Pre cunctis recolat tua mens, quem te quoque fecit,  
 Et de quam nichilo traxit ad esse bonum ;  
 Nam tuus illius est spiritus, et tuus eius  
 Est sensus, ratio de ratione sua.  
 Te caput esse dedit rerum, rebusque locatis  
 Nomina te cunctis queque vocare dedit :  
 Qui tibi spem prolis dedit in mulieris amore,  
 Consortemque parem coniugiiq[ue] fidem.  
 Te sibi pene parem fecit, te pene secundum,  
 Dicere si possem, prestitit esse deum : 610  
 Contulit in celum sese, tibi tradidit orbem,  
 Et mundi tecum dimidiauit opes.  
 Celum sole tibi, sol lumine seruit, et aer

Flatibus, vnda cibus, terraque mille bonis.  
 Set quod es vnde tibi? quod habes quis prebet? Vtrumque  
 Sponte facit pietas dulcis et ampla dei:  
 Qui tibi te tribuens sese promisit, eoque  
 Non habuit melius quod daret ipse deus.

Nonne superbire quemcumque virum decet ergo  
 Contra mandata que dedit ipse deus? 620  
 Celum deiecit set et odit terra superbum,  
 Solus et inferni fit locus aptus ei.  
 Hoc etenim vicio tactum fuit et viciatum,  
 Quod genitor primus protulit, omne genus:  
 In radice fuit omnis viciata propago,  
 Quo mundum quicquam mundus habere nequit.  
 Non fuit in mundo qui mundum mundificaret,  
 Nec quod in hoc venie posset habere locum:  
 Set pietate prius qui condidit omnia solus,  
 Ille reformavit et reparavit opus. 630  
 Accepit serui formam servosque redemit,  
 Demonis et quod erat fecerat esse dei:  
 Hunc igitur superest deuota mente sequaris,  
 Vtque tuum dominum confitearis eum;  
 Preceptumque leue, vetitum non tangere crimen,  
 Si toto sequeris corde, beatus eris.

**Hic tractat qualiter homo dicitur minor mundus; ita quod  
 secundum hoc quod homo bene vel male agit, mundus bonus vel  
 malus per consequens existit.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. viii. O pietas domini, qualisque potencia, quanta  
 Gracia, que tantum fecerat esse virum!  
 Vir sapit angelicis cum cetibus, vnde supremum  
 Esse creatorem noscit in orbe deum: 640  
 Sentit et audit homo, gustat, videt, ambulat, vnde  
 Nature speciem fert animalis homo:  
 Cum tamen arboribus homo crescit, et optinet esse  
 In lapidum forma proprietate sua:  
 Sic minor est mundus homo, qui fert singula solus,  
 Soli solus homo dat sacra vota deo. }  
 Est homo qui mundus de iure suo sibi mundum  
 Subdit, et in melius dirigit inde status:  
 Si tamen inmundus est, que sunt singula mundi

\*\*\*\*



Ledit, et in peius omne refundit opus : 650

Vt vult ipse suum proprio regit ordine mundum,

Si bonus ipse, bonum, si malus ipse, malum.

Qui minor est mundus, fert mundo maxima dampna,

Ex inmundiciis si cadat ipse reus :

Qui minor est mundus, si non inmunda recidat,

Cuncta suo mundi crimine lesa grauat :

Qui minor est mundus homo, si colat omnipotentem,

Rebus in humanis singula munda parit :

Qui minor est mundus, si iura dei meditetur,

Grande sibi regnum possidet ipse poli. } 660

Conuenit ergo satis, humili quod corde pendat

Digna creatori dona creatus homo :

Restat vt ipse sui factoris querat amorem,

Restat vt ipse sciat quid sit et vnde venit :

Restat vt agnoscat, quo nominis ordine solus

Pre cunctis mundus dicitur esse minor.

Si minor est mundus, quo mundi machina constat

Ordine si querat, est meminisse sui :

Si minor est mundus, que sunt primordia mundi

Si meditetur, agit vnde sit et quid homo : 670

Si se nesciret, nec eum cognosceret, a quo

Vel per quem factus est, nec amaret eum.

Et tamen est illi substantia facta biformis,

Quo compegit eum, spiritus atque caro ;

Vt deseruiet factori spiritus eius,

Et mundus carni spirituique caro.

Est ancilla caro fragilis, cuius dominatrix

Desuper est anima de ratione dei ;

Nunc tamen a mundo caro victa negat rationem,

Linqvit et hec anime iura subire sue. 680

Sic seruit dominans, sic regula fallit, et extra

Deuiat illa deo, que foret intus homo.

Stulcius o stulto, commutans celica mundo,

Postponens aurum queris habere lutum.

Cur dominus rerum, quare deitatis ymago

Parua cupis? Cupias maxima magnus homo.

Orbis terrarum tuus est, et quicquid ab illo

Clauditur, arbitrio subditur omne tuo :

Nempe parens rerum celo dimissus ab alto  
 Ad tua descendens est tibi factus homo. 690  
 Noli te regno peccati subdere, noli  
 Que cicius fugiunt ista caduca sequi:  
 Set satagas humiles animo transcendere terras,  
 Desuper in celis arripe fortis iter.  
 Tu si magna petis, deus est super omnia magnus,  
 Si bona, quam bonus est dicere nemo potest.  
 Nil genus aut sexus tibi, nil vel comptus inanis  
 Mortis ad excessus vtilitatis habent.  
 Quid penetrasse iuuat studiis archana Platonem,  
 Natureque suos composuisse libros? 700  
 Solis iter celique plagas luneque meatus,  
 Et vaga vel summo sidera fixa polo,  
 Multaque preter ea satis ardua nouerat; et nunc  
 Philosophus cinis est, nomen inane perit.  
 Dum res et rerum causas vestigat Ypocras,  
 Dum medicinali corpora seruat ope,  
 Talis eum poterat sapientia nulla mederi,  
 Quin medico mortis lex subienda foret.  
 Sic patet, est hominis natura potencior arte,  
 Et ruit in mortem quos sua causa petit. 710  
 Est tibi nil melius igitur, quam prouidus illam  
 Prospicias mortem, que tibi finis erit.  
 Semper iturus ades, accedis ad vltima vite,  
 Nec scis quo fine, quando vel illud erit:  
 Celo longa via, restantque dies tibi pauci;  
 Tardat iter mundi qui sibi sumit onus.

Hic loquitur qualiter homo, qui minor mundus dicitur, a mundo secundum corpus in mortem transibit, et sicut ipse corporis sui peccato huius mundi corruptionis, dum viuit, causat euentum, ita in corpore mortuo postea putredinis subire corruptionem cogetur. Et primo dicit de mortui corporis corruptione secundum Superbiam.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. ix. O tibi quid dices, cum non mouet aura capillos,  
 Arent et fauces, nec via vocis inest,  
 Et color in vultu sine sanguine, lumina mestis

691 regno peccato EHL Regni peccato D 707 eum CEHDH<sub>2</sub>  
 enim SGLT

Sunt inmoti genis osque madere nequit,  
 Atque per interius cum duro lingua palato  
 Congelat, et pulsum vena mouere negat,  
 Nec flecti ceruix nec brachia plectere quicquid  
 Possunt, nec passus pes valet ire suos?

720

Quid modo respondet homo mortuus ille superbus?

Dicat nunc quid ei gloria vana dabit.  
 Eius enim, nuper alios qui despiciebat,  
 Corporis exanimi iam perit omnis honor:  
 Et quia se corpus dudum tollebat in altum,  
 Vermibus esca modo subditur ipsa caro.  
 Non modo palpebra quasi dedignando leuatur,  
 Nec manus in longum planat vtrumque latus:  
 Quas vires habuit mortalis vis superauit,  
 Est musce spina forcior ecce sua.

730

Si decor aut species nuper florebat in illo,  
 Eius turpedo iam fugat omne pecus:  
 Si fuerat sapiens, modo differt a sapiente,  
 Est sibi conclusum quo nichil ipse sapit:  
 Que magis in studio peccit subtilia longo,  
 Mors ea dissoluit de breuitate cito.

740

Artibus in variis fuerat licet ipse peritus,  
 Iam cecidit prudens artis in arte sua:  
 Desinit ingenii ratio sine iam ratione,  
 Mors ruit in vacuum que rationis erant:  
 Littera quem docuit magis est indoctus asello,  
 Pectore nec remanet iota vel vnus apex.

Non sibi mentalis presumptio iudicat villos,  
 Se neque iactare mortua causa sinit:

Qui solet ypocrisi fecte virtutis honorem  
 Tollere, nunc monstrat quid fuit ipse palam.

750

Nil sibi quod genera linguarum nouerat olim  
 Confert, qui muto mortuus ore silet:  
 Organa nulla sibi nota vel citharistea plaudunt,  
 Quo perit auditus, musica nulla placet.  
 Nil valet ingenuas corpus coluisse per artes,  
 Qui modo nature perdidit omne decus:  
 Nil vestis pompa, nichil aut ascensus equorum,  
 Corpus iam rigidum magnificare queunt.



Nil sibi pulcra domus aut seruicium famulorum ;  
 Nunc foris in populo nemo salutat eum : 760  
 Nunc serpens famulus puteusque vocabitur aula,  
 Nuncque loco thalami tetra cauerna datur.  
 Sic quia nuper eum fallebat gloria vana,  
 Nunc sibi nil remanet vnde superbus erit.

**Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corruptione secundum Inuidiam.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. x. Ecce per inuidiam qui roserat ore canino,  
 Iam canis aut vermis rodere debet eum.  
 Alterius famam spernens que leserat olim,  
 Ammodo corrupta lingua dolosa tacet :  
 Alterius dampna risit, quoque prospera fleuit,  
 Nunc ridere nequit ore carente labris. 770  
 Murmure cor plenum nuper modo fit putrefactum,  
 Et via iam rupta cordis ad yma patet :  
 Iam nequit ambicio socii postponere laudem,  
 Nec preferre suam, qui sine laude iacet.  
 Tunc fel sub melle condens nunc conditur ipse,  
 Quo sine mente caro nil simulare potest :  
 Amplius inuidie mens ignea plena veneno  
 Liuoris stimulo pungere quosque nequit.

**Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corruptione secundum Iram.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xi. Feruida viuentem quem nuper torruit ira,  
 Amplius impaciens non mouet ille caput : 780  
 Lite sua dudum qui vicinos agitabat,  
 Mutus ad interitum non habet ipse sonum :  
 Nuper linguosus nequit amplius esse susurro ;  
 Mors vocat, ipse tacet, nilque refatur ei.  
 Qui terrere solet inopem terrore minarum,  
 Contra vermiculum iam valet ipse nichil :  
 Non suus ad bellum furor ammodo prouocat ipsum,  
 Qui neque cum verme federa pacis habet :  
 Eius enim gladius iam non erit ecce timendus,  
 Qui patitur vermem cor lacerare suum : 790  
 Corporis ex odio non inficiet rationem,  
 Ammodo vitali qui ratione caret.

**Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corrupcione secundum Auariciam.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xii. O quid auaricia nuper modo prestat auaro?

Sola sibi stricta lignea cista manet.

Terra sibi fuerat nimio quesita labore,

Septem nuncque pedes, non magis, inde tenet.

Qui dudum fuerat raptor predans aliena,

Ipsum nunc predam mors quasi predo rapit:

Qui nuper fatuis tendit sua recia lucris,

Nunc capitur rethe quo remouere nequit.

800

Diuicias multas vniuit et arcius illas

Seruabat, set nunc dissipat alter opes:

Que quasi fine carens fuerat possessio larga,

Transiit et subito nulla remansit ei.

Gaudet enim coniux sponsi nouitate secundi,

Nec sibi cor meminens anterioris habet;

Immemor et patris letatur filius heres,

Nec sibi qui moritur vnus amicus adest.

Sic qui res rebus agros et agris sociauit,

Ammodo de questis fert nichil ipse suis:

810

Abstulit vna dies quicquid sibi contulit annus,

Et labor a longo tempore cassus abit:

Pauperibus bursam qui clauserat, indiget ille,

Nec valet argenti copia tota sibi.

Nil dolus aut furtum, nil circumuencio corpus,

Iam neque periura falsa cupido iuuat.

**Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corrupcione secundum Accidiam.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiii. Amplius accidia sibi qui fuit accidiosus

Corporis ad placitum membra fouere negat.

Deditus hic sompno nuper nunc sompnit habunde,

De longo sompno quo vigilare nequit:

820

Mollia qui dudum quesuiit stramina lecto,

Anguibus aspersa frigida terra subest:

Ocia qui peciit nuper fugiendo labores,

Nunc nichil est quod agat, vnde meretur opem.

816 iuuat S iuuant EGD LTH

Cap. xiii. Heading 1 mortui corporis CH

Si didicisse bonum potuisset, iam scola nulla  
 Reddit eum doctum, quo magis ipse sapit  
 Quid sit de rerum dampno: valet ipse dierum  
 Perdita iam flere tempora longa nimis.  
 Nuper in ecclesia rogitaui raro, set inde  
 Iam nequit auferri, nil tamen ipse rogat.  
 Semina qui parce spersit, parce metet ipse;  
 Quod nuper potuit, vult modo, quando nequit.

830

**Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corruptione secundum  
 Gulam.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xiiii. Nil gula, que dudum fuerat sibi cotidiana,  
 Amplius in ventre, set nec in ore placet:  
 Viscera que pressa fuerant grauitate ciborum,  
 Euacuata modo nil retinere queunt.  
 Gustauit species et dulcia vina bibebat,  
 Horum suntque loco stercora mixta luto:  
 Eius in vmbiculo, sua quo pinguedo latebat,  
 Iam latitat serpens, qui sua crassa vorat:  
 Olla sui ventris, que parturit ebrietatem,  
 Rumpitur, et bufo gutturis antra tenet.  
 Esca sibi dudum redolens nichil ammodo confert,  
 Occupat en nares feda putredo suas:  
 Crapula, que nuper ieiunia nulla subiuit,  
 Iam rupto stomacho sentit in ore nichil.

840

**Hic loquitur de corporis mortui corruptione secundum  
 Luxuriam.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xv. O qui luxurie vicium tam dulce putabat,  
 Iam sugget serpens membra pudenda sua.  
 Amplius incaste non circuit ille lupanar,  
 Nec manus in tactu feda placere valet:  
 Non valet ex oculis vultu simulare procaci,  
 Prouocet vt fatuam, quo magis ipsa fauet.  
 Cantica composita Veneris sermone dolosa  
 Cum iuramentis ammodo nulla iuuant;  
 Est sibi nil cantus, nichil aut peditare coreis,  
 Nam sibi guttur abest, pes neque substat ei.

850



Non facit incestum, neque virginitatis honorem  
 Mortuus in carne iam violare potest:  
 Est modo putredo quicquid fuit ante voluptas,  
 Et calor in coitu frigiditate gelat. 860  
 Sic quod erat dudum corpus, nunc ecce cadauer;  
 Et redit in cinerem quod fuit ante cinis.

Exquo tractauit qualiter variis peccati deliciis humanum  
 corpus mortis putredine in hoc mundo consumitur, interrogat  
 vltcrius de homine peccatore, quomodo mundi voluptates tam  
 fallibiles in sui preiudicium ita ardentem sibi appetit et  
 conspirat.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvi. O michi responde, fert quid tibi pompa, superbe,  
 Cum teret in terra membra putredo tua?  
 Dic tibi, tu serico, gemmis vestitus et auro,  
 Quid cum mors veniat gloria vana dabit?  
 Quid victor gaudes? hec te victoria linquet,  
 Sit nisi quod vicii vincere bella queas.  
 Quid tibi liuor aget, vrentis filius Ethne,  
 Cum mors cor que labra soluerit ipsa tua? 870  
 Quid tibi siue furor aut ira valere putatur,  
 Cumque furore mali mors furit ipsa tibi?  
 Tempora siue tua tibi quid dant accidiosa,  
 Cum mors sit perstans absque quiete nocens?  
 Quid tibi deliciae poterunt conferre gulose,  
 Cum morsus mortis fine perhennis eris?  
 Quid ve putas Venus ipsa dabit tibi fine laboris,  
 Cum calor in membris desinit esse tuis?  
 Aurea quid prodest tibi, diues, pompa monete?  
 Vltimus in terram finis vtrumque vorat: 880  
 Que tibi sollicitus longeuus contulit annus,  
 Cuncta simul rapiet hora repente breuis.  
 Quid reges vincis, quid subdis regna, tiranne?  
 Est deus invictus, qui tibi bella parat.  
 Quid tibi fama volans, honor, aut quid comptus inanis?  
 Omnis enim mundi gloria vana perit.  
 Occupat extrema stultorum gaudia luctus,  
 Et risum lacrima plena dolore madet.  
 Corporis in forma, quid vel de stirpe superbis,  
 Qui cinis in cineres vermibus esca redis? 890

Quid tibi si fortis poteris superare leones,  
 Numquid te poterit inquietare pulex?  
 Quid nisi stulticiam tibi fert sapiencia mundi?  
 Ergo nichil sapiens quod sapit absque deo.  
 Est tibi de limo formatum corpus inane,  
 Pronaque natura carnis ad omne malum;  
 Incipit in luctu finitque dolore: quid ergo  
 Queris vt hic tale glorificetur opus?  
 Cum nichil ex mundo sit corpore glorificatum,  
 Est tibi nil corpus glorificare tuum. 900  
 Nil tibi plus remanet aut corporis aut tibi rerum,  
 Sola nisi merita, sint bona siue mala:  
 Cum venit illa dies, que nil nisi corporis huius  
 Ius habet, inueniet tunc homo facta sua.  
 Non hic iure locum valet vllus habere manentem,  
 Mortis ad incertas transiet immo vias.

**Hic loquitur qualiter omnia mundi huius sicut vestimentum  
 veterascunt, et quasi sompnifera in ictu oculi clauduntur:  
 loquitur eciam in speciali de mortis memoria et eiusdem  
 nominis significacione.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xvii. Omnia quam cicius oculi clauduntur in ictu,  
 Et quasi per sompnum preterit omnis homo:  
 Gaudia perpetuos pariunt mundana dolores  
 Tollit et eternum viuere vita brevis. 910  
 Omnia que possunt amitti nulla videntur,  
 Nec longum quicquid desinit esse reor.  
 Dic quid honor, quid opes, quid gloria, quid ve iuuentus,  
 Forma, genus, vires, femina, vestis, ager,  
 Gemma vel argentum, quid septrum, regna vel aurum,  
 Purpura, quid latus fundus et ampla domus,  
 Magna potencia, multa sciencia, vana voluptas,  
 Vita quid, et nostri corporis ipsa salus.  
 Quod caro mortalis tanquam vestis veterascit  
 Et celeri lapsu curua senecta venit, 920  
 Quod nostre semper minuuntur tempora vite,  
 Quodque dies hominis fumus et vmbrā fugit,  
 Quod sit vita brevis, quod mors incerta, quod omni  
 Tempore nos queuis causa molesta premit,

Alterutrum poterunt homines exemplificari ;  
 Res etenim tales experimenta docent.  
 Rex est quisque sui, bene qui regit acta, beatus ;  
 Qui regit acta male, seruus ineptus erit :  
 Rex appellaris : quid inani nomine gaudes,  
 Qui viciis pulsus seruus vbique iaces ? 930  
 Cur viciis seruit qui regnis imperat, et non  
 Mancipium vile corporis esse pudet ?  
 Dum viciis sordes, nil prodest fulgida vestis,  
 Absterget maculas purpura nulla tuas.  
 Expediens igitur foret, vt sic quisque viator  
 Quam leuius poterit exoneratus eat.  
 Singula de nobis anni predantur euntes,  
 Morsque superveniens prospera queque rapit :  
 Regreditur cinis in cinerem, resolutio carnis  
 Monstrat principii materiale lutum. 940

Scit deus hoc anime quod fiet in orbe futuro,  
 Integra seu lesa, quanta que qualis erit :  
 Ista sciunt homines, mundo quod corpus in isto  
 Nil sibi perdurans vtile carnis habet.  
 Est caro corrupta viuens, plus mortua cunctis  
 Atque creaturis vile cadauer habet.

O speculum mortis ! quotquot speculantur in illo,  
 Si bene se videant, gloria nulla patet :  
 Aduerse mortis sic ordo retrogradus extat,  
 Quod statuit caudas ad caput esse pares. 950  
 A morsu vetito mors dicitur ; omnia mordens  
 Nominis exponit significata sui.

Rebus in incertis nihil est incercius hora  
 Mortis, morte nichil cercius esse potest.  
 Dum minus esse putat, hominem mors fallit, et ipse  
 Qui magis est sanus clanculo celat eam :  
 Non erit astrologus, medicus seu, de medicina  
 Qui prolongatum possit habere diem.  
 Sic homo, sic animal pariter moriuntur, et ambo  
 In terram redeunt condicione pari. 960  
 Est nichil exceptum : quicquid fit in orbe creatum,  
 Sicut habet vitam, constat habere necem.

Clam veniens thalamis mors furtiuis volat alis,



Subuertens subito quod fuit ante retro :  
 Predat opes, vires nichilat, disiungit amicos,  
 Auro nec redimi quomodocumque potest :  
 Tollit agenda viris, reddit tamen actibus ipsos,  
 Compotus vt fiat iudicis ante pedes.  
 Ille quidem Iudex, qui singula iudicat eque,  
 Munera quem mundi flectere nulla queunt : 970  
 Iudicioque suo capiet vir digna laboris  
 Premia pro meritis absque fauore suis.

**Hic loquitur quod, quamuis iustis et iniustis vnus sit  
 naturaliter interitus, mors tamen iusti omnes exsoluens  
 miserias eius spiritum glorie reddit sempiterna.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xviii. Iustus et iniustus per mortem transit vterque,  
 Terraque sorte pari corpus vtrumque vorat :  
 Disparilis meriti restat tamen exitus horum,  
 Est nam leta bonis mors et amara malis.  
 Est igitur felix homo qui viuens bene fecit,  
 Quo moriens poterit sumere dona dei ;  
 Dona quidem celi, quo gaudia cuncta refulgent,  
 Quo sine tristitia vita perhennis erit. 980  
 Mors aberit, morbus, labor, hostis, curua senectus,  
 Non habet hec felix illa superna domus :  
 Spiritibus summis equabit gracia regis,  
 Pro quibus est vltro passus amara crucis.

Hic est ille locus pacis que potentis honoris,  
 Quo tenebre nulle, quo sine nocte dies ;  
 Quo deus absterget lacrimam luctumque, nec illuc  
 Amplius aut clamor aut dolor vllus erit :  
 Nec mors nec morbus, sitis, esuries nec egestas,  
 Set neque casus habet hunc habitare locum. 990  
 Lux ibi continua, pax iugis, gloria perpes,  
 Vita beata, salus vera, perhennis amor :  
 Est ibi spes que fides, bonitas, laus, gracia, virtus,  
 Sensus, amor, pietas, gloria, forma, decus.  
 Est sine sorde caro iuuenilis, et absque senecta  
 Etas, diuicie sunt sine labe doli :  
 Est pax absque metu, honor omnis et absque superbo ;  
 Absque labore quies, absque dolore salus.

Consummata manent ibi gaudia, passio nulla  
 Est et ibi, set habet omne quod optat homo: 1000  
 Vita perhennis ibi viget, et patet illa beata,  
 Que super omne valet, visio clara dei.

Vis tibi describam paucis quid sit locus ille?  
 Plus est quam quiuis dicere possit homo:  
 Plus est quam possit mentis ratione doceri,  
 Vel plus quam cordis cella tenere queat.  
 Quam felix locus est, quam digna laude colendus,  
 In quo conveniunt gaudia cuncta simul!  
 Sic, quia non finit ibi gloria, non ego possum  
 Finem condigne ponere laudis ei. 1010  
 Hic erit angelici cetus, quam perdidit olim,  
 Suppleto numero gloria plena suo:  
 Hic erit humano generi laus summa, resumpto  
 Corpore cum fuerit glorificata caro:  
 Hic erit in domino cunctis gaudere per eum,  
 Omnia cum fuerit omnibus ipse deus:  
 Et sic mors iusti tollit sibi cuncta nociua  
 Corporis, ac anime celica regna parat.  
 Cum moritur iustus, tunc viuens incipit esse;  
 Hec mors vitalis, que moriendo iuuat; 1020  
 Hec mors non oneri set plus conducit honori,  
 Possidet in requiem mortuus vnde deum.

**Hic loquitur de duplici morte peccatoris, vna ex qua corpus  
 hic resoluitur, alia ex qua digno dei iudicio penis perpetuis  
 anima cruciatur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xix. Heu! nimis infelix qui se viuens male gessit,  
 Quo grauis in morte pena vorabit eum:  
 Mors etenim duplex homini debetur iniquo;  
 Est mors prima grauis, altera feda magis.  
 Prima necans corpus de mundo segregat illud,  
 Nec valet vlterius quid sibi ferre mali;  
 Altera set grauior animam deducit ad yma,  
 Reddit et hanc Sathane, que solet esse dei: 1030  
 Ponit in ambiguum que sit mundana voluptas,  
 Et fore dat certum pena quod omnis adest,  
 Pena quidem baratri, dolor omnis quo vegetabit,

Cap. xix. *Heading* 1 duplici C E G L duplici S H T duplici D

Quo semper moritur, nec valet ipse mori.

Non vox vlla valet miseras edicere penas,

Quorum tormenta languida fine carent :

Hinc timor atque tremor, labor et dolor inde sequetur,

Perpetue pene mors furit absque mori :

Iugi morte mori, seu iugi viuere morte,

Nil differt dicas, viuere siue mori.

1040

Heu ! mortem repeto tociens, quia nil nisi mortis

Efficiem miseris inferet ille locus,

Ille locus quem dira fames, quem frigus et ardor,

Quem tenebre, quem nox, noctis et vmbra tegit.

Vermis ibi mentes corrodit, et ignis ab estu

Corpora consumet, pena timenda nimis :

Tortor ibi, qui semper habet torquere nec vnquam

Deficiet, tortum torrida pena teret.

Quicquid erat placitum carni subuertitur omne,

Quod fuit et dulce torquet amara lues :

1050

Quod fuerat pulcrum fedat turpissima forma,

Quod fuerat sanum, pena resoluit opus :

Quod fuerat forte tunc viribus expoliatur ;

Est sapiens stultus, est ibi diues inops :

Quod fuerat luxus prius, est ibi vermis et ignis,

Fit, gula que fuerat, insaciata fames.

Sunt tenebre visus pungens et scorpio tactus,

Gressus et in laqueos mortis habebit iter :

Aures torquentur strepitu fetoreque nares,

Et que sunt pene gustus amara sapit :

1060

Est ibi flens oculus, dens stridens, omneque membrum

Soluitur in luctum, quo sine fine dolet.

Quod fuerat vita mors est, quod corpus eratque

Vt fax comburens semper in igne coquit.

Heu, set ymago dei nuper tam pura creata

Illa dolens anima demonis instar habet.

Non Thetis extinguit ibi fulmina, set neque morsus

Vipereos medici compta medela iuuat :

Stans ibi continuus dolor est vt parturientis,

Tempora nec venie spectat habere locus.

1070

Perpetuum pene tormentum nemo gehenne

Mente capit, set ibi stat dolor absque pari :



Cor de mente tremit, de corde caro, quod in ista  
Scribere materia plus nequit egra manus.

Quo vultu, vel qua facie, vel quo comitatu  
Tunc apparebit iudicialis apex?  
Terribilis vultus, facies quasi sit furibundi,  
Horridus aspectus aspera queque minans:  
Iudicis ille furor brevis, ira set absque remissa  
Pena, nil venie nil pietatis habens.

1080

Mater et angelicus cetus, necnon duodenus  
Iudicium faciens ordo sequetur eum:  
Angelus hic et homo pariter tormenta subibunt,  
Penam pro meritis soluet vterque suis;  
Efficientque pares pene, quos nuper iniquus  
Peccandi pariles efficiebat amor.  
Distinguetur ibi malus et bonus, ille sinistram,  
Ille tenens dextram, iudiciumque ferent.

O, quam tristis erit miseris sententia danda,  
Perpetue mortis perditione mori.

1090

Hec erit illa dies domini, qua luce patebunt  
Clarius occulta, que modo clausa latent:  
Hec erit illa dies ire, lux illa tremenda,  
Qua non subsistet angelus absque metu.  
Cum vix si iustus puncto saluandus in illo,  
Impie, quo fugies? quae fuga? Nulla quidem.  
Est igitur mentis prudentis, mentis honeste,  
Mentis discrete tale timere malum.

O nimium felix, tales euadere clades

Qui valet, et meriti viuere laude sui!

1100

O nimium felix, o secla per omnia felix,

O preseruatus, oque beatus homo,

Qui poterit mortis tantas euadere penas,

Celica cumque deo gaudia ferre suo!

Nunc igitur sedeat sapiens et computet actus,

Quam prius adueniat iudicis illa dies.

Postquam de gaudiis et penis que bonis et malis debentur  
tractauit, consulit vterius quod unusquisque ad bonos mores se  
conuertat, et de hiis que negligenter omisit, absque desperatione  
contritus indulgentiam a deo confidenter imploret.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xx. Cumque repentinum casum brevis hora minatur,  
 Dum tenuem flatum suscitât aura levis,  
 Care, memento tui, quis sis, cur, vnde vel ad quid,  
 Vel cuius factus condicionis eras; 1110  
 Quod caro sit fragilis, fallax facilisque moueri,  
 Prona sit ad peius, pessima prompta sequi.  
 Spiritus hunc mundum spernat speretque futura,  
 Semper in auctoris fixus amore sui:  
 Quod caro spiritui subdatur eumque sequatur,  
 Spiritus auctori seruiat ipse suo;  
 Quod motus carnis moderetur, commemoranda  
 Est mors et pena mortis habenda malis.  
 Non poterit melius hominis caro viuâ domari,  
 Quam quod mente gerat mortua qualis erit. 1120  
 Fletibus assiduus, est dum data gracia flendi,  
 Penituisse iuuat estque salubre satis:  
 Nec deus ethereus hec crimina vendicat vlli,  
 Que confessa dolens non residua facit.

Qui reus est igitur homo, penam temporis huius  
 Sustineat, donec diluat omne malum;  
 Vt sic purgatus, cum iudex venerit, illam  
 Effugiat penam, que sine fine manet:  
 Nam qui iussa dei non seruat et vltima vite  
 Spectat, ad infernum cogitur ille trahi. 1130  
 Scripture fallunt, aut certe noscere debes  
 Quod reddit ad veniam vix animalis homo;  
 Victus enim vicio vicii fit seruus, et in se  
 Non habet admissum soluere posse iugum:  
 Ergo perpes ei debetur pena necesse,  
 Qui sibi peccandi velle perhenne facit.

Parcere nempe deo proprium tamen et misereri est,  
 Vnde, licet sero, te reuocare stude.

Figmentum nostrum nouit, set et ipse medetur  
 Tandem contritum, qui petit eius opem. 1140  
 Non te desperes, pius est deus, immo deumque  
 Qui negat esse pium, denegat esse deum:  
 Hic quasi fons viuus patet omnibus, et vacuari  
 Vt fons nescit aquis, hic pietate nequit.  
 Set quia spem nimiam presumpcio sepe fatigat,

Tu tibi spem pone sicut oportet agi :  
 Vt sapiens speres, tibi sit tua spes moderanda,  
 Eius habent sancto frena timore regi.  
 Non timor excedat, quo desperacio mentem  
 Polluat, immo deum mentis amore time : 1150  
 Nec spes presumat, set amet commixta timore,  
 Sic timor est virtus spes et vterque salus.  
 Set meditando tamen tua mens de fine remorsa,  
 Semper amara timens speret habere bona :  
 Sanccius vt viuas, memorare nouissima semper,  
 Ledunt nam iacula visa perante minus.  
 Respice cotidie, mortis quia tempus adesse  
 Festinat, que simul prospera cuncta ruet.

**Hic loquitur quod sunt modo pauci, qui aut propter celi affectionem aut gehenne metum huius vite voluptatibus renunciant; set quecumque caro concupiscit, omni postposita ratione, ardentius perficere conantur.**

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxi. Qui sibi commemorans, puto, singula ponderat eque,  
 Senciat a fine gaudia vana fore : 1160  
 Nunc tamen a viciis est quilibet infatuatus,  
 Quod de fine suo vix memoratur homo.  
 Quisque suum corpus colit, et de carnis amore  
 Gaudet, et est anime causa relicta sue :  
 Gloria nec celi mentes neque pena gehenne  
 A mundi labe iam reuocare queunt.  
 Sic caro, sic demon, sic mundus vbique modernos  
 Deuiat, vt Cristi vix sciat vnus iter :  
 Est caro que fragilis, demon versutus, iniquus  
 Mundus, in hoc hominum tempore regna colunt : 1170  
 Et sic bruta quasi perit humane rationis  
 Virtus, dum vicium corporis acta regit.  
 Est homo nunc animal dicam, set non rationis,  
 Dum viuut bruti condicione pari.  
 Nescia scripture brutum natura gubernat,  
 Iudicis arbitrium nec rationis habet :  
 Est igitur brutis homo peior, quando voluntas  
 Preter naturam sola gubernat eum.  
 Corporis, heu ! virtus per singula membra revoluens



Naturam viciis seruit ad acta foris;  
 Ac anime ratio carnis viciata vigore  
 De virtute nichil interiore sapit. 1180

Morigeri cicius modo sunt derisio plebis,  
 Et scola peccati iustificabit opus:  
 Que solet illa viros veteri de more beare,  
 Iam noua virtuti frena libido mouet.  
 Inter eos mundi quibus est donata potestas,  
 'Sic volo, sic iubeo,' sunt quasi iura modo.  
 Succumbunt iusti clamantes, 'Ve! quod in orbe  
 Impia pars hominum singula regna terit.' 1190

Vis prohibet leges, euertunt crimina mores,  
 Virtus peccati turbine quassa perit:  
 Mundus turbatur, rerum confunditur ordo,  
 Involuitque simul omnia grande chaos.  
 Squalidus in terra sic stat genitor genitusque,  
 Quod natura suo vix stat in orbe loco.  
 Liur et ambicio, gula, fraus, metuenda libido,  
 Ira, tumor mentis, scismata, laudis amor,  
 Ambiciosus honor, amor et sceleratus habendi,  
 Ipse voluptatis vsus et ecce malus, 1200  
 Furta, rapina, dolus, metus et periuria, testes  
 Sunt mundi quod erit ammodo nulla fides.

Hic loquitur de variis vindictis occasione peccati in hoc  
 seculo iam quasi cotidie contingentibus, que absque ius-  
 torum virorum meritis et oracionibus nullatenus sedari  
 poterunt.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxii. Ecce dies veniunt, predixit quos fore Cristus,  
 Et patuere diu verba timenda dei.  
 Precessere fames, pestis, motus quoque terre,  
 Signaque de celo, stat quoque guerra modo:  
 Nititur aduersus regnum consurgere regnum,  
 Gens contra gentem, sic patet omne malum.  
 Vt pecoris sic est hominis fusus modo sanguis,  
 Victa iacet pietas, et sinit ista deus: 1210  
 Est et adhuc vindex extenta manus ferientis  
 Continuans plagas, nec timet vllus eas.

1186 mouet] tenet EDLT

Cap. xxii. Heading 2 quotidie CED

Longanimis domini sententia sepe moratur,  
 Vir bonus inmundus nec malus ullus erit.  
 Quem deus ille ferit, nullo valet orbe tueri,  
 Si non contritum culpa relinquat eum.  
 Mortem peccantis non vult deus, immo misertus  
 Vult vt vertatur, quo sibi vita datur:  
 Est pius ipse deus, scripturis sicut habemus,  
 Pro Sodomis Abraha dixerat ipse pie: 1220  
 'Inter iniquorum tot milia tu populorum  
 Redde decem iustos, et miserebor eis.  
 Est michi nam soli proprium miseris misereri,  
 Multis pro paucis parcere curo libens.'  
 O deus, ergo tibi quid dicam, quomodo nostri  
 Luctus continui sunt tibi nuga quasi?  
 Nonne decem iusti modo sunt, meritis vt eorum  
 Stellifer ipse dies curet in orbe malos?  
 Aut deus oblitus est immemor ad miserandum,  
 Dormit vel fingit, aut sibi facta latent. 1230  
 Verius vt dicam, deus est accensus, et ignis  
 Fulminat inde Iacob, iraque lata furit:  
 Sic et plasma suum plasmator abhorret, et ipsum  
 Torquet pro factis que videt ipse malis.  
 O, qui mentali videt ex oculo mala nostra  
 Omnibus in gradibus continuare dies,  
 Dicere tunc poterit quod talia nullus ab euo  
 Impunita diu crimina vidit homo.  
 Quis status ille modo, quin sit transgressus, et ordo,  
 Quem iustum dicam, deficit vnde sciam. 1240  
 Hoc nisi gratis emat, dubito prope quod generalis  
 Decasus nostre prosperitatis adest:  
 Set quia de summis gradibus mala progrediuntur,  
 Est qui summus eos corrigit ipse deus.

Hic loquitur sub compendio recapitulando finaliter de  
 singulis mundi gradibus, qui singillatim a debito deuiantes  
 ordine virtutes diminuendo extinguunt, et ea que viciorum  
 sunt augmentando multipliciter exercent.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiii. Dudum prelatus solum diuina gerebat,  
 Nunc propter mundum nescit habere deum:  
 Curatus cure dudum seruiuit, et ipse

Nunc vagus exterius circuit omne genus :  
 Dudum presbiteri casti, nunc luxuriosi ;  
 Ocia que querunt plurima dampna fouent : 1250  
 Ex studio mores dudum didicere scolares,  
 Nunc tamen econtra stat viciata scola :  
 Indiuisus amor monachos sibi strinxit vt ardor,  
 Nunc petit inuidia claustra tenere sua :  
 Asperitas dudum fratres in carne domabat,  
 Regula set mollis ammodo parcet eis :  
 Dudum milicia fuit et sibi gracia prompta,  
 Gracia nunc tarda stat, quia vita mala :  
 Mercator dudum iustum peciit sibi lucrum,  
 Nunc quoque fraude sua querit habere lucra : 1260  
 Simplicitas animi fuerat sociata coloni,  
 Nunc magis indomitum cor gerit ipse ferum :  
 Lex dudum iusta nulli parcebat amica,  
 Quam vigor argenti subdit vbique sibi.  
 Par status imparibus est actibus attenuatus,  
 Exceditque suum quisque viator iter.

Sic pietas humilis teritur, que superbia regnat ;  
 Liur adest agilis, torpet et omnis amor :  
 Permanet ira ferox, et abit paciencia suplex,  
 Viuit et accidia, sollicitudo perit : 1270  
 Ebrietas, non sobrietas, tenet ammodo mensas,  
 Feruet et in viciis crapula plena cibis :  
 Casta pudicicia dudum precingere lumbos  
 Affuit, et modo vult soluere luxus eos :  
 Nuper larga manus inopi sua munera spersit,  
 Nunc cupit et bursam claudit auara tenax.

Dic modo quot viciis modo sola superbia mundum  
 Ad varii sceleris precipitauit opus :  
 Dic quot liur edax acies sua signa sequentes  
 Subdidit imperio vique metuque suo : 1280  
 Dic quot auaricie manibus vel mente rapaci  
 Intendunt populi iura negando dei ;  
 Quot gula deliciis torpet, quot torpor inanes  
 Carnis adulterio fedat in orbe suo.  
 Singula nempe vorat anime caro, sic quod vbique  
 Subdidit immundam crimine mundus eam :



Singula fallacis mundi dulcedo subegit,  
Nos tamen inmundos mundificare nequit.

Iam in fine libri loquitur magis in speciali de patria illa  
in qua natus fuerat, vbi quasi plangendo conqueritur, quali-  
ter honores et virtutes veteres a variis ibidem erroribus  
superuenientibus, vt dicitur, ad presens multipliciter ener-  
uantur.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxiiii. Singula que dominus statuit sibi regna per orbem,  
Que magis in Cristi nomine signa gerunt, 1290  
Diligo, set propriam super omnia diligo terram,  
In qua principium duxit origo meum.  
Quicquid agant alie terre, non subruor inde,  
Dum tamen ipse foris sisto remotus eis;  
Patria set iuuenem que me suscepit alumpnum,  
Partibus in cuius semper adhero manens,  
Hec si quid patitur, mea viscera compaciuntur,  
Nec sine me dampna ferre valebit ea:  
Eius in aduersis de pondere sum quasi versus;  
Si perstet, persto, si cadat illa, cado. 1300  
Que magis ergo grauant presenti tempore, saltem  
Vt dicunt alii, scismata plango michi.

Vna meo sensu res est, que pessima cunctis  
Iam poterit dici fons et origo mali.  
Heu! quia iusticia procul abcessit fugitiua,  
Cessit et est alibi pax sociata sibi:  
Pax, que iusticie dudum solet oscula ferre,  
Nunc fugit a terra, ius perit ecce quia.  
Plures iam nocui sumunt sibi regna magistri,  
Vis iubet et velle, iura nec vlla videt: 1310  
Nunc vbi se vertit magnas, sine iure sequuntur  
Leges, set populus inde subibit onus:  
Corpore sicque meo non tantum torqueor, immo  
Sunt michi pro minimo res quibus vtar ego.

Non est de modicis quod adulterium modo ledit;  
Que caro deposcit omnia namque licent.  
In terris aliis Venus et si predominetur,  
Exsoluunt meritis hoc aliunde suis;  
Est ibi nam posita lex, que communis ad omnes  
Iudicat, et causas terminat absque dolo: 1320

Non status aut sexus, non dona, preces, timor aut quid  
Possunt a minimo tollere iura viro :

Et sic iusticia redimit quodammodo culpam  
Carnis, que fragili condicione cadit.

Set nos in patria non solum vincimur ista  
Ex carnis stimulo, quo stimulatur homo ;  
Immo suas metas lex transit nescia iuris,  
Sicque per obliquas patria nostra vias

Deuiat in tanto, quod, dicunt, amplius ordo  
Non erit in nostris partibus : vnde deus  
Visitat has partes vindicta, qualis ab euo  
In nullo mundi tempore visa fuit.

1330

Non tamen est terra que gaudet in omnibus vna,  
Set magis in nostra fit modo virga fera :  
Clamor vbique, vide, non solus conqueror ipse ;  
Culpas tam patulas est reticere nephas :  
Sic fleo cum flente, lex fallit, fallor et ipse ;  
Stat mea nam grauibus patria plena malis.

Nos, quibus assuevit numquam crudeliter vti  
Fatum, iam pressos sternit vbique reos.

1340

Que fuerat tellus omni preciosa metallo,  
Iam nequit ex plumbo pondus habere suum ;  
Dignior argento, fuluo quoque dignior auro,  
Nobile que genuit, vix valet esse quadrans.  
Nuper dixerunt quicumque venire solebant,  
'Venimus ad portus, vbera terra, tuos.'

Nunc tamen vt sterilis reputaris et es, quia mores  
Nunc neque diuicie sunt aliquando tue.

Quo ferar, vnde petam mestis solacia rebus ?  
Anchora iam nostram non tenet vlla ratem.

1350

Sic mea, que stabilis fuit, infirmatur iniquis  
Patria iudiciis, iura negando viris :  
Sic gentis domina, quasi iam viduata, tributa  
Reddit peccato, statque remota deo.

Sic que morigera fuerat, nunc est viciosa ;  
Dudum legifera, nunc sine lege fera :

Sic ea que larga fuerat, nunc tollit egena ;  
Que fuerat sancta, fit Venus ipsa dea :

Est sale iam spersa, fuerat que fructibus ampla,

Et velut vitica, que solet esse rosa : 1360  
 Que fuerat pulcra, quasi monstrum stat reputata ;  
 Fit caput in caudam, sic terit omnis eam.  
 Scandala feda parit nouiter transgressa nouerca,  
 Omnis que laudis mater et hospes erat :  
 Que fuit angelica nuper, nunc angulus extat,  
 Languet et in tenebris sorde repressa magis.  
 Patria, quam famam dicunt habuisse sororem,  
 Est magis infamis omnibus ipsa locis :  
 Que fuerat digne super omnes celsior orbe,  
 Nunc deus est alibi, subditur ipsa quasi : 1370  
 Ordine retrogrado quicquid sibi laudis habebat  
 Cedit, et instabilis vndique spreta iacet.  
 Firma mouet, ruit alta, terit modo forcia discors  
 Error, et innumera spergit vbique mala :  
 Torpescunt proceres, clerus dissoluitur, vrbes  
 Discordant, leges sunt sine iure graues :  
 Murmurat indomitus vulgus, concrescit abvsus  
 Peccati solitus ; sic dolet omnis humus.  
 Hinc puto quod seuit pes terreus in caput auri,  
 Et lupus agnorum cornua vana timet. 1380  
 In meritis hominum solum deus aspicit orbem,  
 Et sua de facto tempora causat homo.

O sterilis<sup>4</sup> terra morum, sani viduata  
 Consilii, lesa nec medicamen habens,  
 Dic vbi fortuna latitat modo, qua reputabas  
 Nuper in orbe tuum non habuisse parem.  
 Si Lachesis sortem tibi contulit esse dolosam,  
 Iam venit ipsa tui reddere pacta doli :  
 Nunc palletque tuis nigris Aurora venenis, 1390  
 Cuius lux aliis fulsit in orbe magis ;  
 Nuncque iuuentutis flos que tibi creuit habunde  
 Aret, et a viciis inveterata peris ;  
 Fedaque nunc volucris, venturi nuncia luctus,  
 Concinit in fatis bubo propheta tuis.  
 Scit deus hanc causam specialius esse notandam,  
 Qua locus iste modo distat honore suo :  
 Hoc scio, quod cunctis locus in prouertia crescit,

1380 Et lupus SHDL Pastor et CG (ras.) Lupus et E 1388 reddere  
 SEHG soluere CDLT



Et quasi nunc speculum denotat omnis eum.

Talia per terras fatali lege geruntur,  
 Vt reputant, set ego non ita stare puto: 1400  
 Non est fortuna, que talia causat habenda,  
 Nec sors, set merita nostra per acta mala.  
 Qui tamen hanc stare modo credit et hanc reuocare  
 Vult, purget crimen, sic reuocabit eam:  
 Gracia prompta dei querentibus inuenietur,  
 Nam sibi conuersis vertitur ipse deus.  
 Dum pia pro pace cecinit processio terre,  
 Firmaque iusticia fecerat acta sua,  
 Dumque fides steterat et amor sine labe manebat,  
 Tunc, quia pax viguit, sors bona cuncta tulit. 1410  
 Nunc igitur nostra sit vita deo renouata,  
 Ne sors fortuita plus queat esse mala:  
 Vota vetusta precum redeant domino dominorum,  
 Vt redeat dominus cum pietate suis;  
 Per quem pax et honor et tempora sana redibunt,  
 Que pro peccato sunt fugitiua modo.

Prospera qui veteris vult temporis esse renata,  
 Reddat et emendet facta priora nouis.  
 Est deus ipse piis pius et seuerus iniquis,  
 Sic valet ob meritum quisquis habere deum. 1420  
 Nos igitur, domine, tua gracia, que solet olim  
 Ferre reis veniam, te miserante iuuat:  
 Anticipet pietas tua nos, ne dicat eorum  
 Gens, 'Vbi sit dominus, qui solet esse pius?'  
 Da, precor, accessum lacrimis, mitissime, nostris,  
 Nam sine te nullum scis quod habemus opem:  
 Nunc tua pro lapsis nitatur gracia rebus,  
 Nostra nec anterior sit tibi culpa memor:  
 Numquam pigra fuit causis tua gracia nostris:  
 Est vbi nunc illa, que solet esse salus? 1430  
 Nos peccatores sumus, et tu plus miserator,  
 Scit bonitasque tua nos opus esse tuum:  
 Si plus peccaret vir, plura remittere posses,  
 Materiam venie sors tibi nostra dedit.

1409 f. commune regebat Perstitit in nobis tunc honor atque salus EDLTH<sub>2</sub>  
 (gerebat E) 1411 Sint igitur nostra bona facta deo renouata EDLTH<sub>2</sub>  
 (reuocata L)

Si quociens homines peccant, tua fulmina mittas,  
 Exiguo presens tempore mundus erit :  
 A te pendentem sic cum circumspicis orbem,  
 Auctor, pacificum fac opus esse tuum.  
 Nos, deus alme, tui serui, quamuis modo tardi,  
 Te, non fortunam, credimus esse deum : 1440  
 Scimus te solum super omnes esse colendum ;  
 Sic nostri solus tu miserere, deus !

Hic loquitur qualiter ea que in hoc presenti libello quasi  
 sompnando de mundi scripsit erroribus, non ex se tantum,  
 set ex plebis voce communi concepit. Consulit tamen  
 finaliter quod, si quis inde se culpabilem senciat, priusquam  
 nobis peiora succedant tempora, suam ex humili corde culpam  
 penitens emendet.

Cap<sup>m</sup>. xxv. Hos ego compegi versus, quos fuderat in me  
 Spiritus in sompnis: nox erat illa grauis.  
 Hec set vt auctor ego non scripsi metra libello,  
 Que tamen audiui trado legenda tibi :  
 Non tumor ex capite proprio me scribere fecit  
 Ista, set vt voces plebis in aure dabant.  
 Quem sua mens mordet, de voce sit ille remorsus,  
 Curet vt in melius que tulit egra prius : 1450  
 Qui tamen immunem se sentit, ab inde quietus  
 Transeat, et meritis sic stet vterque suis.  
 Quem non culpa grauat mea non sententia culpat,  
 Leditur hinc nullus, sit nisi forte reus :  
 Ne grauet ergo tibi, gibbosus namque panelli  
 Et non sanus equs ferre recusat onus.  
 Non tamen in specie quemquam de pondere culpe  
 Accuso, set eo se probet intus homo :  
 Non ego mordaci distrinxi crimine quemquam,  
 Nec meus vllius crimina versus habet. 1460  
 Que sompno cepi, vigilans mea scripta peregi,  
 Sint bona dicta bonis, et mala linquo malis :  
 Omnis enim mundum gemit esse dei laceratum  
 Vindicta nostri pro grauitate mali.  
 Ergo suam culpam contrito corde, priusquam

1451 immunen S      1454 Text SCEG Sic precor vt nullus DLT  
 1455 Text SCEG Detrahet inde michi DL Se trahit inde michi T

Consumpti simus, corrigit ipse malus.

Corrigit hic mundum, qui cor retinet sibi mundum:

Cor magis vnde regat, hec sibi scripta legat.

Quod scripsi plebis vox est, set et ista videbis,

Quo clamat populus, est ibi sepe deus. 1470

Qui bonus est audit bona, set peruersus obaudit,

Ad bona set pronus audiat ista bonus.

Hec ita scripta sciat malus, vt bonus ammodo fiat,

Et bonus hec querat, vt meliora gerat.

Mundus non ledit iustum, bene dummodo credit,

Quando set excedit, mundus ad arma redit:

Mundus erit talis, fuerit viuens homo qualis;

Obstet vitalis quilibet ergo malis.

Culpa quidem lata, qua virtus stat viciata,

Cum non purgata fuerit set continuata, 1480

Que meruit fata sunt sibi fine data.

Explicit libellus qui intitulatur Vox Clamantis, editus precipue super articulo primi infortunii, quod infortunato Ricardo secundo in primordiis regni sui, vt audistis, quasi ex dei virga notabiliter in Anglia contingebat. Et nunc viterius, quia ipse non inde remorsus, immo magis ad modum tiranni induratus, regnum suum assiduus oppressionibus incessanter flagellare non desistit, diuine vindicte flagellum vsque in sue deposicionis exterminium non inmerito assecutus est. Tres namque tunc regni nobiles super hoc specialius moti, scilicet Thomas Dux Glouernie, 10 qui vulgariter dictus est Cignus, Ricardus Comes Arundellie, qui dicitur Equus, Thomas Comes de Warrewyk, cuius nomen Vrsus, hii vero vnanimis cum quibusdam aliis proceribus sibi adherentibus, vt regie malicie fautores delerent, ad dei laudem regnique commodum in manu forti iusto animo viriliter insurrexerunt, prout in hac consequenti cronica, que triperita est, scriptor manifestius declarare intendit.

1469 f. Text SCEHG (in ista E) per scripta cauebis Que mala sunt, ideo te dabis atque deo DLTH<sub>2</sub> (perscripta D) 1479-81 DLTH<sub>2</sub> have two lines only, as follows:—

Omnibus ipse tamen peior sum, sed releuamen

Det michi per flamen conditor orbis. Amen. 1480\*

EXPLICIT, &c. Explicit libellus qui intitulatur Vox Clamantis (*omitting the rest*) EDTH<sub>2</sub> Explicit liber intitulatus Vox clamantis (*omitting the rest*) L

4 virga dei CHG

12 Warwyk CH



Opus humanum est  
inquirere pacem et per-  
sequi eam. Hoc enim  
fecerunt hii tres proce-  
res de quibus infra fit  
mencio, ubi fides inter-  
fuit.

Opus inferni est  
pacem turbare, iustos-  
que regni interficere.

Hoc enim Ricardus capitosus dolosa circumvencione facere non timuit.

Opus in Cristo est deponere superbos de sede et exaltare humiles. Hoc enim deus  
fecit; odiosum Ricardum de Solio suo proiecit, et pium Henricum omni dilectione gratissimum  
cum gloria sublimari constituit.

ISTA tripertita, sequitur que, mente perita  
Cronica seruetur; nam pars que prima videtur  
Est opus humanum, pars illa secunda prophanum  
Est opus inferni, pars tertia iure superni  
Est opus in Cristo. Vir qui bene sentit in isto  
Scire potest mira, quid amor sit, quid sit et ira:  
Est tamen hoc clamor, 'Omnia vincit Amor.'

Hic in prima parte  
cronice compositor  
tempora distinguens,  
causas vnde regnum  
fuit in se diuisum,  
postmodum per sin-  
gula tractabit.

Qualiter infortuna-  
tus rex Ricardus, vir-  
gam dei non metuens,  
de malo in peius suam  
semper maliciam con-  
tinuauit.

TOLLE caput mundi, C ter et sex lustra fer illi,  
Et decies quinque cum septem post super adde:  
Tempus tale nota, qui tunc fuit Anglia mota.  
Dum stat commotus Ricardus amore remotus,  
Principio Regis oritur transgressio legis,  
Quo fortuna cadit et humus retrograda vadit.  
Quomodo surrexit populus, quem non bene rexit,  
Tempus adhuc plangit super hoc, quod cronica tangit.  
Libro testante, stat cronica scripta per ante;  
Est alibi dicta, transit nec ab aure relicta: 10  
Audistis mira, vulgaris que tulit ira:  
Omnibus in villis timuit vir iustus ab illis.

Rex induratum cor semper habet, neque fatum  
Tale remordebat ipsum, qui iure carebat:  
Stultorum vile sibi consilium iuuenile  
Legerat, et sectam senium dedit esse reiectam:  
Consilio iuuenum spirauerat ille venenum,  
Quo bona predaret procerum, quos mortificaret:  
Sic malus ipse malis adhesit, eisque sodalis  
Efficitur, tota regis pietate remota. 20

PREFACE *margin* capitosus] obstinatus H<sub>3</sub>

CRONICA TRIPERTITA. The MSS. are SCHG, as for the Vox Clamantis, and  
also the Bodleian MS. Hatton 92 (H<sub>3</sub>).

1 *margin* In hac prima parte CHH<sub>3</sub> 2 *margin* primo tempora  
distinguens H primo distinguens tempora H<sub>3</sub> 14 ipsum qui iure  
carebat] semper mala quin faciebat HH<sub>3</sub> mala semper quin faciebat C

Tunc accusare quosdam presumpsit auare,  
 Vnde catallorum gazas spoliaret eorum.  
 Tres sunt antiqui proceres, quos regis iniqui  
 Ira magis nouit, et eos occidere vouit :  
 Et sic qui cati pellem cupit excoriati,  
 Fingebat causas fallaci pectore clausas.  
 Caucius vt factum sibi possit habere subactum,  
 Leges conduxit, pro parte suaque reduxit :  
 Munere corrupti suadente timoreque rupti  
 Legis in errorem regi tribuere fauorem :  
 Hii tunc legiste, quicquid rex dixerat iste,  
 Federa componunt, que sigilla sub ordine ponunt.  
 Tunc rex letatur, super hoc quod fortificatur,  
 Quo magis ad plenum diffundat ille venenum :  
 Tunc aderant tales iuuenes, qui sunt speciales,  
 Laudantes regem, quia vertit sic sibi legem.

Hoc concernentes alii, que dolos metuentes,  
 Ad defendendum statuunt cito quid sit agendum.  
 Tunc rex festinat, et ad hoc sua iussa propinat,  
 Vt tres querantur vbi sunt, et ibi capiantur.  
 Tunc tres, qui iusti fuerant et ad arma robusti,  
 Factum disponunt et ad hoc sua robora ponunt.  
 Qui fuerant isti proceres, in nomine Cristi  
 Expedit vt dicam referens, et eis benedicam.  
 Si non directe procerum cognomina recte,  
 Hec tamen obscura referam, latitante figura :  
 Scribere que tendo si mistica verba legendo  
 Auribus apportant, verum tamen illa reportant.

Sunt Olor, Vrsus, Equus, stat eorum quilibet equus,  
 Non hii diuisi, set in vnum sunt quasi visi :  
 Penna coronata tribus hiis fuit associata :  
 Qui gerit S tandem turmam comitatur eandem,  
 Nobilis ille quidem probus et iuuenis fuit idem,  
 Sic quasi de celis interfuit ille fidelis :  
 Hac sub fortuna presens aquilonica luna  
 Non fuit ad sortem, sequitur set mente cohortem.

Qui solem gessit tenebrosus lumina nescit,  
 In Troie metas dum vindicat ipse dietas.

Nota de iudicibus illis, qui vt regis errorem precipue contra illos tres proceres quos occidere vellet iustificarent, literas sub eorum sigillis scriptas erronee composuerunt.

30

Qualiter tres proceres predicti de regis malicia secrecius pre-muniti in sui defensionem roborati sunt.

40

\*Nota de nominibus trium procerum predictorum sub figura. Comes Marescallus. Strenuissimus Comes Derbeie.

50

Comes Northumbrie, cuius Signum fuit luna crescens.

Qualiter rex, cuius Signum Sol erat, ciues Londonienses proaux-

ilio ab eis contra dictos  
tres proceres optinen-  
do requisivit; set illi  
regis maliciam per-  
plectentes eidem nul-  
latus consensusierunt.

Qualiter rex Comi-  
tem Oxonie, qui per  
aprum designatur, vt  
ipse contra tres proce-  
res antedictos gentes  
bellatrices secum  
duceret, in partes  
Cestrie vna cum regio  
vexillo destinauit.

Qualiter quodam  
die Veneris Comes  
Oxonie cum suis se-  
quentibus in conspectu  
ducis Glouernie, qui  
tunc vulpis caudam in  
lancea gessit, prope  
villam Oxonie in  
fugam se vertit, et  
castra, que ipse  
familie sue pro signo  
gestanda attribuerat,  
ad terram absque re-  
leuamine finaliter pro-  
iecta sunt. Nam et  
ipse Comes, vt secu-  
riori modo vitam ser-  
uaret, profugus vltra  
mare nauigio transiit.

Troia fuit prima, per quem sol tendit ad yma;  
Pallet in eclipsi populus, quia non fauet ipsi:  
Obsistunt turbę Phebo, ne scandat in vrbe,  
Dumque suis alis Cignus fuit imperialis.

60

Fraus tamen obliquas nubes commouit iniquas,  
Extera dum rebus temptauit lumina Phebus:  
Cestria surrexit, Aper in qua lumina rexit,  
Regis vexillum fatue signauerat illum.  
Set conspiranti deus obstat et insidianti,  
Quo dolus exosos inuoluit fine dolosos:  
Auxilio Cigni, regis pro parte maligni  
Si vis queratur, contraria vis operatur.  
Querit Aper latebras, fraudes mortisque tenebras,  
Quo regnum periat regisque superbia fiat;  
Cignus et expresse super hiis que cernit adesse  
Prouidet, et curam regni colit ipse futuram:  
Ducit Aper gentes, quas concitat arma gerentes,  
Liber vt hiis pergat proceresque per omnia spergat.

70

Cignus vt hoc sciuit, venientibus obuius iuit,  
Belliger et purgat regnum, quo vita resurgat:  
Cum Venus incepit lucem, sors bella recepit.  
Stat Tetis a parte, cecidit dum Cestria Marte;  
Thamisie fluctus capiunt de sanguine luctus:  
Vicit Olor pennis, sit ei quo vita perhennis.  
Tunc Aper Oxonie cecidit de sede sophie;  
Cum prope stat villam, maledixerat impius illam:  
Non ibi permansit fugiens set Aper vada transit,  
Infortunatus fit ibi de fonte renatus.  
De vulpis cauda velox Aper est vt alaunda,  
Cauda ruit castra, que sunt numero velut astra:  
Sic quia deliquit, vacuus sua castra reliquit,  
Pauper et exposcit foueam, qua viuere possit.  
Set neque castrorum iuuat Aprum pompa suorum,  
Nec sibi fossa datur, dum profugus inde fugatur:  
Hec ita dum vidit, quod eum fortuna rescidit,  
Per mare transiuit, alibi quo viuere quiuit.  
Sic Aper in leporem mutatus perdit honorem,  
Amplius et certus locus est sibi nullus apertus.

80

90



Nil odor incensi tunc profuit Eboracensi,  
 Set nec mitra choris nec opes nec culmen honoris;  
 Ad regale latus cum plus sit ad alta leuatus,  
 Corruit a sede, sic transit presul ab ede. 100  
 Cure mercator primas fuit et spoliator,  
 Pauper et abcessit, quem preuia culpa repressit:  
 Sic fugit hic predo cleri Noua villa Macedo,  
 Quem, quia sic vixit, pater ecclesie maledixit.

Est Comes elatus, fallax, cupidus, sceleratus;  
 Fraudes per Mille stat Cancellarius ille:  
 Hic proceres odit et eorum nomina rodit  
 Morsibus a tergo, fit tandem profugus ergo.  
 Sic deus in celis mala de puteo Michaelis  
 Acriter expurgat, ne plus comes ille resurgat. 110

Alter et est talis, sub regis qui cubat alis,  
 Mollis confessor, blandus scelerisque professor:  
 Extitit hic frater, qui stat foris intus et ater,  
 Cuius nigredo fedat loca regia, credo.  
 Hic fuit obliquus procerum latitans inimicus,  
 Semper in augendo magis iram quam minuendo:  
 Hic tamen in fine fugit, et de sorte ruine  
 Que mala spondebat aliis prius ipse luebat.  
 Sunt ita predicti cordis formidine victi,  
 De propria viui terra quod sunt fugitiui. 120

Tunc tres persone, qui pleni sunt racione,  
 Iusticiam querunt, regem super hoc adierunt.  
 Rex fuit ad muros Turris proceresque futuros  
 Vidit, et ex visu cognouit se sine risu.  
 Armatis turbis portas intrantibus vrbis,  
 Intrans audaces proceres in pace sequaces;  
 Turrim ceperunt, vbi regis honore steterunt.  
 Eius vt a latere vicium poterint remouere,  
 Est iter inuentum, statuunt quo parlamentum,  
 Vt sic purgarent regnique statum repararent. 130

Terra covnata fuerat de lege vocata;  
 Rex sedet, et tutum fuit os commune locutum.  
 Dicit enim, tales qui regis collaterales  
 Extiterant gentes, super hoc quod sunt fugientes,  
 Iudicium tale fuit exilium generale:

Qualiter statim post  
 fugam dicti Comitiss  
 Oxonie Alexander de  
 Nevill tunc Eboracensis  
 archiepiscopus, qui eciam  
 cum rege in suis erroribus  
 particeps erat, tunc metu  
 ductus consimili fuga per  
 mare reus euasit.

Qualiter Michael de  
 la Pole, Comes Suffolcie,  
 qui tunc regis Cancellarius  
 erat, dum se culpabilem  
 sciebat, trans mare eciam  
 nauigando ad salutem  
 alibi se munivit.

Qualiter eciam episcopus  
 Cicestrie, tunc regis  
 confessor, conscius culpe  
 externa loca petens propria  
 fugiendo reliquit.

Qualiter tres procere  
 de querela antedicti  
 Londonias pariter aduenientes,  
 cum rege, tunc apud Turrim  
 existente, pro remedio  
 in premissis optinendo,  
 seruata regis reuerencia,  
 colloquium pacificum habuerunt:  
 vnde de regis consensu  
 parlamentum infra breue  
 Londoniis tenendum  
 optinuerunt.

Qualiter in principio  
 parlamenti concordatum  
 est, quod absencia tunc  
 illorum qui, vt premititur,  
 a regno sponte fugierunt,  
 in perpetuum exilium

absque redempcione  
iudicaretur.

Qualiter parlamen-  
tum gradatim proces-  
sit, precipue contra  
illos qui regis iniqui  
fautores iniqui fue-  
runt, quorum Simon  
de Burle miles, tunc  
regis Camerarius, in  
iudicio conuictus mor-  
tis sententia decolla-  
tus est.

Qualiter etiam Io-  
hannes Beauchamp  
miles, tunc regis ho-  
spicii Senescallus,  
quem rex Baronem  
de Brigenorth vocari  
constituit, amisso ca-  
pite de Curia recessit.

Qualiter Nicholaus  
Brembel, qui ciuis et  
Maior Londoniarum  
fuerat, ad furcas trac-  
tus et ibi suspensus  
suam vrbis libertatem  
turpiter amisit.

Qualiter etiam Ro-  
bertus Tresilian miles,  
qui tunc de Banco  
regis iudex capitalis  
extitit, sub eadem fur-  
carum pena diem vite  
sue iudicialiter clausit  
extremum.

Qualiter iudices alii,  
qui originales regis  
excessus, vt prefertur,  
sigillis suis contra pro-  
ceres roborarunt, ad

De terra dempti sic sunt, non ense perempti ;  
Est ita dilata procerum sententia lata.

Hoc facto querunt alios, qui tunc latuerunt,  
Quorum regalis Camerarius est capitalis.  
Corruit in fata gladii vestis stragulata ;  
Stat quia non recta, magis est culpanda senecta ;  
Lacrima Regine dum poscit opem medicine,  
Obrutus amittit caput et sua funera mittit.

Ecce Senescalli non tantum lucra catalli,  
Que mala quesuiit, sceleris fortuna sitiuit,  
Set magis in mortem decreuit curia sortem :  
Dum caput inclinat, gladius sibi iura propinat.  
Ille quidem Cignum despexit, Aprumque malignum  
Semper laudauit, cor regis et infatuauit ;  
Fallax, versutus, quasi vulpis fraude volutus,  
Inuidus et paci lingua fuit ille loquaci.  
Nomen Baronis cecidit sic Pons Aquilonis ;  
Hoc rex erroris posuit sibi nomen honoris.

Maior erat ville, Tribulus dictus fuit ille,  
Qui proceres pungit regisque dolos magis vngit :  
Hunc quasi consortem dilexit rex, quia sortem  
Consilii cepit, quo mortem fine recepit :  
Furcis pendebat, quem primo terra trahebat,  
Ictum sic ensis non sentit Londoniensis.

In banco regis qui librat pondera legis,  
Iuraque cognouit, aliis plus iura remouit,  
Cornubiensis erat : si quis sua crimina querat,  
Peior eo nullus, nec eo fallacior vllus.  
Hic scelus instigat proceres, quos sepe fatigat,  
Vnde fatigatus tandem perit hic sceleratus :  
Crimine prestante super hoc quod fecerat ante,  
Ad furcas tractus fit ibi pendendo subactus.  
Pendula sors tristis morientibus accidit istis,  
In manibus quorum pendebant iura virorum.

Iudicibus reliquis falsisque scienter amicis,  
Vt patet ante nota, conclamat curia tota :  
Vrbs, ager et villa damnarunt falsa sigilla,  
Que dederant causam sceleris regi, magis ansam.

Non fuit hec pena, delictis que fore plena  
 Posset, et hoc certe vox plebis dixit aperte;  
 Set nimis ornate penam ficta pietate  
 Pontifices regis moderantur ab ordine legis:  
 Sic non ense cadunt, set in exilium mare vadunt,  
 Quos inconsultos suscepit Hibernia stultos.  
 Legiferi tales super omnes sunt speciales,  
 Regis ad errorem qui plus tribuere fauorem.  
 Hic non sorte pari statuit sors fata parari,  
 Vt reus incepit, sic de mercede recepit:  
 Exulat iste status, fuit alter decapitatus,  
 Hii, cum ceduntur, ad funera fune trahuntur.  
 Dispar erat munus, fuerat tamen exitus vnus;  
 Quicquid homo voluit, tandem mors omnia soluit.

180

Vt rex purgetur, vt regnum clarificetur,  
 Restat adhuc queri, poterit quo culpa mederi.  
 Absque deo fratres fuerant hoc tempore patres,  
 Nec sibi confessa per eos est culpa repressa:  
 In viciis arent, vicium qui mundificarent;  
 Morum more carent, mores qui multiplicarent.  
 Fraudis in exemplum sic errat ab ordine templum,  
 Nec cauet ille status solita de sorde reatus:  
 Sunt ita transgressi fratres ad sacra professi,  
 Quod personarum deus extitit vltor earum.  
 Ad regale latus non est status immaculatus,  
 Quo plus quam Centum remouentur abinde clientum:  
 Lugent cantores, perdunt quia cantus honores,  
 Plangunt scriptores scriptos de fraude rigores:  
 Transit adulator, sceleratus et insidiator,  
 Consilii fautor, inuentor et inuidus auctor.

190

200

Stat manus extenta, nec cessat Curia tenta,  
 Donec purgetur dolus omnis et euacuetur.  
 Falsi temptarunt iustos, set non superarunt,  
 Nec prece nec dono, Cristo mediante patrono.  
 Tempore quo stabant hii tres, regnum solidabant,  
 Legem firmabant viciataque iura fugabant:  
 Sic emendatum Regem faciunt renouatum,  
 Cercius vt credunt, et sic cum laude recedunt.  
 Concinit omne forum benefactaque laudat eorum,

210

instanciam prelato-  
 rum absque mortis  
 iudicio in partes Hi-  
 bernie exules ab  
 Anglia transierunt.

Qualiter diuersi fra-  
 tres, diuersarum curi-  
 arum tunc confessores,  
 vna cum aliis ministris  
 quampluribus, quasi  
 palee inviles per loca  
 disperguntur.

Qualiter proceres  
 predicti de querela  
 principales, si preci-  
 bus aut donis flecti pos-  
 sent, sepiissime blandi-  
 untur; set illi tanquam  
 vere iusticie executo-  
 res, vsque in sue que-  
 rele consummacionem  
 vnanimis constanter  
 astiterunt.



Hic in fine compositor gesta dictorum triumphorum laudabiliter commendans, pro eis apud altissimum deuocius exorat.

Talia dicentes sunt vndique laude canentes.

In Cristi signo sit semper gloria Cigno,  
Laus et in hoc mundo sit Equo, quem signat hirundo,  
Vrsus et ex ore populi fungatur honore.  
Hii tres Anglorum fuerant exempla bonorum;  
Regnum supportant alienaque pondera portant:  
Reddat eis munus tribus est qui trinus et vnus. Amen.

**Explicit prima Pars Cronice et  
Incipit Secunda.**

Hic in Secunda parte Cronice declarat qualiter rex, sub vmbra fide concordie pacem dissimilans, tres procures predictos dolose circumuenit; ita quod vnum ex istis iugulari, alium decollari fecit, tercium vero vna cum domino de Cobham, qui regni verus amicus semper extitit, in exilium mancipari tyrannica potestate, prothdolor! destinavit. Insuper et, quod detestabile fuit, idem crudelissimus rex reuerendum in Cristo patrem Thomam Arundellie, tunc Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, de Sede sua penitus expulit, ipsumque pro perpetuo in exilium delegari crudelissime constituit.

In hac secunda parte cronice compositor primo ea que post sequuntur dolorosa infortunia doloroso corde deplangit.

Qualiter, vt hii tres procures, de quibus audistis, cum rege, quem dolosum sciebant, pacem securiorum habere possent, cartas concordie ab ipso impetratas obtinuerunt.

O DOLOR in mente, set prothdolor ore loquente!  
Heuque mee penne, scribam quia facta gehenne!  
Obice singultu, lacrimis pallenteque vultu,  
Vix mea penna sonat hec que michi Cronica donat.  
Vt prius audistis, hii tres, quibus Anglia tristis  
Plus delectatur, magis hos fortuna minatur:  
Rex facie bina fallax, latitante ruina,  
Omnia fingeat, que dolos sub fraude tegebat.

Ad regale latus, quasi frater et associatus,  
Cignus erat factus, et eos quos vult facit actus: 10  
Taliter est et Equis regis de carmine cecus,  
Quod non discernit ea que fallacia cernit:  
Est incantatus eciam quasi magnificatus  
Vrsus, et ignorat finem, qua sorte laborat.  
Set magis vt tuti maneant de lege statuti,

213 laude] verba CHHs  
Heading 4 fecit om. CHHs  
4 penna] lingua CHHs

219 eis] ei H  
8 Arundellie CHHs Arundell S  
15 de] do C

Hii regis querunt cartas, quas optinuerunt :  
 Sic se conformant, sic se cum rege reformant,  
 Quod viuunt more quasi grex pastoris amore.  
 Hoc credunt plane, set transit tempus inane ;  
 Cum se stare putant, subito sua tempora mutant. 20

Ecce scelus magnum, latitans quasi vulpis in agnum,  
 Sic dolus expectat, quos ira tyrannica spectat.  
 O fraus, o que dolus, quos rex sub ymagine solus,  
 Dum scelus exhaustit, tam longo tempore clausit !  
 Set magis ad plenum tunc fuderat ille venenum,  
 Quo prius inflatus quamsepe dolet sceleratus :  
 Turbinis vt ventus, sic irruit acra iuuentus  
 In Cignum spretum, dum se putat esse quietum.

O quam fortuna stabilis non permanet vna !  
 Exemplum cuius stat in ordine carminis huius.  
 Rex agit et Cignus patitur de corde benignus,  
 Illeque prostratus non est de rege leuatus :  
 Ad Plescy captus tunc est velut hostia raptus,  
 Rex iubet arma geri, nec eo voluit misereri.  
 Cum sponsa nati lugent quasi morte grauati,  
 Plusque lupo seuit rex, dummodo femina fleuit :  
 Nil pietas munit, quem tunc manus inuida punit ;  
 Rex stetit obliquus, nec erat tunc vnus amicus.  
 O regale genus ! princeps quasi pauper egenus  
 Turpiter attractus iacet et sine iure subactus.  
 Sunt ibi fautores regis de sorte priores,  
 Qui Cignum prendunt, vbi captum ducere tendunt :  
 Sic ducendo Ducem perdit sine lumine lucem  
 Anglia, que tota tenebrescit luce remota :  
 Trans mare natauit, regnum qui semper amauit,  
 Flent Centum Mille, quia Cignus preterit ille.  
 Calisie portus petit, vnde dolus latet ortus,  
 Error quem regis genuit putredine legis :  
 Carcere conclusus subito fuit ille reclusus ;  
 Nescit quo fine, sit vite siue ruine. 50

Tunc rex elatum sumpsit quasi falco volatum,  
 Vnde suas gentes perdit custode carentes.  
 Amoto Cigno, rex feruens corde maligno  
 Prendere querit Equm, super hocque reuoluere secum

Qualiter rex, vt ipse  
 sub dissimilate pacis  
 concordia proceres  
 decipiat, vulpe falla-  
 cior continua circum-  
 uencione dolos machi-  
 natur.

30 Qualiter rex sui  
 pectoris odium, quod  
 adiu latuit, ad expres-  
 sam vindictam primo  
 contra ducem Glouer-  
 nie, qui Cignus dicitur,  
 in oculis omnium  
 fulmine plus subito  
 produxit. Nam et ipse  
 rex in propria perso-  
 na dictum ducem apud  
 Plescy improuisum  
 manu forti cepit, et  
 eum sic captum Cali-  
 sias indilate produci,  
 40 et ibi sub arta custo-  
 diastriccius in carcera-  
 ri constituit.

Qualiter rex, qui  
 per mille meandros  
 procerum corda exagi-

tans inquietauit, Ricardum Comitem Arundellie quid dicitur Equus, fraudulentè decepit. Erat enim tunc frater dicti Comitiss Thomas, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, cui rex sub iuramento fidem prestitit, quod, si dictus Comes ad sui regis presenciam, obediens sponte veniret, liber extunc absque calumpnia, vbicumque transire vellet, cum firma regis amicitia fiducialiter permaneret: etsic veniens probus Comes ab improbo rege decipitur.

Qualiter Thomas, alio nomine Vrsus, tunc Comes de Warwyk, a regis satellitibus Londoniis captus et in carcerem missus inmundis culpe paciens succubuit. Super quo suum parlamentum apud Westmonasterium in proximo pronuntiandum rex tyrannus decreuit.

Qualiter pronuncia- to parlamento octo tunc appellantes contra dictos tres proce- res ad eorum perditionem promptissimi interfuerunt, et quia rex propter metum populi ducem Glouernie coram eo personaliter in parlamento comparere noluit, subtili mendacio finxit eum in lecto mortuum fuisse, qui adhuc superstes in carcere Calisie sub clauē tenebatur; et sic ducem absentem absque responsione rex pestifer falsissime condemnauit.

Qualiter rex, cum ipse ducem prenotatum

Caucius in mente conspirat fraude latente.  
Periurans Cristum Comitem sic decipit istum:  
Ipse libro tacto iurat, firmanteque pacto  
Promisit certe que fidem donauit aperte,  
Dicens quod tutus nulla de fraude volutus  
Liber transiret, ad eum si quando veniret.  
Hoc iuramentum frater Comitiss manutentum  
Primas feruore regis suscepit ab ore:  
Presul letus erat, sub tali federe sperat,  
Et sic cautelis captus fuit ille fidelis.

Vrsus vt audiuit, non ergo remotus abiuit;  
Signans se Cristo mentem stabiliiuit in isto:  
Non facit excursus paciens que piissimus Vrsus,  
Set magis attendit mala que fortuna rependit:  
Londoniis mansit, nec ab vrbis cardine transit,  
Quo captiuatus fuit hic sine labe reatus.  
Sic tres persone vi set non iure corone  
Carceribus stricti remanent velut vmbra relictis.  
Celsius in scanno tunc creuit pompa tyranno,  
Nulli parcebat, sibi dum fortuna fauebat:  
Stat scelus extentum statuit quo parlamentum,  
Vt sit finalis sic vlcio iudicialis.

Tunc appellantes fuerant octo dominantes,  
Qui tres appellant, vt eos a luce repellant.  
O, quis pensare posset quin fleret amare,  
Dum scelus explorat, per quod magis Anglia plorat?  
Ecce dies mortis aderant, qua pompa cohortis  
Regem pomposum statuit magis esse dolosum.  
Pro regis parte subtili fingitur arte,  
Cignum tam purum sine responso moriturum:  
Cum magis expresse rex nouit eum superesse,  
Finxit eum lecto transisse sub ordine recto.  
Sic non inuento Cigno, nil parlamento  
Pro se respondit, quem rex sub clauē recondit:  
Cum non apparet, vt se de lege iuuaret,  
Hunc condemnarunt subito, quem post spoliarent.  
O scelus inferni, poterunt quo flere moderni,  
De iugulo Cigni quod constituere maligni!  
Occulte querunt quod aperte non potuerunt,



Dumque timent gentes, clam sunt sua facta gerentes.

Assunt tortores de nocteque feruidiores

Cignum prostratum iugulant quasi martirizatum:

Calisiis actum sceleris fuit hoc malefactum,

Regis precepto, iugulo qui gaudet adepto.

Sic nece deuictum, sic corpus ab hoste relictum,

Clam de conclauī suscepērat Anglia nauī;

Per mare regreditur corpus, nec adhuc sepelitur,

Namque sepulturam defendit Rex sibi puram:

Desupér a latere patris loca iusta tenere

Dummodo quesuiit, vix bassa sepulcra subiuit.

O que nephas tale, quod nec ius imperiale,

Set neque lex Cristi proceri sic contulit isti!

Eius enim vita periit sine iure sopita,

Et mors eius ita negat esse sepulcra petita.

Heu! quis iam viuīt, vnquam qui talia sciuit,

Sic regis natum per regem mortificatum?

Heu! quia regalis stirps Anglica tam specialis

Regis precepto periit sine crimine cepto.

Heu! quia tortorum quidam de sorte malorum

Sic ducis electi plumarum pondere lecti

Corpus quassatum iugulant que necant iugulatum;

Quod nimis ingratum dolet Anglia tota relatum.

Det deus hoc fatum, sit adhuc quod corpus humatum,

Spiritus atque statum teneat sine fine beatum!

Est recitandus Equs, Cignus quia preterit equs:

Non hos morte pari voluit sors equiparari.

Rex sedet, et cuncti fautores tunc sibi iuncti

Sunt ibi presentes ad Equm mala plura loquentes;

Isteque solus erat, que deum solummodo sperat,

Quo pius et fortis permansit ad vltima mortis.

Rex prius accusat, et Equs scelus omne recusat,

Pretendens regisque sigilla sub ordine legis

Cartam monstrauit, qua tucior esse putauit:

Non fuit absque nota, prius est concordia nota.

Set rex cautelis Comit̃s responsa fidelis

Caucius extinxit, que dolos sub fraude refinxit.

Tunc conspirati cum rege que magnificati

Regis predicta firmarunt omnia dicta.

cauteloſe, ſicut audis-  
tis, condemnari ſpira-  
uerat, poſtea infra  
tempus quosdam tor-  
tores ſibi quaſi ab  
inferno confederatos  
Calisias, vbi dux adhuc  
vuius incarceratus eſt,  
transmiſit, qui illuc  
aduenientes, ad regis  
preceptum de iugulo  
pre manibus excogi-  
tato, ducem improui-  
ſum clanculo de nocte  
ſub pondere lecti plu-  
malis mortaliter de-  
preſſum abſque pieta-  
te ſubito ſuffocarunt.

110

120

130

Qualiter Comes A-  
rundellie ab impio re-  
ge in parlamento ac-  
cuſatus, ad ea que ſibi  
obiiciuntur intrepidus  
reſpondit; et primo  
ſingula que per ipſum  
fiebant, ſecundum ſue  
intencionis propoſi-  
tum ad regis honorem  
facta fuiſſe claro ſer-  
mone iuſtificauit; ſe-  
cundo enim regis car-  
tas ſuper hoc pacem et  
concordiam ſpecialiter  
teſtificantes in auri-  
bus omnium mani-  
feſtus pronunciauit: ſet  
ille, coram quo nullum  
ius procedit, rex im-  
pius Comit̃s reſponſa

non acceptans, ex propria malicia ipsum mortali sententia dampnatum, in impetu furoris apud montem Turris Londoniarum decollari fecit, vbi fratres Augustinenses corpus cum capite secum ad eorum ecclesiam cum psalmis deferentes in loco congruo deuote sepelierunt.

Heu! nimis ingrata tunc est sententia lata,  
 Horrida, mortalis, quia pena fuit capitalis.  
 Per loca, per vicos ductus respexit amicos,  
 Qui magis occulta dederant suspiria multa:  
 Vndique tunc flebant qui talia fata videbant,  
 Cum prece deuota facientes plurima vota.  
 Sunt et fallaces alii, pro rege sequaces  
 Qui veniunt equites, neque iusti set neque mites; 140  
 Hii penam talem proclamant tunc capitalem,  
 Ad loca signataque iubent procedere fata.  
 Tunc Comes ad Cristum sermonem dixerat istum:  
 'Omnia tu nosti: moriar, quia sic placet hosti;  
 Hostibus exactus perio, sine iure subactus;  
 Inmunis pergo, miserere michi, precor, ergo.'  
 Expansis palmis que sonantibus vndique psalmis,  
 Sic patitur tandem, penamque subintrat eandem:  
 Quin caput amittit sibi gracia nulla remittit,  
 Milia quo Centum maledicunt parlamentum. 150  
 Corpus ad ima cadit, dum saluare ad ethera vadit  
 Spiritus in celis, vbi viuunt amores fidelis:  
 Augustinenses fratres tunc Londonienses  
 Hunc magis extollunt, que caput cum corpore tollunt;  
 Vix tamen audebant hoc ponere quo cupiebant,  
 Set magis occultum condunt pro rege sepultum.  
 Det deus hoc sciri, poterit quod adhuc sepeliri,  
 Eius et heredes proprias habeant sibi sedes.

Qualiter Comes de Warwyk, ex regis collusione circumventus, in parlamento se culpabilem recognouit, sperans per hoc certissimam regis veniam, vt sibi promittebatur, infallibiliter promeruisse. Set rex omni fallacie intendens, qui per talem recognitionem alios de querela conuicisse putauit, dicto Comiti mala pro bonis retribuens, ipsum pro mercede exheredatum in partes

Iam refrenato violenter Equo que grauato,  
 Vrsus querebant, quem tunc agitare volebant; 160  
 Pestiferique canes aderant tunc regis inanes,  
 Vndique latrando pacem nec habent aliquando.  
 Ad latus omne terunt, set ad hoc quod plus potuerunt  
 Non magis attendit, quin rex sua recia tendit.  
 O! quam subtilis oritur tunc fraus iuuenilis,  
 Per quam tunc fraudem nequit Vrsus carpere laudem.  
 Hoc rex testatur, Vrsus quod si fateatur  
 Quod reus existat, nec ad illa relata resistat,  
 Rex sibi prestabit veniam, qua curia stabit,  
 Et sic transibit sine morteque liber abibit; 170  
 Sique recognoscat aliter, sibi iuraque poscat,

Incidet in mortem : trahat hanc quam vult sibi sortem.

Qui cum rege pares fuerant tunc consiliares,

Vrsum temptarunt, eius quoque velle probarunt :

Hic vitam portat, alius mortemque reportat ;

Hic consolatur, alius quandoque minatur ;

Quisque dolos fingit, quibus Vrsi pectora stringit,

Quo minus agnoscit quid regi dicere possit.

Sicque fatigatus tandem de labe reatus

Se fore conuictum reddit : fuit hoc male dictum : 180

Tali sermone concrescunt iura corone,

Rex tres deuicit, vnus quia talia dicit.

Ad regis vota fuit Vrsi dicio tota,

Omneque respondet verbum, quod rex sibi spondet :

Set cum sic vere regi putat ipse placere,

Regis et ad nutum sperabat se fore tutum,

Tunc magis amisit que rex sibi federa misit ;

Nam quod promisit rex pactum denique risit,

Et sic delusus fuit Vrsus ab ore reclusus,

Vnde pium verbum gustu magis extat acerbum. 190

Heu, quam res tristis ! heu, quam fuit error in istis,

Quando suum pactum rex non produxit in actum !

Fingit et ignorat que rex tunc fraude colorat,

De quibus extentum finis docet experimentum.

Vrsus poscebat, quod rex non perficiebat,

Nec pudet hoc gestum, fraudis quod erat manifestum.

Vrsum contemptum, nulla pietate redemptum,

Exilio demptum statuit rex esse peremptum :

Insula tunc hominis longinqua que plena ruinis

Carcere concludit Vrsum, quem pena retrudit. 200

Quod sic ledebat, regi non sufficebat,

Set capit ex toto terras herede remoto,

Nec sibi dimissam solam fouet hic Comitissam,

Set magis amouit, inopem quam Curia nouit.

Sic rex deleuit, quem tota prouincia fleuit ;

Ne plures ledat, moriens prius ipse recedat.

Restat adhuc dira mons Ethna latente sub ira,

Regis, dumque faces magis obtinet inde voraces.

Quem rex iratus, quamuis sine labe reatus,

longinquas, vt ibi in  
carcere seruaretur,  
exulem pro perpetuo  
mancipauit.



Tangit in ardore, subito perit ille dolore.

210

Cum plus morosus sit homo, magis est viciosus,

Regi qui seuit pestis quo pessima creuit.

Vnus erat dignus, paciens, pius atque benignus,

Prouidus et iustus, morum virtute robustus,

Non erat obliquus, regni set verus amicus :

Hunc rex odiuit, in quo bona talia sciuit ;

Vt dicunt Mille, dominus Cobham fuit ille,

Cronica quos lesit, quibus ille fidelis adhesit.

Cristo set vere voluit quia fine placere,

Transtulit ad sedem se Cartusiensis ad edem :

220

Sic cepit Cristus, voluit quem tollere fiscus ;

Quem Cristus duxit, fiscus sine iure reduxit.

Rex scelus accusat, Cobham scelus omne recusat,

Iustificans factum ; sic res processit in actum :

Que sapit hec loquitur, nec in hoc vecors reperitur,

Immo quod est certum regi manifestat apertum.

Sic, quia veridicus tribus est constanter amicus,

Rex condemnauit Cobham, set non maculauit :

Sic non conuictus gladii non senciit ictus,

Exilii lora subiit tamen exteriora.

230

Hinc rogo quod purus redeat cum laude futurus,

Vt sic felici reditu letentur amici.

Heu ! mea penna madet lacrimis, dum scribere suadet

Infortunata sceleris quibus horreo fata.

Non satis est regem mundi deflectere legem,

Vt pereant gentes sub eo sine lege manentes,

Set magis in Cristum seuit, quapropter ad istum

Casum defendendum non est michi credo tacendum.

Anglorum Primas, suppremo culmine primas

Qui tenuit sedes, melius dum sperat in edes,

240

Hunc rex compellit et eum de Sede repellit,

Dum Simon Rome supplantat federa Thome.

Hic Thomas natus Comitis fuit intitulatus,

Clericus aptatus, doctor de iure creatus,

Legibus ornatus, facundus, morigeratus,

Cum Cristo gratus in plebeque magnificatus.

O quam prelatus tam purus et immaculatus

Qualiter rex, omnes quosunque ledere posset querens, tandem innocentem dominum de Cobham, qui per prius seculo renuncians in domo Cartusiensi tunc moram traxit, eciam in iudicium parlamenti produxit. Setille, nullo minarum terrore aut blandimentorum exhortacione locum tiranno prebens, in omnibus suis responsionibus fidelissimus inueniebatur: vnde rex quasi confusus, eius constanciam abhorrens, ipsum pre verecundia absque mortis sententia in exilium longius ab Anglia destinauit.

Qualiter rex, qui nec deum timet nec hominem veretur, contra reuerendissimum in Cristo patrem Thomam Arundellie, tunc Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, dum inter eos maior putabatur dileccio, occasiones discordie importabiles ductus auaricia fingere non erubuit. Vnde idem Thomas, de Archiepiscopo in non Archiepiscopum subito mutatus, omnia bona sua tam temporalia quam spiritualia dolosa regis circumvencione penitus amisit; expulsus-

218 lecit C

221 sepit C

229 ictis C

236 periant CHHs

243 margin nonarchiepiscopum CH

244 optatus C

Ad regale latus tandem fuit illaqueatus !  
 Tramite subtili latitans plus vulpe senili  
 Rex studet in fine Thomam prostrare ruine.  
 De tribus audistis, cum rex scelus intulit istis,  
 Presul vt adiutor fuit hiis quodammodo tutor,  
 Non contra legem, set ab ira flectere regem  
 Nomine pastoris temptauerat omnibus horis :  
 Semper erat talis, restat dum spes aliqualis,  
 Si contra mortem poterat saluasse cohortem.  
 Rex tulit hoc triste, quia Cancellarius iste  
 Tempore quo stabat hos tres constanter amabat ;

Sic procurator pius extitit et mediator,  
 Cartas quod Regis habuerunt munere legis.

Pontificis more summi pro regis amore  
 Sic pacem mittit, mortis gladiumque remittit :

Hec ita fecisset, pactum si rex tenuisset,  
 Set que iurauit hodie, cras verba negauit.

Cernite pro quali culpa magis in speciali  
 Pontifici tali sine causa materiali

Rex fuit iratus, set et altera causa reatus  
 Est plus secreta, tunc Rome quando moneta  
 Simonis ex parte papam concludit in arte.

Ecce per has causas sub regis pectore clausas  
 Hoc scelus obiecit Thome, qui nil male fecit.

Regis fautores super hoc tamen anteriores  
 Fraudibus obtentum concludunt parlamentum ;

Sic de finali rex pondere iudiciali

Exilio demit Thomam, nec amore redemit :

Sic pater absque pare, quem rex spoliauit auare,  
 Partes ignotas tunc querit habere remotas.

Tunc pius Antistes casus pro tempore tristes  
 Sustinet, et curam sperat reuocare futuram :

Cristus eum ducat, saluet que salute reducat,  
 Sic vt vterque status sit ei cum laude beatus.

O dolor, hoc anno quo creuit pompa tyranno !

Qui ferus, vt dicit, voluit quos vincere, vicit.

Dum scelus hoc restat, super omnes tres manifestat,

De quibus in gente stat vox variata repente :

Quidam constricti, quidam de munere victi

que insuper absque  
 villo mundi releua-  
 mine, solum deum re-  
 clamans exul et pau-  
 per ab Angliarecessit.

Hic declarat aliqua-  
 liter figmenta causa-  
 rum, per quas pontifex  
 supradictus a parlia-  
 mento tunc absens  
 contra omnem iusti-  
 ciam, vt audistis, exilii  
 sententiam ab impro-  
 uiso quasi nescius in-  
 currebat.

260

270

280

Hic narrat qualiter  
 vix vnus aut de morte  
 aut de exilio, precipue  
 trium procerum supra-  
 dictorum, aliquod ver-

bum lamentabile in  
aperto proferre tunc  
audebat; set pocius  
scandalum quam lau-  
dem pre timore regis  
ad inuicem confa-  
bulati sunt.

Ad mala ducuntur, quia multi multa loquuntur.  
Tunc Olor, Vrsus, Equis, non vnus dicitur equus;  
Heri laudati fuerant, nunc vituperati:  
Fama fugit prima, quia sors descendit ad ima, 290  
Sorteque cessante, cessat laus omnis ab ante:  
Vertitur obliquus amor, est ibi nullus amicus,  
Quo tres predicti periunt velut vmbra relictis.  
Tunc consanguinitas aufert de sanguine vitas,  
Denegat et sexus procerum dissoluere nexus;  
Nil genus obstabat, ratio nec eos reparabat.  
Sic transformata fuit illa dies scelerata;  
Stirps extirpatur, flos arboris euacuatur,  
Quo maneat nomen, heres non percipit omen;  
Vt pater intrauit, ita solus ab orbe migravit. 300  
Sic vice iam versa spergens fuit vnio sparsa,  
Heri rectores, hodie magis inferiores,  
Et sic derisi fuerant quodammodo visi.  
Portas clausurunt, vbi clauis non habuerunt,  
Nec tamen exclusus fuerat tunc regis abusus:  
Non se conuertit, in peius qui male vertit;  
Dum mala queruntur, in eo peiora sequuntur;  
Tres interfecit proceres, dum pessima fecit,  
Quo nimis elatum sumpsit sua pompa volatum.  
Tunc delusores, quos curia turbidiores 310  
Nouit, ridebant super hiis que gesta videbant;  
Friuola componunt tribus et tria scandala ponunt;  
Tale fuit dictum, nec adhuc stat ab ore relictum:  
‘Non Olor in pennis, nec Equus stat crine perhennis,  
Iam depennatus Olor est, Equus excoriat,  
Vrsus non mordet, quem stricta cathena remordet.’  
Sic fatue turbe vox conclamabat in vrbe:  
Omnia que dici poterant dicunt inimici,  
Pluraque fingentes mendacia sunt parientes.  
Grene, Scrop, Bussy, cordis sine lumine fusi, 320  
Omne nephas querunt, quo ledere plus potuerunt:  
Rex fuit instructus per eos, et ad omnia ductus  
Que mala post gessit, quibus Anglia tota pauescit.  
Intra se flebat populus, qui dampna videbat;  
Cum non audebat vocem proferre, tacebat.

Canticum, quod com-  
posuere maligni in  
derisum procerum ti-  
rannice interfectorum.



O Dux immense, tu Gallica regna sub ense  
Militis ex more bellasti regis honore.

O Comes, inque mari pro rege tuo superari  
Classem fecisti Francorum, quos domuisti.

Heu, rex, qui tales fraudasti collaterales,  
Sit tibi de fine vindex fortuna ruine!

Principio rerum placido quamsepe dierum  
Finis adest tristis; ideo speculemur in istis:

Estque fides rara modo, quam mens nescit auara.

Dum fauet os fraudis, ne credas omne quod audis:

Fingere fingenti scola nuper erat sapienti;

Talis vt hesterna fuit, est scola nunc hodierna:

Fallitur incertum, set quando videbis apertum

Finem cum cauda, tunc demum tempora lauda.

Anno bis deno primo de sanguine pleno

Septembris mense feritas dominatur in ense:

Tristis vt audiui, carmen scribendo subiui:

Plangite, vos viui, quia planctus sunt residui.

Doctoris verba sunt hec que miror acerba;

'Dum melius fecisse putes, latet anguis in herba.'

Quicquid homo fatur, quicquid facit aut meditatur,

Stat fortuna rei semper in ore dei.

Hic circa finem probitates ducis Glouernie necnon Comitissæ Arundellie magis in speciali commemorans, eorum gesta laudabiliter commendat. 330 Consulit insuper, quod per ea que preterita sunt presentes vtinam discreto pectore sibi contra futura providere nullatenus omit-  
tant.

340

### Explicit secunda pars Cronice et Incipit Tercia.

Hic in tertia parte Cronice finaliter scribit qualiter rex antedictus, vtroque dei et hominum iure postposito, Streuissimum Principem Dominum Henricum, tunc Derbeie Comitem, patre suo Duce Lancastrie adhuc viuentem, per decennium capto in exilium delegauit. Postea vero, patre defuncto filioque in partibus Francie tunc existente, idem rex omnis malicie plenus, quasi per infinitas doli circumuenciones, tam in ipsius absentis personam quam in eius hereditatem, occasiones maliciose fulminari decreuit. Set qui verum a falso discernit summus iudex, tantas malicie 10 abhominaciones impune non ferens, dictum dominum Henricum, tunc post obitum patris sui Ducem Lancastrie, in Angliam sua diuina prouidencia, inuito rege, remeare fecit: ob cuius

333 idio C 334 margin omittant CHs omittant SHG 341 Septembris S

Heading 3 Derbei H

aduentum vniuersi regni fideles, tam proceres quam communes, deum quasi ex vno ore collaudantes pestiferum Ricardum suis ex demeritis regno renunciantem penitus a gradu suo deposuerunt, gratissimumque Ducem dominum Henricum prenotatum in Solium regie magestatis regnaturum coronantes cum gaudio sublimarunt, terciodecimo die mensis Octobris, Anno domini Millesimo tricentesimo nonagesimo nono. 20

Hic in tertia parte cronice compositor in principio finem premeditans sub spe glorie future letatur.

TRISTIA post leta, post tristia sepe quieta,  
Si bene pensemus, satis hec manifesta videmus.  
Regnum confractum regis feritate subactum  
Nuper defleui, lacrimas set abinde quieui;  
Regnum purgatum probitate ducis renouatum  
Amodo ridebo, nec ab eius laude tacebo.  
O res laudanda, o res sine fine notanda,  
Ad laudem Cristi, qui nos de carcere tristi  
R. tunc custodis, quasi sit regnantis Herodis,  
Gracius eduxit et ad inclita regna reduxit!

10

Qualiter ad modum talpe, que semper terram effodiens eam continue subuertit, rex Ricardus, ut suum regnum tyrannice disperdat, assiduus ymaginacionibus ad populi destructionem omnes suas cautelas indesinenter coniecat.

Nouit enim mundus, Ricardus quando secundus  
Iustos deleuit proceres, quos Anglia fleuit,  
Ipse superbire sic spirat et alcius ire,  
Quod dedignatur proprium regnumque minatur:  
Amplius ex more solito latitante furore  
Seuit, et oppressit populum cui parcere nescit.  
Sicut humum fodit euertens talpa que rodit,  
Vnde carèt requie, sic alter nocte dieque,  
Vt magis euertat regnum quod demere certat,  
Sic scelus apponit et ad hoc sua robora ponit;  
Vt princeps baratri furians regit acta theatri.  
Pondera prebebat, populum quibus ipse premebat:  
Vtpote salsarum furiosa caribdis aquarum  
Gurgite feruoris bibit, euomit, omnibus horis,  
Sic sibi collectum facinus sub pectore tectum  
Rex vomit in gentem, ve, ve! sine lege manentem.

20

Nota qualiter rex subtili fraude concessum sibi optinuit, quod vbicumque sedere vellet cum certis personis sibi assignatis, per prius in-

Per prius optentum semper sibi parliamentum  
Per loca conseruat, in quo mala queque reseruat;  
Est vbi persona regis residente corona,  
Corpore presenti stat ibi vis parliamenti:  
Sic, vbicumque sedet presencia regia, ledet,  
Quod nullus sciuit sceleris que facta subiuuit.

30

Hoc factum regis fuit abhominatio legis,  
 Quo fremuit certe populus, set nullus aperte :  
 Sic tamen vt staret et tempora continuaret,  
 Rex sibi papales bullas habuit speciales ;  
 Si quis in extento prius aut post parlamento  
 Quid contradicit, in eum sententia vicit.  
 Ad scelus implendum tunc rex habet omne timendum,  
 Excepto Cristo, qui non fuit auctor in isto ;  
 Quicquid enim dicit clerus, populus maledicit,  
 Inuocat et Cristi vindictam pectore tristi.  
 Inde set oblitus rex pestifer hos sibi ritus,  
 Quos prius elegit, maledicto fine peregit ;  
 Consensu, tactu, visu que ferocior actu  
 In regnum seuit, qui post sua crimina fleuit :  
 Que non audiuit auris, nec cor mala sciuit,  
 Tristia coniectat, populum quo perdere spectat.

40

Carte scribuntur et in omni parte leguntur,  
 Hasque sigillari iubet omnibus et venerari :  
 Perficit hoc clerus, si debeo dicere verus  
 Nescio, set gentes sua sunt exempla sequentes ;  
 Nescia plebs legis, dum sperat premia regis,  
 Vt dicebatur, ad regia iussa paratur.  
 Vrbs, ager et villa cartis posuere sigilla,  
 Quo magis ad plenum conspergitur omne venenum :  
 Fallitur ex illo quisquis, cum firma sigillo  
 Culpa recordetur, qua proditor omnis habetur.  
 Cum sic quisque status sit in hiis cartis viciatus,  
 Vt veniam portet sibi soluere quicquid oportet ;  
 Tunc exactores baratro magis audiores  
 Absoluunt gentes, pacem quasi sint redimentes.  
 Hec set cautela nichil est nisi ficta medela,  
 Nam magis insanus stat morbus cotidianus ;  
 Rex populum pressit, et ab inde quiescere nescit,  
 Semper turbatur, semper sua regna minatur.

50 Nota de primis car-  
 tis, quas scriptas ex  
 regis compulsionem tam  
 clerus quam populus  
 formidans sigillauit :  
 tali enim subtilitate  
 rex varias regni sui  
 patrias spoliando de-  
 struxit.

60

Post primas cartas alias statuit magis artas,  
 Set de scriptura patuit non vna figura.  
 Has eciam villis iubet affirmare sigillis ;  
 Qualis finis erit quisquis sub murmure querit ;  
 Et sic velata facie plebs illaqueata,

Nota de secundis  
 cartis que blanche-  
 chartres vulgariter  
 70 nuncupantur.



Qualiter rex Ricardus omnis malicie plenustrenuissimum dominum Henricum, tunc Derbeie Comitem Ducisque Lancastrie filium et heredem, sola ex inuidia, ut ipsum perderet, in exilium proiecit.

Quod facit ignorat, ita dum fortuna laborat.  
 Accidit interea, dum terra fuit pharisea,  
 Est noua lis mota, quam nouerat Anglia tota.  
 Nobilis Henricus, omnis probitatis amicus,  
 Hic tunc florebat super omnes plusque valebat;  
 Ut rosa flos florum, melior fuit ille bonorum,  
 Custos Anglorum, per quem lux fulsit eorum,  
 Exemplar morum que probacior ille proborum:  
 Ad loca bellorum leo conterit arma luporum;  
 Eius cognomen venerabile percipit omen,  
 Quod numquam victum rutilat Lancastria dictum.  
 Hunc patre viuente de sorte superueniente  
 Rex delegauit et eum sine labe fugauit;  
 Rex etenim nouit, ad eum quod patria vouit,  
 Vnde timens sortem dolet eius habere cohortem:  
 Inuidus hanc causam gestat sub pectore clausam,  
 Donec disperdat iustum sine iureque perdat.  
 Hic tamen ex more solito pro regis honore  
 Semper promptus erat, aliter quo premia sperat;  
 Sic nichil offendit, quo rex sibi dampna rependit,  
 Set quia cunctorum rex oderat acta proborum.  
 Singula non scripsi, que dux bona contulit ipsi;  
 Si meritum detur, tunc dux mala nulla meretur:  
 Exilium tortum gremio de regis abortum  
 Hoc pro finali mercede datur speciali.

80

90

Qualiter nobilis Henricus antedictus in partes Francie, ut ibi tempore exilii moraretur, animo constanti viriliter se transtulit.

Purus ad omne latus sic exulat immaculatus,  
 Et quem decepit rex Anglus Francia cepit:  
 Stans ibi preclarus regno fuit vndique carus,  
 Quo sibi concreuit requies, set non requieuit.  
 Dum genus exquirat in quo sibi iura requirit,  
 Quem deus absoluit patri mors omnia soluit;  
 Sic, patre defuncto, de consilio sibi iuncto  
 Est tunc querendum, melius sibi quid sit agendum:  
 Et sic consultus velut heres Miles adultus,  
 Que sua cognoscit post patrem propria poscit.  
 Hos per rumores adeunt ambassiatores  
 Regem querentes, legem super hocque petentes;  
 Set qui cuncta vorat non audit quod pius orat,  
 Exheredatum set eum iubet esse fugatum.

100

110

Et sic nec regem iustum iustam neque legem  
Dux probus inuenit, dum vox sibi nuncia venit.  
Tunc confiscatus rapitur sine iure ducatus,  
Quo se confortat dux commoda nulla reportat ;  
Pulli coruorum, pascit quos mater eorum,  
Non ita proclamant, quin plus sibi castra reclamant  
Regis fautores, terras que ducatus honores :  
Rex bona dispergit, qui non sine crimine pergit,  
Distribuens sortes, ditiescat vt inde cohortes.  
Quod sic decreuit rex fama perambula creuit,  
Per mundum totum scelus hoc erit amodo notum.

O quam plura sinit deus, et cum tempora finit,  
Omnia tunc certe que sunt demonstrat aperte !  
Dux inspiratus tandem, quasi sit renouatus,  
Singula compensat perfecto cordeque pensat :  
Tortorem regem tortam creuisseque legem  
Cernit, et errores in vtroque statu grauiores :  
Signans se Cristo quesiiuit opem super isto,  
Qui, bene dum sperat, iubet vt sua propria querat.  
Ex subito more, saluo sibi semper honore,  
Partes subtiles Francorum dux quasi miles  
Cum paucis transit, nec ibi tardando remansit :  
Calisias iuit, vbi propria regna petiuit ;  
Cum modica classe sic magnanimum remeasse  
Constat, et in naui dux ducitur inde suau.  
Primas Anglorum, tunc exul fraude malorum,  
Thomas deuote stat ibi, comitante nepote :  
Hos dux regalis, veluti gallina sub alis,  
Secum votiua saluos duxit comitiua.

Dux, Comes, Antistes, pariter solamina tristes  
Querunt sperantes, vbi venti sunt agitantes :  
Vela petunt portum quem sors prope contulit ortum ;  
Vt dux concepit, Aquilonica littora cepit.  
Tunc magis audaci vultu cum plebe sequaci  
Exultans dicit, quod in hoc quasi prelia vicit.  
Ex animo forti dederat bona corda cohorti,  
Quod bene sperarent, quicquid sibi fata pararent.  
Sic congaudentes sub spe que nichil metuentes,  
Quo melius querunt, naues simul applicuerunt :

131 miles CHH: viles S

145 quasi] sua H

120

130

Nota qualiter post obitum patris sui ducis Lancastrie nobilissimus filius suus Comes antedictus, tunc de iure dux, vt ipse hereditatem suam vendicaret, de partibus Francie prouiso sapienter itinere Calisias adiit, vbi cum domino Thoma Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, necnon Thoma filio et herede Ricardi Comitis Arundellie, vt prefertur, defuncti, vt in Angliam transfretaret, Cristo se commendans nauem ascendit.

140

Qualiter nobilis Henricus, tunc Dux Lancastrie, per mare nauigando portum querens tandem prope Grymmesby, Cristo mediante, littora pacifica sortitus est.

Qualiter ad serui-  
cium nobilis ducis  
quasi vniuersa terra  
gratanter se optulit.

Qualiter rex Ricar-  
dus tempore quo no-  
bilis dux Henricus ap-  
plicuit, in partibus Hi-  
bernice inviles dies ad  
sui confusionem infor-  
tunate consumpsit.

Qualiter apud Bris-  
tolliam capti et de-  
capitati fuerunt tres  
precipue regis fau-  
tores, qui in mortis  
articulo dicti regis  
condiciones multi-  
pliciter accusarunt.

Qualiter Ricardus  
rex de partibus Hi-  
bernice rediens Wal-  
lie littora cepit.

Dux prius egressus disponit humo sibi gressus, 150  
Primus exorat que deum genuflexus adorat  
Votis sincere mentis, quod possit habere  
Victoris palmas, extendit ad ethera palmas;  
Vtque scelus guerre superet, dedit oscula terre,  
Pluraque deuota dux fecit ibi pia vota.  
De prece surrexit, surgendoque se cruce textit,  
Et tunc quam letas incepit adire dietas:  
Patria cum sciret quod saluus dux reueniret,  
Totus ei mundus occurrit vbique iocundus.

Tunc rex Ricardus lepus est et non leopardus; 160  
Quem timor astrinxit, alibi sua robora finxit:  
Hic ducis aduentum presciuit ab ore scientum,  
Quo celer exiuit et Hibernica regna petiuit.  
Sepe silens plangit, quem tunc vecordia tangit,  
Ex quo singultus plures rex cepit adultus.  
Sic redit absente dux noster rege timente,  
Nec quid presumit, sua propria dumque resumit.

Dux probus audaci vultu cum plebe sequaci  
Regnum scrutatur, si proditor inueniatur;  
Sic tres exosos magis omnibus ambiciosos 179  
Regni tortores inuenerat ipse priores:  
Ense repercussi periunt Scrop, Grene que Bussy;  
Hii quasi regales fuerant cum rege sodales.  
Scrop Comes et Miles, eius Bristollia viles  
Actus declarat, quo mors sua fata pararat;  
Greneque sorte pari statuit dux decapitari,  
Bussy conuictus similes quoque sustinet ictus:  
Vnanimis mente pariter mors vna repente  
Hos tres prostrauit, gladius quos fine vorauit,  
Sicut et egerunt aliis, sic hii ceciderunt; 180  
Quo dux laudatur regnumque per omne iocatur.  
Sunt tamen Henrici quamplures tunc inimici,  
Tales qui querunt obsistere, nec potuerunt:  
Sepius effantur et eum post terga minantur,  
Set non audebant, faciem cum respiciebant.

Tempore sic stante stat rex vbi stabat ab ante,  
Donec commota tremit eius concio tota:  
Sic magis ignari sceleres fiunt quasi rari,



Omnes sorte pari dubitant qua parte iuuari.  
 Tunc fortuna rotam diuertit ab inde remotam, 190  
 Cecaque permansit, dum rex super equora transit.  
 Quos laqueos fecit in eos, sua culpa reiecit,  
 Qui laqueatus erit, patrie dum littora querit.  
 Hoc non obstante, vento tamen exagitante,  
 Portum fatalem sors reddit ei specialem;  
 Inque suas claues cepit fera Wallia naues,  
 Quas cito dissoluit, regis cum facta reuoluit.  
 Rex mittens sortes mandauit habere cohortes,  
 Set nichil inuenit, vbi gracia nulla reuenit.  
 Hoc ita cumque vident, quidam sub murmure rident, 200  
 Et quidam flentes fuerant de corde dolentes:  
 Prospera que nescit, tunc regia pompa recessit,  
 Quisque viam vertit subito, nec ad arma reuertit.  
 Tunc rex, vt dicit, sua fata dolens maledicit,  
 Nec timet hinc Cristum, mundum nec abhorruit istum,  
 Non est contritus, nec vult dimittere ritus,  
 Vt prius errauit, sic semper continuauit;  
 Sic furit ipse malis semper sine lege feralis,  
 Principio qualis steterat, stat fineque talis.  
 Cautus vt inuadit agnos, quos ledere vadit, 210  
 Vulpis, in occulto sic rex a tempore multo,  
 Pectore subtili iuuenis sub fraude senili,  
 Omne scelus poscit; regnum quo perdere possit:  
 Tunc super omne tamen conspirat habere leuamen,  
 Vnde ducis sortem fallat fugiatque cohortem.  
 Hinc perscrutatur dolus et fraus continuatur,  
 Si quid prodesse poterit cogente necesse:  
 Est ibi vis nulla, velut os perit absque medulla,  
 Rex qui posse caret pro tunc sine viribus aret:  
 Per loca, per castra fugit, et si tunc super astra 220  
 Scandere sciuisset, transcendere tunc voluisset.  
 Sic tumor elatus nuper tam magnificatus  
 Est timor effectus, latitans quasi talpa reiectus.  
 Quem non preseruatur Cristus, se non homo seruat,  
 Et quamuis tarde de te loquor ista, Ricarde.  
 Peruigil a sompnis quod dicitur audiat omnis,  
 Et quod dicitur regnis exemplificetur.

Qualiter rex Ricardus cum suis fautori-

bus nobili duci Hen-  
rico eisdem in Wallia  
occurrenti se reddide-  
runt.

Qualiter nobilis  
Henricus vna cum re-  
ge Ricardo et aliis Lon-  
donias veniunt, vbi  
dictus rex in turrim  
positus per aliquod  
tempus sub custodia  
remansit.

Qualiter nobilis dux  
Henricus proceres  
quoscumque per re-  
gem Ricardum in exi-  
lium delegatos ad pro-  
pria mitissime reuoca-  
uit.

Est rota fortune quodammodo regula lune,  
Que prius albescit de nocte que post tenebrescit;  
Sic de quo scripsi Ricardo contigit ipsi: 230  
Dum stetit ad plenum, steterat sibi tempus amenum,  
Set cum decrescit, lucem tunc nebula nescit;  
Cum se peruertit, sua spera retrograda vertit.  
Nil sibi de bellis, quia stat sibi terra rebellis,  
Nec mare succurrit, fugiens quia nauta recurrit;  
Spes sibi collata non est, set et vndique fata  
Ipsum torquebant, et ad ima repente ruebant:  
Non ita secreta loca sunt neque castra quieta,  
Que tunc secreta fuerant pro sorte futura.  
Finis adest actus, capitur rex fitque subactus, 240  
Et reliqui tales, sibi sunt qui collaterales,  
Caute ducuntur capti, qui fata sequuntur:  
Sic rex preuentus ducis est virtute retentus.

Augusti mensis dedit hoc, quo Londoniensis  
Urbs congaudebat, que ducem cum laude canebat.  
Sicut arena maris, occursum adest popularis,  
Tanti victoris benedicens gesta vigoris.  
In Turrim transit R., sub custode remansit;  
Sic caput Anglorum minimus iacet ipse minorum.

Vt sit opus planum, nichil et de pondere vanum, 250  
Apponendo manum dux purgat ad horrea granum;  
Iustos laudauit, iniustos vituperauit,  
Hos confirmauit, hos deprimit, hos releuauit.  
Regni primatem, crudelem per feritatem  
Quem rex explantat, dux ex pietate replantat:  
Humfredum natum patre defuncto spoliatum,  
Quem rex transduxit, hunc dux probitate reduxit.  
Nil tibi desperes, Arundell profugus heres,  
Prospera namque ducis fati tua fata reducis.  
Warwici Comitem, cuius sine crimine litem 260  
Dux pius agnouit, saluum de carcere mouit:  
Cobham sorte pari dux fecit et hunc reuocari;  
Exilio demptus iustus redit ille redemptus  
Nec prece nec dono, Cristo mediante patrono.  
Tanta tulit gratis primordia dux bonitatis:  
Vt bona tam grata super hoc sint continuata,

Cristus adhuc mentem ducis efficit esse manentem.

Londoniis festo Michaelis tunc manifesto,

Stent vt ibi tuta, sunt parlamenta statuta :

Quilibet attendit que sors sibi fata rependit,

270

Semper et in gente fit murmur rege regente.

Interea transit moriens nec in orbe remansit

Humfredus dictus, redit ille deo benedictus :

Defuncto nato, cito post de fine beato

Mater transiuit, nati dum funera sciuit :

Primo decessit Cignus, dolor vnde repressit

Matrem cum pullo, sibi mors nec parcit in vlllo.

Est apud antiquos dictum, 'Defunctus amicos

Vix habet,' a tergo caueat sibi quilibet ergo :

Quisque suum pectus tangat viuens homo rectus,

280

Nec sic gaudebit, quia singula vana videbit.

Scribere iam restat, que mundus adhuc manifestat,

Vt sit opus tale cunctis speculum generale.

Tunc prius incepta sunt parlamenta recepta,

De quibus abstractus Ricardi desinit actus.

Ecce dies Martis, nec adest presentia partis,

Non sedet in sede, quem culpa repellit ab ede ;

Denegat in scanno loca tunc fortuna tyranno,

A visu gentis quem terruit accio mentis.

R. non comparet, alibi set dummodo staret,

290

Causas assignat, quibus H. sua scepra resignat :

Substituit aliquos proceres tunc iuris amicos,

Ad quos confessus proprio fuit ore repressus.

Hiis circumspectis aliisque sub ordine lectis,

R., qui deliquit, hunc curia tota reliquit ;

Hunc deponebant, plenum quem labe sciebant,

Nec quis eum purgat, iterum ne forte resurgat :

Tunc decus Anglorum, set et optimus ille bonorum,

H. fuit electus regno, magis est quia rectus.

Sola dies tentum tulit istud parlamentum,

300

Nec magis expressit pro tunc, set ab inde recessit :

H. tamen extenti noua tempora parlamenti

Proxima decreuit, quo regni gloria creuit.

Quando coronatus foret et de fine leuatus,

Tunc processus erit super hoc quod curia querit ;

Qualiter assignatum fuit parlamentum tenendum apud Westmonasterium ad festum Sancti Michaelis tunc proximi. Et interim Humfredus filius et heres ducis Glouernie vna cum matre sua corporis infirmitate mortui sunt.

Qualiter primo die parlamenti rex Ricardus personaliter non comparuit, set alibi existens titulo corone sue sub forma magis autentica penitus renunciauit ; super quo nobilis Henricus, vniuerso populo in eius laudem conclamante vt rex efficiatur, electus est.



Qualiter parlamen-  
tum continuatur vsque  
post coronacionem.

Qualiter in die sol-  
lempni nobilis Henri-  
cus in Solium regie  
maiestatis sublimatus  
cum omni gaudio co-  
ronatur.

Nota, qualiter iura  
corone serenissimo  
iam regi nostro Hen-  
rico quarto tribus mo-  
dis accrescunt :  
Primo Successione :  
Secundo eleccione :  
Tercio conquestu sine  
sanguinis effusione.

Qualiter parlamen-  
tum adhuc fuit conti-  
nuatum.

Interea gentes viuunt sub spe recolentes,  
Quod nouus errores rex conteret anteriores.

Sexta dies stabat Octobris, quando parabat  
Rex nouus optata sua parlamenta nouata :  
Curia verbalis fuit et non iudicialis,  
Ad tempus restat nichil et de pondere prestat :  
Dicitur expletum quod nil valet esse quietum,  
Donec persona regis sit operta corona ;  
Sicque coronari, quem Cristus vult venerari,  
Corditer exultat plebs omnis et inde resultat.

310

Qui res disponit et eisdem tempora ponit,  
Ille diem fixit, Henricum quo benedixit :  
Predestinauit deus illum quem titulauit,  
Vt rex regnaret sua regnaque iustificaret.

320

Quem deus elegit, regali laude peregit,  
Vnde coronatur in honoreque magnificatur :  
Tempore felici poterunt sollempnia dici,  
Que tam sacratis horis patuere beatis ;  
Edwardi festa Confessoris manifesta  
Henrici festum Regis testantur honestum.  
Plebs canit in mente que resultat in ore loquente,  
Quisque colit Christum, quia regem suscitatur istum ;  
Vix homo pensare poterit seu dinumerare,  
Que tunc fulserunt sollempnia quanta fuerunt :  
Omnis terra deum laudat que canit iubileum,  
Henricum iustum que pium que ferum que robustum.  
Vnde coronatur trino de iure probatur,  
Regnum conquestat, que per hoc sibi ius manifestat ;  
Regno succedit heres, nec ab inde recedit ;  
Insuper eligitur a plebe que sic stabilitur :  
Vt sit compactum, iuris nil defuit actum ;  
Singula respondent Henrici iuraque spondent.

330

Fama volans creuit, que climata cuncta repleuit,  
Quo laus vexilli super omnes prefuit illi :  
Sic regnat magnus reprobis leo, mitibus agnus,  
Hostes antiquos qui terret et augit amicos.  
Luna diem donat, qua Regem terra coronat,  
Marsque sequens terre dat parlamenta referre :

340

Rex sedet et cuncti proceres resident sibi iuncti,  
 Stant et presentes communes plus sapientes ;  
 Tempus erat tale communeque iudiciale.  
 Quod bene prouisum nichil est a iure rescisum ;  
 Est quia protectus, letatur sic homo rectus,  
 Et metuunt reliqui sua dampna dolenter iniqui.

Set quia plus dignum prius est recitare benignum, 350  
 Que sunt maiora scribens recitabo priora :  
 Henrici natus Henricus, honore beatus,  
 Est confirmatus heres Princepsque vocatus :  
 Sic pars abscisa, summo de iudice visa,  
 Arboris est vncta veteri stipitique reiuncta.  
 Istud fatatum fuit a sanctisque relatum,  
 Quod tunc compleuit deus, ex quo terra quieuit :  
 Hoc facto leta stupet Anglia laude repleta,  
 Cordeque letatur, quia stirps de stirpe leuatur.

Tunc de consensu Regis procerum quoque sensu, 360  
 Plebe reclamante, stant parlamenta per ante ;  
 Sic procedebant super hiis que gesta videbant  
 Ad commune bonum, recolentes gesta baronum.  
 Que prius Vrsus, Equis et Olor, qui dicitur equus,  
 Nuper fecerunt, firmissima constituerunt ;  
 Et que pomposa peruersaque fraude dolosa  
 Ricardus fecit, hec curia tota reiecit.  
 Et tunc tractatum fuit illud opus sceleratum,  
 Quo dudum Cignus periit sine iure benignus ;  
 Iusticie vere vindictam clamat habere  
 Omnis ob hoc funus populus, quasi vir foret vnus :  
 Sic communis amor popularis et vndique clamor  
 Exstitit acceptus a Rege que lege receptus.

Infortunatus Ricardus, plus sceleratus,  
 Omnibus ingratus, fuit vndique tunc maculatus ;  
 Sic quasi dampnatus abiit pre labe reatus,  
 Quo stetit elatus sub carcere magnificatus.  
 Eius fautores, qui sunt de sorte priores,  
 Tunc accusati sunt ad responsa vocati :  
 Hi responsales submittunt se speciales  
 Iudicio Regis, per quem silet vlcio legis.  
 Regia nam pietas sic temperat vndique metas,

347 rescisum CHs

369 iure SG labe CHHs

Qualiter Henricus,  
 Regis tunc Henrici  
 primogenitus, statum  
 que nomen Principis  
 de consensu omnium  
 gloriose adeptus est.

Qualiter ea que nu-  
 per in parlamento  
 tempore Ricardi per  
 ducem Glouernie et  
 socios suos gesta fue-  
 runt, presens parla-  
 mentum confirmauit ;  
 et ea que Ricardus in  
 vltimo suo parlamen-  
 to constituit, presens  
 eciam parlamentum  
 penitus cassauit.

370

Qualiter Ricardo  
 suis ex demeritis iudi-  
 cialiter condempnato,  
 ceteri qui cum eo ac-  
 cusati erant, tantum-  
 modo ex mera regis  
 pietate quieti perman-  
 serunt.

380

Quod nil mortale datur illis iudiciale ;  
 Est tamen ablatum, quod eis fuit ante beatum,  
 Vocibus Anglorum venerabile nomen eorum ;  
 Corpora stant tuta, cecidit set fama minuta,  
 Dux redit in Comitem, quatit et sic curia litem,  
 Labitur exosus Bagot, quem rex pietosus  
 Erigit, et mite prolongat tempora vite.  
 Sic pius Henricus, inimico non inimicus, 390  
 Gracius, vt debet, pro dampno commoda prebet ;  
 Ipse pium frenum laxat, quia tempus amenum  
 Appetit, et Cristo placuisse putauit in isto.  
 Non tamen in gente placet hoc, set in ore loquente  
 Publica vox dicit, leges quod mammona vicit ;  
 Iusticiam queri plebs vult, rex vult misereri,  
 Et sic fortuna pro tempore non fuit vna :  
 Rex excusatur, nam dicunt quod variatur  
 Consilio tali, quo res latet in speciali.

Qualiter, finito parliamento, infra breue  
 post quidam impii instigante diabolo, vt ip-  
 si pium Regem Henricum cum sua pro-  
 genie a terra delerent, proditorie conspiran-  
 tes insurrexerunt, quos ira dei preueni-  
 ens in villa de Circe-  
 stria per manus vulgi  
 interfectos miraculose  
 destruxit.

Quatuor auctores sceleris, Iuda nequiores, 400  
 Ore dabant laudes, tacito sub cordeque fraudes ;  
 Holand, Kent, Sarum, Spenser, quasi fellis amarum,  
 Federa strinxerunt, quibus H. seducere querunt.  
 Viuere quos fecit pius H., nec eis male fecit,  
 Hii mala coniectant in eum, quem perdere spectant ;  
 H. etenim pacem dedit illis, hiique minacem  
 Eius spirantes mortem sunt arma parantes :  
 Sic nimis ingrati mala retribuunt bonitati,  
 In caput illorum tamen est vindicta malorum.  
 Nam, qui cunctorum cognoscit corda virorum, 410  
 Detegit occulta, quibus accidit vicio multa :  
 Cum magis instabant subitoque nocere putabant,  
 Ex improuiso periunt discrimine viso.  
 Per loca diuersa fuit horum concio spersa,  
 Quos deus extinxit, nec in hoc miracula finxit ;  
 De populo patrie, nato comitante Marie,  
 Quatuor elati perierunt decapitati.  
 Ecce dei munus ! populus quasi vir foret vnus,  
 Surgit ad omne latus, sit vt H. ita fortificatus.

Qualiter regis nati  
 in custodia tunc Ma-

Quod satis est carum, conciues Londoniarum 420  
 Nobilis Henrici steterant constanter amici :



Rex iubet et prompti fuerant armis cito compti,  
Eius et in sortem magnam tribuere cohortem.  
Vrbs fuit adiutrix, que Regis tunc quasi nutrix  
Natos sertauit, et eos quasi mater amauit;  
Regis enim camera fuit vrbs hoc tempore vera,  
In qua confisus multum fuit ille gauisus:  
Sic pius in Cristo pietatem sentit in isto,  
Quo preseruatur et regnum clarificatur.

Anglicus a sompnis quasi surgens vir canit omnis, 430  
R. cadit, H. regnat, quo regnum gaudia pregnat.

Tempore quo facta sunt hec Ricardus ad acta

Non foris exiuit, qui quando pericula sciuit,  
Quod sors falsorum destructa fuit sociorum,  
Fortunam spreuit et eorum funera fleuit.

Tunc bene videbat, quod ei fraus nulla valebat,

Quo contristatus doluit quasi morte grauatus:

Ecce dolor talis suus est, quod spes aliqualis

Amodo viuentem nequirit conuertere flentem.

Qui tamen astabant custodes sepe iuuabant, 440

Ne desperaret, dum tristia continuaret;

Set neque verborum solamina cepit eorum,

Dum lacrimas persit, sibimet nec amore pepercit:

Sic se consumit, quod vix si prandia sumit,

Aut si sponte bibit vinum, quo viuere quibit;

Semper enim plorat, semper de sorte laborat,

Qua cadit, et tales memorat periisse sodales:

Solam deposcit mortem, ne viuere possit

Amplius, est et ita moriens sua pompa sopita.

Anglia gaudebat, quia quem plebs plus metuebat 450

Cristus deleuit, quo libera terra quieuit:

Set probus Henricus, pietatis semper amicus,

Ad Cristi cultum corpus dedit esse sepultum

Sollemni more, quamuis sine laudis honore.

Langele testatur quod ibi Ricardus humatur;

Ipsa loco tali magis omnibus in speciali

Corpus donauit, quod mundus habere negauit.

Sic bona proque malis H. mitis et imperialis

ioris Londoniarum pro  
securitate secundum  
tempus fidissime ser-  
uabantur.

Qualiter Ricardus,  
cum ipse noua de mor-  
te illorum qui apud  
Circestriam, vt pre-  
dictum est, interierunt  
audisset, seipsum om-  
ni cibo renunciantem  
pre doloris angustia  
morientem extinxit.

Nota hic secundum  
commune dictum de  
pietate serenissimi  
regis Henrici, necnon  
de impietate qua cru-  
delissimus Ricardus  
regnum, dum potuit,  
tirannice vexauit.

Hic in exemplum  
aliorum Ricardi de-  
merita commemorans  
finaliter recapitulat.

Reddit ei mite, qui clauserat vltima vite:  
Mortuus R. transit, viuens probus H. que remansit, 460  
Quem deus extollit, et ab R. sua prospera tollit.  
O quam pensando mores variosque notando,  
Si bene scrutetur, R. ab H. distare videtur!  
Clarus sermone, tenebrosus et intus agone,  
R. pacem fingit, dum mortis federa stringit:  
Duplex cautelis fuit R., pius H. que fidelis;  
R. pestem mittit, mortem pius H. que remittit;  
R. seruitutem statuit, pius H. que salutem;  
R. plebem taxat, taxas pius H. que relaxat;  
R. proceres odit et eorum predia rodit, 470  
H. fouet, heredesque suas restaurat in edes;  
R. regnum vastat vindex et in omnibus atat,  
Mulset terrorem pius H., que reducit amorem.  
O deus, Henrico, quem diligo, quem benedico,  
Da regnum tutum nulla grauitate vultum:  
Vite presentis pariter viteque sequentis  
Da sibi quodcumque felicius est ad vtrumque.

Cronica Ricardi, qui sceptrata tulit leopardi,  
Vt patet, est dicta populo set non benedicta:  
Vt speculum mundi, quo lux nequit vlla refundi,  
Sic vacuus transit, sibi nil nisi culpa remansit. 481  
Vnde superbus erat, modo si preconia querat,  
Eius honor sordet, laus culpat, gloria mordet.  
Hoc concernentes caueant qui sunt sapientes,  
Nam male viuentes deus odit in orbe regentes:  
Est qui peccator, non esse potest dominator;  
Ricardo teste, finis probat hoc manifeste:

468 line om. C      473 Mulcet GHs      478-483 As follows in G,

O speculum mundi, quod debet in ante refundi,  
Ex quo prouisum sapiens acuat sibi visum,  
Cronica Ricardi, qui regna tulit leopardi, 480\*  
Vt patet, est dicta, populo sed non benedicta.  
Quicquid erat primo, modo cum sors fertur in ymo,  
Eius honor sordet, laus culpat, gloria mordet.

479 ff. margin Text SG Hic in fine cronicam Regis Ricardi secundum sua  
demerita breuiter determinat CH Hic determinatur de demeritis Regis  
Ricardi Hs 479 populo set non benedicta SC violenta grauis male-  
dicta HHs

Post sua demerita periit sua pompa sopita;  
Qualis erat vita, cronica stabit ita.

**Explicit Cronica presentibus que futuris vigili  
corde Regibus commemoranda.**

Sequitur carmen vnde magnificus Rex noster Henricus prenotatus apud deum et homines cum omni benedictione glori-  
ficetur.

R<sup>EX</sup> celi deus et dominus, qui tempora solus  
Condidit, et solus condita cuncta regit,  
Qui rerum causas ex se produxit, et vnum  
In se principium rebus inesse dedit,  
Qui dedit vt stabili motu consisteret orbis,  
Fixus ineternum mobilitate sua,  
Quique potens verbi produxit ad esse creata,  
Quique sue mentis lege ligauit ea,  
Ipse caput regum, reges quo rectificantur,  
Te que tuum regnum, Rex pie, queso regat. 10  
Grata superueniens te misit gracia nobis,  
O sine labe salus nulla per ante fuit:  
Sic tuus aduentus noua gaudia sponte reduxit,  
Quo prius in luctu lacrima maior erat.  
Nos tua milicia pauidos releuauit ab ymo,  
Quos prius oppressit ponderis omne malum:  
Ex probitate tua, quo mors latitabat in vmbra,  
Vita resurrexit clara que regna regit:  
Sic tua sors sortem mediante deo renouatam  
Sanat et emendat, que prius egra fuit. 20  
O pie rex, Cristum per te laudamus, et ipsum  
Qui tibi nos tribuit terra reuiuia colit:  
Sancta sit illa dies, qua tu tibi regna petisti,  
Sanctus et ille deus, qui tibi regna dedit!  
Qui tibi prima tulit, confirmet regna futura,

488 f. Sic diffinita stat regia sors stabilita ;  
Regis vt est vita, cronica stabit ita. G

EXPLICIT. 2 Regibus SG iugiter CHHs

REX CELI, &c. The MSS. referred to for this and the two succeeding pieces  
are SCHGHs and (for this piece and the next) the Trentham MS. (T).

12 Quo T 15 milicia S (corr.) milicies CHHsT



Quo poteris magno magnus honore frui :  
 Sit tibi progenies ita multiplicata per eum,  
 Quod genus inde pium repleat omne solum :  
 Quicquid in orbe boni fuerit, tibi summus ab alto  
 Donet, vt in terris rex in honore regas :

30

Omne quod est turpe vacuum discedat, et omne  
 Est quod honorificum det deus esse tuum.  
 Consilium nullum, pie rex, te tangat iniquum,  
 In quibus occultum scit deus esse dolum :  
 Absit auaricia, ne tangat regia corda,  
 Nec queat in terra proditor esse tua :  
 Sic tua processus habeat fortuna perhennes,  
 Quo recolant laudes secula cuncta tuas ;  
 Nuper vt Augusti fuerant preconia Rome,  
 Concinat in gestis Anglia leta tuis.

40

O tibi, rex, euo detur, fortissime, nostro  
 Semper honorata sceptras tenere manu :  
 Stes ita magnanimus, quod vbi tua regna gubernas,  
 Terreat has partes hostica nulla manus :  
 Augeat Imperium tibi Cristus et augeat annos,  
 Protegat et nostras aucta corona fores :  
 Sit tibi pax finis, domito domineris in orbe,  
 Cunctaque sint humeris inferiora tuis :  
 Sic honor et virtus, laus, gloria, pax que potestas  
 Te que tuum regnum magnificare queant.

50

Cordis amore tibi, pie Rex, mea vota paraui,  
 Est qui seruicii nil nisi velle mihi :  
 Ergo tue laudi que tuo genuflexus honori  
 Verba loco doni pauper habenda tuli.  
 Est tamen ista mei, pie rex, sententia verbi,  
 Fine tui regni sint tibi regna poli !

## Prophecias.

**H.** aquile pullus, quo nunquam graciosior vilis,  
 Hostes confregit, que tirannica colla subegit.  
**H.** aquile cepit oleum, quo regna recepit,  
 Sic veteri iuncta stipiti noua stirps redit vncta.

Epistola breuis, vnde virtutes regie morales ad sanum regimen  
ampliori memoria dirigantur.

O recolende, bone, pie rex, Henrice, patrone,  
Ad bona dispone quos eripis a Pharaone:  
Noxia depone, quibus est humus hec in agone,  
Regni persone quo viuant sub racione.  
Pacem compone, vires moderare corone,  
Legibus impone frenum sine condicione,  
Firmaque sermone iura tenere mone.

Rex confirmatus, licet vndique magnificatus,  
Sub Cristo gratus viuas tamen immaculatus.  
Est tibi prelatus, comes et baro, villa, Senatus, 10  
Miles et armatus sub lege tua moderatus:  
Dirige quosque status, maneat quo pacificatus;  
Inuidus, elatus nec avarus erit sociatus;  
Sic eris ornatus, purus ad omne latus.

Hec, vt amans quibit, Gower, pie Rex, tibi scribit:  
Quo pietas ibit, ibi gracia nulla peribit:  
Qui bene describit semet, mala nulla subibit,  
Set pius exibit, que dei pietate redibit:  
Sic qui transibit opus et pietatis adibit,  
Hunc deus ascribit, quod ab hoste perire nequibit;  
Et sic finibit qui pia vota bibit. 21

Quanto regalis honor est tibi plus generalis  
Tanto moralis virtus tibi sit specialis:  
Sit tibi carnalis in mundo regula, qualis  
Est tibi mentalis in Cristo spiritualis.  
Si fueris talis, tua Cronica perpetualis  
Tunc erit equalis perfectaue materialis:  
Rex immortalis te regat absque malis!

O RECOLENDE, &c. *Title* Epistola—dirigantur om. GHs

4 *margin* Nota de iusticia C 11 *margin* Nota de regimine C

17-21 *Over erasure in SCG, as follows in HHs,*

Dum pia vota bibit, tua fama sitire nequibit,  
Plena set exibit, cum laudeque plena redibit:  
Non sic transibit, vbicumque tyrannus abibit;  
Cum nimis ascribit sibi magna, minora subibit;  
Vt meritum querit, sors sua fata gerit.

18 *margin* Nota de pietate C 21 pia] pita S 22 Vt tibi regalis, pie  
rex, honor est generalis HHs 23 Sic rogo HHs 25 *margin* Nota  
de contemplacione C

Nota consequenter carmen super multiplici viciorum pestilencia, vnde tempore Ricardi Secundi partes nostre specialius inficiebantur.

NON excusatur qui verum non fateatur,  
 Vt sic ponatur modus, vnde fides recolatur :  
 Qui magis ornatur sensu, sua verba loquatur,  
 Ne lex frangatur, qua Cristus sanctificatur.  
 Hoc res testatur, virtus ita nunc viciatur,  
 Quod vix firmatur aliquis quin transgrediatur :  
 Hinc contristatur mea mens, que sepe grauatur,  
 Dum contemplatur vicium quod continuatur ;  
 Set quia speratur quod vera fides operatur,  
 Quod deus hortatur, michi scribere penna paratur, 10  
 Vt describatur cur mundus sic variatur :  
 Ecce malignatur que modo causa datur.

Putruerunt et corrupte sunt cicatrices a facie insipiente, set priusquam mors ex morbo finem repente concludat, sapientie medicinam detectis plagis cum omni diligencia sapienter investigare debemus. Vnde ego, non medicus set medicine procurator, qui tanti periculi grauitatem deplangens intime contristor, quedam vulnera maiori corruptione putrida euidenti distinctione, vt inde medicos pro salute interpellam, consequenter declarare propono. Anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi vicesimo.

Contra demonis astuciam in causa Lollardie.

QUOD patet ad limen instanti tempore crimen  
 Describam primo, quo pallent alta sub ymo.  
 Nescio quid signat, plebs celica iura resignat,  
 Dum laicus clausas fidei vult soluere causas,  
 Que deus incepit et homo seruanda recepit :  
 Iam magis eneruant populi quam scripta reseruant,  
 Vnde magis clarum scribere tendo parum.

Lollia messis habens granum perturbat et ipsum, 20  
 Talia qui patitur horrea sepe grauatur :  
 Semina perfidie sacros dispersa per agros

CARMEN SUPER MULTIPLICI, &c. The MSS. referred to are SCEHL with Fairfax 3 (F) and Bodley 294 (B).

Title and Preface ll. 1-12 om. EL consequenter] hic precipue F  
 'Putruerunt,' &c. om. E pro salute interpellam] pro salute efficacius  
 interpellem F Anno] In Anno F l. 13 ad om. S



Ecclesie turbant subdola sicque fidem.  
Inuentor sceleris sceleratus apostata primus  
Angelicas turmas polluit ipse prius;  
Postque ruit nostros paradisi sede parentes,  
Morteque vitales fecerat esse reos:  
Callidus hic serpens nec adhuc desistit in orbe,  
Quin magis in Cristi lollia messe serit.  
Ecce nouam sectam, mittit que plebis in aures, 30  
Ad fidei dampnum scandala plura canit:  
Sic vetus insurgit heresis quasi Iouiniani,  
Vnde moderna fides commaculata dolet:  
Vsurpando fidem vultum mentitur honestum,  
Caucius vt fraudem palliet inde suam:  
Sub grossa lana linum subtile tenetur,  
Simplicitas vultus corda dolosa tegit.  
Fermento veteri talis corrumpit acruum,  
Qui noua conspergit et dubitanda mouet:  
Dum magis incantat, obtura tu magis aures, 40  
Forcius et cordis ostia claude tui:  
Simplicitate tua ne credas omne quod audis;  
Que docet ambiguus auctor aborta caue:  
Nil nouitatis habens tua mens fantastica cedat;  
Vt pater ante tuus credidit, acta cole.  
Vera fides Cristi non hesitat, immo fideles  
Efficit vt credant cordis amore sui:  
Nil valet illa fides vbi res dabit experimentum,  
Spes tamen in Cristo sola requirit eum:  
Recta fides quicquid rectum petit, omne meretur, 50  
Quicquid possibile creditur, ipsa potest.  
Argumenta fides dat rerum que neque sciri,  
Nec possunt verbo nec ratione capi:  
Subde tuam fidei mentem, quia mortis ymago  
Iudicis eterni mistica scire nequit:  
Vt solus facere voluit, sic scire volebat  
Solus, et hoc nulli participauit opus.  
Vna quid ad solem sintilla valet, vel ad equor  
Gutta, vel ad celum quid cinis esse potest?  
Leticiam luctus, mors vitam, gaudia fletus 60  
Non norunt, nec que sunt deitatis homo:

Non tenebre solem capiunt, non lumina cecus,  
 Infima mens hominis nec capit alta dei :  
 Nempe sacri flatus archanum nobile nunquam  
 Scrutari debes, quod penetrare nequis.  
 Cum non sit nostrum vel mundi tempora nosse,  
 Vnde creaturas nosse laborat homo?  
 Nos sentire fidem nostra ratione probatam  
 Non foret humanis viribus illud opus ;  
 Humanum non est opus vt transcendat ad astra, 70  
 Quod mortalis homo non ratione capit :  
 Ingenium tante transit virtutis in altum,  
 Transcurrit superos, in deitate manet.  
 Qui sapienter agit, sapiat moderanter in istis,  
 Postulet vt rectam possit habere fidem :  
 Committat fidei quod non poterit rationi,  
 Quod non dat ratio, det tibi firma fides.  
 Quod docet ecclesia tu tantum crede, nec vltra  
 Quam tibi scire datur quomodocumque stude : 80  
 Sufficit vt credas, est ars vbi nulla sciendi,  
 Quanta potest dominus scire nec vllus habet.  
 Est deus omnipotens, et qui negat omnipotentem  
 Credere posse, suum denegat esse deum ;  
 Sic incarnatum tu debes credere Cristum  
 Virginis ex vtero, qui deus est et homo.  
 Vis saluus fieri? pete, crede, stude reuereri ;  
 Absque magis queri lex iubet ista geri.  
 Has fantasias aliter que dant heresias  
 Dampnat Messias, sobrius ergo scias.  
 Tempore Ricardi, super hiis que fata tulerunt, 90  
 Scismata lollardi de nouitate serunt :  
 Obstet principiis tribulos purgareque vadat  
 Cultor in ecclesiis, ne rosa forte cadat.

**Contra mentis Seuciam in causa Superbie.**

DEFICIT in verbo sensus, quo cuncta superbo  
 Scribere delicta nequeo, que sunt michi dicta.  
 Radix peccati fuit ille prius scelerati,  
 Ex quo dampnati perierunt preuaricati :

62 non] nec F : 63 nec] non CEH / 86 No paragr. here FL  
 stude SCEHLB time F 88 Que fantasias aliter tibi FB 90 Paragr. FL

Desuper a celis deiecit eum Michaelis  
Ensis ad inferni tenebras de luce superni ;  
Nec paradiscus ei prebere locum requiei 100  
Spondet, vbi vere sibi gaudia posset habere :  
Sic, quia deceptus alibi nequit esse receptus,  
Mundum deposcit, vt in illo viuere possit :  
Sic adhibendo moram venit ille superbus ad horam,  
Quem mea mens tristis in partibus asserit istis.  
Hunc vbi ponemus, hostem quem semper habemus ?  
Nam magis infecta veniens facit omnia tecta.  
Laus ibi non lucet, vbi vana superbia ducet  
Regna superborum ; docet hoc vestitus eorum :  
Cum valet ornatum sibi vanus habere paratum, 110  
Non quasi mortalis, set vt angelus euolat alis.  
Militis ad formam modo pauper habet sibi normam,  
Vana sit vt vestis erit inde superbia testis,  
Exterius signum cor signat habere malignum,  
Cordis et errore fortuna carebit honore.  
Nos igitur talem non consociare sodalem  
Expedit, vt tuti reddamur in orbe saluti.  
Quod deus odiuit reprobis Dauid hoc bene sciuit,  
Ipseque psalmista scripsit de talibus ista :  
'Elatas mentes posuit de sede potentes, 120  
Et sublimauit humiles, quos semper amauit.'  
Vanus non durat, quem vana superbia curat,  
Hec set eum ducit vbi gracia nulla reducit ;  
Culpa quidem fontis latices dabit hec Acherontis,  
Vnde bibunt vani mortem quasi cotidiani.  
Omne quod est natum stat ab hoc vicio viciatum,  
Quo magis inmundum vir vanus habet sibi mundum ;  
Set qui mentali de pondere iudiciali  
Istud libraret, puto quod meliora pararet.  
Hoc nam mortale viciu stat sic generale, 130  
Quod mundum fregit, vbi singula regna subegit ;  
Hec etenim cedes nostras, vt dicitur, edes  
Vertit, et insana dat tempora cotidiana.  
O deus eterne, culpe miserere moderne,  
Facque pias mentes sub lege tua penitentes !  
Corpus, opes, vires sapiens non sic stabilires,



Dumque superbires, subita quin sorte perires :  
 Sunt que maiores humilis paciencia mores  
 Nutrit, et errores vicii facit esse minores :  
 Ergo tuam vera mentem moderare statera ; 140  
 Sit laus vel labes, pectore pondus habes.

**Contra carnis lasciuia in causa Concupiscencie.**

O SEXUS fragilis, ex quo natura virilis  
 Carne procedit, anime que robora ledit !  
 O natura viri carnalis, que stabiliri  
 Non valet, vt pura carnalia sint sibi iura !  
 Federa sponsorum que sunt sacrata virorum,  
 Heu, caro dissoluit, nec ibi sua debita soluit :  
 Tempore presenti de carne quasi furienti  
 Turpia sunt plura, que signant dampna futura :  
 Hec desponsatis sunt metuenda satis. 150

Philosophus quidam carnis de labe remorsus  
 Plebis in exemplum talia verba refert :  
 'Vnam de variis penam sortitur adulter,  
 Eius vt amplexus omnis in orbe luat ;  
 Aut membrum perdet, aut carceris antra subibit,  
 Aut cadet insanus non reputandus homo,  
 Aut sibi pauperies infortunata resistet,  
 Aut moriens subito transit ab orbe reus.'  
 Et sic luxuries fatuis sua dona refundit,  
 Vertit et econtra quicquid ab ante tulit. 160  
 Quod prius est dulce, demonstrat finis amarum,  
 Quo caro non tantum, spiritus immo cadit :  
 Sic oculus cordis carnis caligine cecus  
 Errat, et in dampnum decedit ipse suum :  
 Sic iubar humani sensus fuscatur in vmbra  
 Carnis, et in carnem mens rationis abit.  
 Dum carnalis amor animum tenet illaqueatum,  
 Sensati ratio fit rationis egens ;  
 Stans hominis ratio calcata per omnia carni  
 Seruit, et ancille vix tenet ipsa locum. 170  
 Non locus est in quo maneant consueta libido

138f. Two lines om. FL The section ll. 142-224 is omitted here in E and  
 inserted after l. 321 143 legit C 154 omnis SFLB vius CEH  
 159 fatuis om. F

Et ratio pariter, quin magis vna vacat :  
Bella libido mouet, fauet et vecordia carnis,  
Et sua dat fedo colla premenda iugo ;  
Libera set ratio mentem de morte remordet  
Carnis in obsequio, statque pudica deo.  
Nil commune gerunt luxus sibi cum ratione ;  
Ista deum retinet, illa cadauer habet :  
Sic patet vt nichil est quicquid peritura voluptas  
Appetit in carne, que velut vmbra fugit. 180  
Pluribus exemplis tibi luxus erit fugiendus ;  
Biblea que docuit, respice facta Dauid :  
Consilio Balaam luxus decepit Hebreos,  
Quos caro commaculat, carnea culpa premit.  
Discat homo iuuenis, celeri pede labitur etas,  
Nuncia dum mortis curua senecta venit :  
Ecce senilis yemps tremulo venit horrida passu,  
Et rapit a iuvene quod reparare nequit :  
Vir sapiens igitur sua tempora mente reuoluat,  
Erigat et currum, quam prius inde cadat. 190  
Heu, set in hoc vicio plebis quasi tota propago  
Carnis in obsequio stat viciata modo :  
Ex causa fragili causatur fictilis etas,  
Quo nunc de facili frangitur omnis homo.  
Carnis enim vicia sunt sic communiter acta,  
Quod de continuis vix pudet vsus eis :  
Cecus amor fatuos cecos sic ducit amantes,  
Quod sibi quid deceat non videt vllus amans.  
Pendula res amor est subito collapsa dolore,  
Ordine precipiti miraque facta parat ; 200  
Sique tuam velles flammam compescere tutus,  
Artem preuideas, quam prius inde cadas.  
Cum viciis aliis pugna, iubet hec tibi Paulus,  
Carnis et a bello tu fuge solus homo ;  
Et quia vulnifico fixurus pectora telo  
Vibrat amor, caute longius inde fuge :  
Vinces si fugias, vinceris sique resistas ;  
Ne leo vincaris, tu lepus ergo fuge.  
Mente tui cordis memorare nouissima carnis,

Et speculo mortis respice qualis eris : 210  
 Oscula fetor erunt, amplexus vermis, et omne  
 Quod fuerat placidum, pena resoluet opus.  
 Occupat extrema stultorum gaudia luctus,  
 Et risum lacrima plena dolore madet :  
 Vana salus hominis, quam terminat egra voluptas,  
 Tollit et eternum viuere vita breuis.  
 Crede, satis tutum tenet hoc natura statutum,  
 Quo caro pollutum reddet ad yma lutum ;  
 Cum fera mors stabit et terram terra vorabit,  
 Tunc homo gustabit quid sibi culpa dabit. 220  
 Est vbi mundicia carnis sine labe reatus,  
 Casta pudicicia gaudet ad omne latus :  
 Stat nota bina solo quo luxur non dominatur,  
 Pax manet absque dolo, longaue vita datur.

**Contra mundi fallaciam in causa Periurii et Auaricie.**

SUNT duo cognati viciorum consociati,  
 Orbem qui ledunt pariter, nec ab orbe recedunt :  
 Iste fidem raram periurat, et alter auaram  
 Causam custodit ; socios tales deus odit.  
 Primo periurum describam, postque futurum,  
 Est vbi ius rarum, scriptura remordet auarum : 230  
 Ex vicio tali fertur origo mali.

Nemo dei nomen assumere debet inane,  
 Falsa nec vt iuret, os perhibere malo :  
 Lex vetus hoc statuit, set, prothdolor, ecce modernus  
 Munere corruptos iam nouus error agit.  
 Nil nisi dona videt dum se periurat Auarus,  
 Eius enim sensum census vbique regit ;  
 Sic non liber homo librum sine pondere librat,  
 Seruit et ad libras quas sua libra trahit.  
 Set quia periurus defraudat iura superni, 240  
 Iurat eum dominus iure perire suo :  
 Sic lucrum siciens laqueos incurrit, et eius  
 Lingua prius mendax premia mortis habet ;  
 Sic vendens et emens vacuus non transiet, immo  
 Munera que capiet sulphur et ignis erunt.  
 Vendere iusticiam nichil est nisi vendere Cristum,



Expectat dampnum qui facit inde forum :  
 Testis erit Iudas quid erit sibi fine doloris ;  
 Dum crepuit medius, culpa subibat onus.  
 Penituit culpam, que semel nisi fecerat illam, 250  
 Quod tulit et lucrum reddidit ipse statim ;  
 Set nec eo veniam meruit nec habere salutem,  
 Iam valet exemplum tale mouere virum.  
 Vendidit ipse semel iustum, nos cotidianum  
 Ob lucri precium vendimus omne malum :  
 Ille restaurauit, set nos restringimus aurum ;  
 Penituit, set nos absque pauore sumus.  
 Sic et auaricia tanta feritate perurget  
 Corda viri, quod ab hoc vix homo liber abit :  
 Cessat iusticia, cessatque fides sociata, 260  
 Fraus dolus atque suum iam subiere locum :  
 Plebs sine iure manet, non est qui iura tuetur,  
 Non est qui dicat, iura tenere decet :  
 Omnibus in causis, vbi gentes commoda querunt,  
 Nunc modus est que fides non habuisse fidem.  
 Vox leuis illa Iacob, Esau manus hispida nuper,  
 Que foret ista dies, signa futura dabant :  
 Alterius casu stat supplantator, et eius  
 Qui fuerat socius fraude subintrat opes :  
 Ex dampno fratris frater sua commoda querit ; 270  
 Vnus si presit, inuidet alter ei :  
 Filius ante diem patruos iam spectat in annos,  
 Nec videt ex oculis ceca cupido suis :  
 Nunc amor est solus, nec sentit habere secundum,  
 Stans odioque tibi diligit ipse tua.  
 Quid modo, cumque manus mentitur dextra sinistre,  
 Dicam ? set caueat qui sapienter agit.  
 Viuitur ex velle, non amplius est via tuta,  
 Cuncta licent cupido, dum vacat ipse lucro ;  
 Arma, rapina, dolus, amor ambiciosus habendi, 280  
 Amplius ad proprium velle sequuntur iter :  
 Lex silet et nummus loquitur, ius dormit et aurum  
 Peruigil insidiis vincit vbique suis :  
 Hasta nocet ferri, gladius set plus nocet auri ;  
 Regna terit mundi, nilque resistit ei.

251 Quot C

252 Sic CEH

265 est qui CEH

\*\*\*\*

Set quia mors dubium concludit ad omnia finem,  
 Est nichil hic certum preter amare deum :  
 Rebus in humanis semper quid deficit, et sic  
 Ista nichil plenum fertile vita tenet :  
 Quod tibi dat proprium mundus, tibi tollit id ipsum, 290  
 Deridensque tuum linquit inane forum :  
 Quam prius in finem mundi deuenerit huius,  
 Nulla potest certo munere vita frui.  
 Heu, quid opes opibus cumulas, qui propria queris,  
 Cum se nemo queat appropriare sibi?  
 Hunc igitur mundum quia perdes, quere futurum ;  
 Est aliter vacuum tempus vtrumque tuum.

Mammona transibit et auara cupido peribit,  
 In cineres ibit, mors tua fata bibit,  
 Pauper ab hac vita, sic princeps, sic heremita, 300  
 Mortuus ad merita transiet omnis ita.

Salomon : Memo-  
 rare nouissima, et in-  
 eternum non peccabis.

Idem : Omnia fac  
 cum consilio, et in-  
 eternum non penite-  
 bis.

Quicquid homo voluit, mors mundi cuncta reuoluit,  
 Nemoque dissoluit, quin morti debita soluit :  
 Hec qui mente capit gaudia, raro sapit.  
 Set sibi viuenti qui consilio sapienti  
 Prouidet, ingenti merito placet omnipotenti.

Tempore presenti que sunt mala proxima genti,  
 Ex oculo flenti Gower canit ista legenti :  
 Quisque sue menti qui concipit aure patenti  
 Mittat, et argenti det munera largus egenti ; 310  
 Stat nam mortalis terra repleta malis.

Hoc ego bis deno Ricardi regis in anno  
 Compaciens animo carmen lacrimabile scribo.  
 Vox sonat in populo, fidei iam deficit ordo,  
 Vnde magis solito cessat laus debita Cristo,  
 Quem peperit virgo genitum de flamine sacro.  
 Hic deus est et homo, perfecta salus manet in quo,  
 Eius ab imperio processit pacis origo,  
 Que dabitur iusto, paciens qui credit in ipso.  
 Vir qui vult ideo pacem componere mundo, 320  
 Pacificet primo iura tenenda deo.

Incipit tractatus de lucis Scrutinio quam a diu viciorum  
tenebre, prothdolor, suffocarunt, secundum illud in euangelio,  
Qui ambulat in tenebris nescit quo vadat.

**H**EU, quia per crebras humus est viciata tenebras,  
Vix iter humanum locus vllus habet sibi planum.

Nota quod eorum  
lucerna minime cla-  
rescit quos in ecclesia  
per Antipapam Aua-  
ricia promotos ditescit.

Si Romam pergas, vt ibi tua lumina tergas,  
Lumina mira cape, quia Rome sunt duo pape ;

Et si plus cleri iam debent lumina queri,

Sub modio tecta latitat lucerna reiecta :

Presulis officia mundus tegit absque sophia,

Stat sua lux nulla, dum Simonis est ibi bulla ;

Est iter hoc vile, qui taliter intrat ouile,

Nec bene discernit lucem qui lumina spernit.

10

Sic caput obscurum de membris nil fore purum

Efficit, et secum sic cecus habet sibi cecum.

Aut si vis gressus claros, non ordo professus

Hos tibi prestabit, quos caucius vmbra fugabit.

Ordine claustrali manifestius in speciali

Lux ibi pallescit, quam mens magis inuida nescit :

Lux et moralis tenebrescit presbiteralis,

Clara dies transit, nec eis lucerna remansit ;

Sunt ibi lucerne, iocus, ocia, scorta, taberne,

Quorum velamen viciis fert sepe iuamen.

20

Sic perit exemplum lucis, quo turbida templum

Nebula perfudit, que lumina queque recludit :

Sic vice pastorum quos Cristus ab ante bonorum

Legerat, ecce chorum statuit iam mundus eorum.

Si lux presentum scrutetur in orbe regentum,

Horum de guerra pallet sine lumine terra :

Ne periant leges, iam Roma petit sibi reges,

Noscat vt ille pater que sit sibi credula mater.

Scisma modernorum patrum nouitate duorum

Reges delerent, si Cristi iura viderent ;

30

Lux ita regalis decet ecclesiam specialis,

Qua domus alma dei maneat sub spe requiei.

Teste paganorum bello furiente deorum,

Nota quod, si regum  
lucerna in manu cari-  
tatis deuocius gesta-  
retur, ecclesia nunc  
diuisa eorum auxilio  
discrecius reformare-  
tur, etiam et incursus  
paganorum a Cristi  
finibus eorum probi-  
tate minus expelle-  
retur.

*Text of S collated with CEHL*

*Title 2 Suoffocarunt S*

11 oscurum CH    12 cecus] secus C    15 manifestus L    22 Nebula]  
Lumina L



Raro fides crescit vbi regia lux tenebrescit:  
 Hec tamen audimus, set et hec verissima scimus  
 Nec capit hec mentis oculus de luce regentis.  
 Vltius quere, cupias si lumen habere,  
 Lumina namque Dauid sibi ceca magis titulauit.

De luce procerum.

Si regni proceres aliter pro lumine queres,  
 Aspice quod plenum non est ibi tempus amenum,  
 Dumque putas stare, palpabis iter, quia clare  
 Nemo videt, quando veniet de turbine grando.  
 Diuicie cece fallunt sine lumine sese;  
 Quam prius ille cadat, vix cernit habens vbi vadat:  
 Sic via segura procerum non est sine cura.  
 Stans honor ex onere sibi conuenit acta videre;  
 Qui tamen extantum modo viderit experimentum,  
 De procerum spera non surgunt lumina vera.

40

De luce Militum et  
 aliorum qui bella se-  
 quuntur.

Si bellatorum lucem scrutabor eorum,  
 Lucerne lator tenebrosus adest gladiator.  
 Sunt ibi doctrina luxus, iactura, rapina,  
 Que non splendorem querunt set habere cruorem;  
 Et sic armatus lucem pre labe reatus  
 Non videt, vnde status suus errat in orbe grauatus.

50

De luce legistarum.

Si lex scrutetur, ibi lux non inuenietur,  
 Quin vis aut velle ius concitat esse rebelle:  
 Non populo lucet iudex quem mammona ducet,  
 Efficit et cecum quo sepe reflectitur equum.  
 Ius sine iure datur, si nummus in aure loquatur,  
 Auri splendore tenebrescit lumen in ore.  
 Omnis legista viuit quasi lege sub ista,  
 Quo magis ex glosa loculi fit lex tenebrosa.

60

De luce Mercatorum.

Si Mercatorum querantur lumina morum,  
 Lux non fulgebit, vbi fraus cum ciue manebit.  
 Contegit vsure subtilis forma figure  
 Vultum laruat, quem diues habet similitum.  
 Si dolus in villa tua possit habere sigilla,  
 Vix reddes clarus bona que tibi prestat auarus;  
 Et sic maiores fallunt quamsepe minores,  
 Vnde dolent turbe sub murmure plebis in vrbe.  
 Sic inter ciues errat sine lumine diues,  
 Dumque fidem nescit, lux pacis ab vrbe recessit.

70

Si patriam quero, nec ibi michi lumina spero;  
Nam via vulgaris tenebris viciatur amaris:

De luce vulgari, que  
patriam conseruat.

Plebs ratione carens hec est sine moribus arens,  
Cuius subiectam vix Cristus habet sibi sectam.

Sunt aliqui tales, quos mundus habet speciales,  
Fures, raptores, homicide, turbidiores:

Sunt et conducti quidam pro munere ducti,

Quos facit assisa periuros luce rescisa.

80

Rustica ruralis non est ibi spes aliqualis,

Quo nimis obscura pallent sine lumine rura:

Sic magis illecebras mundanas quisque tenebras

Nunc petit, et vota non sunt ad lumina mota.

Sic prior est mundus, et si deus esse secundus

Posset, adhuc talis foret in spe lux aliqualis:

Set quasi nunc totus deus est a plebe remotus;

Sic absente duce perit orbis iter sine luce.

O nimis orbatus varii de labe reatus,

Omnis in orbe status modo stat quasi preuaricatus.

90

Cum tamen errantes alios sine lege vagantes

Cecos deplango, mea propria viscera tango:

Cecus vt ignorat quo pergere, dumque laborat,

Sic iter explorat mea mens, que flebilis orat:

Et quia perpendo quod lucis ad vltima tendo,

Nunc iter attendo quo perfruar in moriendo.

Tu, qui formasti lucem tenebrasque creasti,

Crimina condones, et sic tua lumina dones:

In terram sero tunc quando cubicula quero,

Confer candelam, potero qua ferre medelam.

100

Hec Gower scribit, lucem dum querere quibit;

Sub spe transibit, vbi gaudia lucis adibit:

Lucis solamen det sibi Cristus. Amen.

Hic in fine tenebras  
deplangens pro luce  
optinenda deum exo-  
rat.

75 hec om. L    80 rescisa SEHL    rescisa C (corr.)    83 illecebras EL

87 a plebe] a luce CEH    89 margin Hic in fine] Nota quod Iohannes

Gower auctor huius libr hic in fine E    91 sine luce L    92 de plango C

93 S has here lost a leaf

**E**CCE patet tensus ceci Cupidinis arcus,  
 Vnde sagitta volans ardor amoris erit.  
 Omnia vincit amor, cecus tamen errat vbique,  
 Quo sibi directum carpere nescit iter.  
 Ille suos famulos ita cecos ducit amantes,  
 Quod sibi quid deceat non videt vllus amans :  
 Sic oculus cordis carnis caligine cecus  
 Decidit, et ratio nil rationis habet.  
 Sic amor ex velle viuit, quem ceca voluptas  
 Nutrit, et ad placitum cuncta ministrat ei ;  
 Subque suis alis mundus requiescit in vmbra,  
 Et sua precepta quisquis vbique facit.  
 Ipse coronatus inopes simul atque potentes  
 Omnes lege pari conficit esse pares.  
 Sic amor omne domat, quicquid natura creauit,  
 Et tamen indomitus ipse per omne manet :  
 Carcerat et redimit, ligat atque ligata resoluit,  
 Vulnerat omne genus, nec sibi vulnus habet.  
 Non manet in terris qui prelia vincit amoris,  
 Nec sibi quis firme federa pacis habet :  
 Sampsonis vires, gladius neque Daud in istis  
 Quid laudis, sensus aut Salomonis, habent.  
 O natura viri, poterit quam tollere nemo,  
 Nec tamen excusat quod facit ipsa malum !  
 O natura viri, que naturatur eodem  
 Quod vitare nequit, nec licet illud agi !  
 O natura viri, duo que contraria mixta  
 Continet, amborum nec licet acta sequi !  
 O natura viri, que semper habet sibi bellum  
 Corporis ac anime, que sua iura petunt !  
 Sic magis igne suo Cupido perurit amantum  
 Et quasi de bello corda subacta tenet.  
 Qui vult ergo sue carnis compescere flammam,



Arcum preuideat vnde sagitta volat.  
 Nullus ab innato valet hoc euadere morbo,  
 Sit nisi quod sola gracia curet eum.

*The MS. has here lost a leaf.*

**Carmen quod Iohannes Gower super amoris multiplici  
 varietate sub compendio metricæ composuit.**

**E**ST amor in glosa pax bellica, lis pietosa,  
 Accio famosa, vaga sors, vis imperiosa,  
 Pugna quietosa, victoria perniciososa,  
 Regula viscosa, scola deuia, lex capitosa,  
 Cura molestosa, grauis ars, virtus viciosa,  
 Gloria dampnosa, flens risus et ira iocosa,  
 Musa dolorosa, mors leta, febris preciosa,  
 Esca venenosa, fel dulce, fames animosa,  
 Vitis acetosa, sitis ebria, mens furiosa,  
 Flamma pruinosa, nox clara, dies tenebrosa,  
 Res dedignosa, socialis et ambiciosa,  
 Garrula, verbosa, secreta, silens, studiosa,  
 Fabula formosa, sapiencia prestigiosa,  
 Causa ruinososa, rota versa, quies operosa,  
 Vrticata rosa, spes stulta fidesque dolosa.

10

Magnus in exiguis variatus vt est tibi clamor,  
 Fixus in ambiguis motibus errat amor.  
 Instruat audita tibi leccio sic repetita;  
 Mors, amor et vita participantur ita.

Lex docet auctorum quod iter carnale bonorum  
 Tucius est, quorum sunt federa coniugiorum:  
 Fragrat vt ortorum rosa plus quam germen agrorum,  
 Ordo maritorum caput est et finis amorum.  
 Hec est nuptorum carnis quasi regula morum,  
 Que saluandorum sacratur in orbe virorum.  
 Hinc vetus annorum Gower sub spe meritorum  
 Ordine sponsorum tutus adhibo thorum.

5

*Text of S, collated with F See also vol. i. p. 392*

*Title Carmen de variis in amore passionibus breuiter compilatum F  
 10 tenebrosa S*

**Q**uia vnusquisque, prout a deo accepit, aliis impartiri tene-  
tur, Iohannes Gower super hiis que deus sibi sensualiter  
donauit villicacionis sue rationem secundum aliquid alleuiare  
cupiens, tres precipue libros per ipsum, dum vixit, doctrine causa  
compositos ad aliorum noticiam in lucem seriose produxit.

Primus liber Gallico sermone editus in decem diuiditur partes,  
et tractans de viciis et virtutibus, necnon et de variis huius  
seculi gradibus, viam qua peccator transgressus ad sui creatoris  
agnicionem redire debet, recto tramite docere conatur. Titulus-  
10 que libelli istius Speculum Meditantis nuncupatus est.

Secundus enim liber sermone Latino metrico compositus  
tractat de variis infortuniis tempore regis Ricardi secundi in  
Anglia contingentibus: vnde non solum regni proceres et com-  
munes tormenta passi sunt, set et ipse crudelissimus rex, suis  
ex demeritis ab alto corruens, in foueam quam fecit finaliter  
proiectus est. Nomenque voluminis huius Vox Clamantis  
intitulatur.

Tercius vero liber, qui ob reuerenciam strenuissimi domini  
sui domini Henrici de Lancastria, tunc Derbeie Comitis, Anglico  
20 sermone conficitur, secundum Danielis prophetiam super huius  
mundi regnorum mutacione a tempore regis Nabugodonosor  
vsque nunc tempora distinguit. Tractat eciam secundum  
Aristotilem super hiis quibus rex Alexander tam in sui regimen  
quam aliter eius disciplina edoctus fuit. Principalis tamen  
huius operis materia super amorem et infatuatas Amantum  
passiones fundamentum habet: nomenque sibi appropriatum  
Confessio Amantis specialiter sortitus est.

'Quia vnusquisque' &c. *Text of S, collated with CHGF. See also vol. iii.  
p. 479 f.*

3 rationem SCH rationem, dum tempus instat, GF 4 ff. tres—  
produxit] inter labores et ocia ad aliorum noticiam tres libros doctrine causa  
forma subsequenti propterea composuit GF 18 vero] iste F

Carmen, quod quidam Philosophus in memoriam Iohannis Gower super consummacione suorum trium librorum forma subsequenti composuit, et eidem gratanter transmisit.

E NEIDOS Bucolis que Georgica metra perhennis  
 Virgilio laudis sarta dedere scolis;  
 Hiis tribus ille libris prefertur honore poetis,  
 Romaque precipuis laudibus instat eis.  
 Gower, sicque tuis tribus est dotata libellis  
 Anglia, morigeris quo tua scripta seris.  
 Illeque Latinis tantum sua metra loquelis  
 Scripsit, vt Italicis sint recolenda notis;  
 Te tua set trinis tria scribere carmina linguis  
 Constat, vt inde viris sit scola lata magis: 10  
 Gallica lingua prius, Latina secunda, set ortus  
 Lingua tui pocius Anglica complet opus.  
 Ille quidem vanis Romanas obstupet aures,  
 Ludit et in studiis musa pagana suis;  
 Set tua Cisticolis fulget scriptura renatis,  
 Quo tibi celicolis laus sit habenda locis.

'Eneidos Bucolis' &c. *Text of S, collated with CHGF*

*Title* Epistola cuiusdam Philosophi Iohanni Gower super consummacione suorum trium librorum, prout inferius patet, gratanter transmissa G forma subsequenti] versificatum F 12 Anglia F



Carmen quod Iohannes Gower adhuc viuens super principum regimine vltimo composuit.

O DEUS immense, sub quo dominantur in ense  
 Quidam morosi Reges, quidam viciosi,  
 Disparibus meritis sic pax sic mocio litis  
 Publica regnorum manifestant gesta suorum :  
 Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achiui,  
 Quo mala respirant, vbi mores sunt fugitiui.  
 Laus et honor Regum foret obseruacio legum,  
 Ad quas iurati sunt prima sorte vocati :  
 Vt celeste bonum puto concilium fore donum,  
 Quo prius in terris pax contulit oscula guerris :  
 Consilium dignum Regem facit esse benignum,  
 Est aliter signum quo spergitur omne malignum.  
 In bonitate pares sumat sibi consiliares  
 Rex bonus, et cuncta venient sibi prospera iuncta :  
 Qui regit optentum de consilio sapientum  
 Regnum, non ledit set ab omni labe recedit :  
 Consilium tortum scelus omne refundit abortum  
 Regis in errorem, regni quo perdit amorem.  
 'Ve qui predaris,' Ysaïas clamat auaris ;  
 Sic verbis clavis loquitur tibi qui dominaris.  
 Rex qui plus aurum populi quam corda thesaurum  
 Computat, a mente populi cadit ipse repente.  
 Os vbi vulgare non audet verba sonare,  
 Stat magis obscura sub murmure mens loquutura :  
 Que stupet in villa cicius plebs murmurat illa,  
 Vnde malum crescit, sapiens quo sepe pauescit.  
 Est tibi credendum murmur satis esse timendum ;  
 Cum sit commune, tunc te super omnia mune.  
 Lingua nequit fari mala, cor nec premeditari,  
 Que parat obliquus sub fraude dolosus amicus :  
 Mundus erit testis, vir talis vt altera pestis  
 Inficit occulto regnum de crimine multo.  
 Blandus adulator et auarus consiliator,

10

20

30

'O deus immense' &c. *Text of S, collated with CH*

*Title* Carmen quod Iohannes Gower tempore regis Ricardi, dum vixit,  
 vltimo composuit CHG

28 comune S

Quamuis non velles, plures facit esse rebelles :  
 Sepius ex herbis morbus curatur acerbis,  
 Sepe loquela grauis iuuat et nocet illa suauis.  
 Qui falsum pingunt sub fraudeque vera retingunt,  
 Hii sunt qui blando sermone nocent aliquando :  
 Rex qui conducit tales, sibi scandala ducit,  
 Nomen et abducit quod nobile raro reducit : 40  
 Quod vigit mane, sibi vespere transit inane,  
 Dummodo creduntur que verba dolosa loquuntur.  
 Consilio tali regnum magis in speciali  
 Vndique turbatur, quo Regis honor variatur :  
 Nunc ita sicut heri poterit res ista videri,  
 Vnde magis plangit populus, quem lesio tangit.  
 Set premunitus non fallitur inde peritus ;  
 Quod videt ante manum, fugit omne notabile vanum :  
 Cum laqueatur auis, cauet altera, sicque suauis  
 Rex pius in cura semper timet ipse futura. 50  
 Rex insensatus nullos putat esse reatus,  
 Quam prius ante fores casus sibi sint grauiores ;  
 Set qui prescire vult causas, expedit ire,  
 Plebis et audire voces per easque redire :  
 Si sit in errore Regis vel in eius honore,  
 Hoc de clamore populi prefertur ab ore.  
 Est qui morosus, Rex non erit ambiciosus,  
 Set sub eo tutum regni manet omne statutum :  
 Nomine preclarus nunquam fuit vllus auarus,  
 Larga manus nomen cum laude meretur et omen : 60  
 Nomen regale populi vox dat tibi, quale  
 Sit, bene siue male, deus illud habet speciale.  
 Rex qui tutus eris, si temet noscere queris,  
 Ad vocem plebis aures sapienter habebis :  
 Culpe vel laudis ex plebe creatur, vt audis,  
 Fama ferens verba que dulcia sunt et acerba.  
 Fama cito crescit, subito tamen illa vanescit,  
 Saltem fortuna stabilis quia non manet vna :  
 Principio scire fortunam seu stabilire,  
 Non est humanum super hoc quid ponere planum ; 70  
 Fine set expertum valet omnis dicere certum,  
 Qualia sunt facta, quia tunc probat exitus acta.  
 Rex qui laudari cupit et de fine beari,

Nota.

Sint sua facta bona, recoletur vt inde corona.  
 Regia precedant benefacta que crimina cedant,  
 Viuat vt eterno sic Rex cum Rege superno :  
 Absque deo vana cum sit tibi cotidiana  
 Pompa, recorderis, sine laude dei morieris.  
 Rex sibi qui mundum prefert Cristumque secundum  
 Linquit, adherebit vbi finis laude carebit : 89  
 Regis enim vita cum sit sine laude sopita,  
 Nomen erat quale, dabit vltima cronica tale.  
 Et sic concludo breuiter de carmine nudo,  
 Ordine quo regnant Reges, sua nomina pregnant.  
 Quo caput infirmum, nichil est de corpore firmum,  
 Plebs neque firmatur, vbi virtus non dominatur.  
 Rex qui securam laudis vult carpere curam,  
 Cristum preponat, Reges qui laude coronat :  
 Nam qui presumit de se, cum plus sibi sumit,  
 Fine carens laude stat fama retrograda caude. 90  
 Omni viuenti scola pertinet ista regenti,  
 Displicet hic genti qui non placet omnipotenti,  
 Gracia succedit, meritis vbi culpa recedit :  
 Qui sic non credit, sua Rex regalia ledit.  
 Non ex fatali casu set iudiciali  
 Pondere regali stat medicina mali.  
 Plebs vt ouile gregis, mors vitæque, regula legis,  
 Sub manibus Regis sunt ea quanta legis.  
 Tanta licet pronus pro tempore det tibi thronus ;  
 Sit nisi fine bonus, non honor est set onus. 100  
 Rex igitur videat cum curru quomodo vadat,  
 Et sibi prouideat, ne rota versa cadat.  
 Celorum Regi pateant que scripta peregi,  
 Namque sue legi res nequit vlla tegi.



Hic in fine notandum est qualiter ab illa Cronica que Vox clamantis dicitur vsque in finem istius Cronice que tripertita est, Ego inter alios scribentes super hiis que medio tempore in Anglia contingebant, secundum varias rerum accidencias varia carmina, prout patet, que ad legendum necessaria sunt, notabiliter conscripsi. Sed nunc, quia vltcrius scribere non sufficio, excusacionis mee causam scriptis subsequenribus plenius declarabo.

**Q**UICQUID homo scribat, finem natura ministrat,  
 Que velut vmbra fugit, nec fugiendo redit;  
 Illa michi finem posuit, quo scribere quicquam  
 Vltcrius nequo, sum quia cecus ego.  
 Posse meum transit, quamuis michi velle remansit;  
 Amplius vt scribat hoc michi posse negat.

*S as above: in CHG as follows:*

Nota hic in fine qualiter a principio illius Cronice que Vox clamantis dicitur, vna cum sequenti Cronica que tripertita est, tam de tempore Regis Ricardi secundi vsque in ipsius deposicionem, quam de coronacione Illustrissimi domini Regis Henrici quarti vsque in annum Regni sui secundum, Ego licet indignus inter alios scribentes scriptor a diu sollicitus, precipue super hiis que medio tempore in Anglia contingebant, secundum varias rerum accidencias varia carmina, que ad legendum necessaria sunt, sub compendio breuiter conscripsi. Et nunc, quia tam grauitate senectutis quam aliarum infirmitatum multipliciter depressus vltcrius de cronicis scribere discrete non sufficio, excusacionem meam necessariam, prout patet, consequenter declarare intendo.

**H**ENRICI Regis annus fuit ille secundus,  
 Scribere dum cesso, sum quia cecus ego.  
 Vlra posse nichil, quamuis michi velle ministrat,  
 Amplius vt scribam non meus actus habet.

*In the Trentham MS. as follows: (without heading),*

**H**ENRICI quarti primus Regni fuit annus,  
 Quo michi defecit visus ad acta mea.  
 Omnia tempus habent, finem natura ministrat,  
 Quem virtute sua frangere nemo potest.  
 Vlra posse nichil, quamuis michi velle remansit,  
 Amplius vt scribam non michi posse manet.

Carmina, dum potui, studiosus plurima scripsi;  
 Pars tenet hec mundum, pars tenet illa deum:  
 Vana tamen mundi mundo scribenda reliqui,  
 Scriboque mentali carmine verba dei. 10  
 Quamuis ad exterius scribendi deficit actus,  
 Mens tamen interius scribit et ornat opus:  
 Sic quia de manibus nichil amodo scribo valoris,  
 Scribam de precibus que nequit illa manus.  
 Hoc ego, vir cecus, presentibus oro diebus,  
 Prospera quod statuas regna futura, deus,  
 Daque michi sanctum lumen habere tuum. Amen.

Scribere dum potui, studiosus plurima scripsi;  
 Pars tenet hec mundum, pars tenet illa deum:  
 Vana tamen mundi mundo scribenda reliqui,  
 Scriboque finali carmine vado mori.  
 Scribat qui veniet post me discreciore alter,  
 Ammodo namque manus et mea penna silent. 10\*  
 Sic quia nil manibus potero conferre valoris,  
 Est michi de precibus ferre laboris onus.  
 Deprecor ergo meis lacrimis, viuens ego cecus,  
 Prospera quod statuas regna futura, deus,  
 Daque michi sanctum lumen habere tuum. Amen.

Dum potui scripsi, set nunc quia curua senectus  
 Turbauit sensus, scripta relinquo scolis.  
 Scribat qui veniet post me discreciore alter,  
 Ammodo namque manus et mea penna silent. 10\*\*  
 Hoc tamen in fine verborum queso meorum,  
 Prospera quod statuatur Regna futura deus. Amen.

**O**rate pro anima Iohannis Gower. Quicumque enim pro anima ipsius Iohannis devote oraverit, tociens quociens Mille quingentos dies indulgentie ab ecclesia rite concessos misericorditer in domino possidebit.

CH as above : G as follows :

**O**rantibus pro anima Iohannis Gower mille quingenti dies indulgentie misericorditer in domino conceduntur.

*(Shield of arms borne by two angels.)*

Armigeri scutum nichil ammodo fert sibi tutum,  
Reddidit immo lutum morti generale tributum.  
Spiritus exutum se gaudeat esse solutum,  
Est ubi virtutum regnum sine labe statutum.

*(A bier, with candle at head and foot.)*

**V**NANIMES esse qui secula duxit ad esse  
Nos iubet expresse, quia debet amor superesse ;  
Lex cum iure datur, pax gaudet, plebs gratulatur,  
Regnum firmatur, ubi verus amor dominatur :  
Sicut yemps florem, divisio quassat amorem,  
Nutrit et errorem quasi pestis agitque dolorem.  
Quod precessit heri docet ista pericla timeri,  
Ut discant veri sapientes secula mederi.  
Filius ipse dei, manet in quo spes requiei,  
Ex meritis fidei dirigat acta rei.

10

**Diligamus invicem.**

'Vnanimes esse' &c. This and the three remaining pieces are found in CHG, and, except the second, also in E

5 margin Noſ pro amore E 9 ipse] ille E Diligamus invicem om. E



Nota de primordiis  
Stelle Comate in An-  
glia.

**P**RESUL, ouile regis, vbi morbus adest macularum,  
Lumina dumque tegis, tenebrescit pestis earum.  
Mune pericla gregis, patuit quia stella minarum,  
Vnde viam Regis turbat genus insidiarum.  
Velle loco legis mundum nunc ducit auarum,  
Sic vbicumque legis, nichil est nisi cordis amarum,  
Quod maneat clarum, stat modo dulce parum.

**C**ULTOR in ecclesia qui deficiente sophia  
Semina vana serit, Messor inanis erit.  
Hii set cultores, sunt quorum semina mores  
Ad messem Cristi, plura lucrantur ibi.  
Qui cupit ergo bonus celorum lucra colonus,  
Vnde lucrum querat, semina sancta serat.  
Qui pastor Cristi iusto cupit ordine sisti,  
Non sit cum Cristo Symon mediator in isto:  
Querat pasturam Pastor sine crimine puram,  
Nam nimis est vile, pascat si Symon ouile.  
Per loca deserta, quo nulla patet via certa,  
Symon oues ducit, quas Cristo raro reducit.

10

Nota contra mor-  
tuorum executores.

**D**ICUNT scripture memorare nouissima vite;  
Pauper ab hoc mundo transiet omnis homo.  
Dat fortuna status varios, natura set omnes  
Fine suo claudit, cunctaque morte rapit.  
Post mortem pauci, qui nunc reputantur amici,  
Sunt memores anime, sis memor ergo tue:  
Da, dum tempus habes, tibi propria sit manus heres;  
Auferet hoc nemo, quod dabis ipse deo.

'Presul' &c. 1 Regis MSS.

'Cultor in ecclesia' &c. 4 ff. *margin* Nota quid pastores ecclesie debent esse  
et quomodo debent intrare &c. E

'Dicunt scripture' &c. 2 ff. *margin* Nota—executores] Nota quod bonum  
est vnicuique esse executor sui ipsius E 7 Dum tua tempus habes EH

# NOTES

## EPISTOLA.

THIS Epistle, written apparently on the occasion of sending a copy of the book to the archbishop, is found only in the All Souls MS., and it is reasonable to suppose that this was the copy in question. The statement of Mr. Coxe in the Roxburghe edition, that 'the preface to archbishop Arundel . . . is also in the original hand' of the book (Introduction, p. lix) is a surprising one, and must have been due to some deception of memory. The hand here is quite a different one from that of the text which follows, and has a distinctly later character. The piece is full of erasures, which are indicated in this edition by spaced type, but the corrections are in the same hand as the rest. Having no other copy of it, we cannot tell what the original form of the erased passages may have been, but it is noticeable that the most important of them (ll. 26-34) has reference almost entirely to the blindness of the author, and nearly every one contains something which may be regarded as alluding to this, either some mention of light and darkness, or some allusion to the fact that his only perceptions now are those of the mind. We may perhaps conclude that the Epistle was inscribed here before the author quite lost his eyesight, and that the book then remained by him for some time before it was presented. The illuminated capital S with which this composition begins is combined with a miniature painting of the archbishop.

2. *tibi scribo*, 'I dedicate to thee.'

3. *Quod . . . scriptum*: written over erasure; perhaps originally 'Quem . . . librum,' altered to avoid the repetition of 'librum' from the preceding line.

4. *contempletur*: apparently in a passive impersonal sense.

17. *Cecus ego mere*. The word 'mere' alone is over erasure here, but if we suppose that the original word was 'fere,' we may regard this as referring originally to a gradual failure of the eyesight, not to complete blindness.

19. *Corpore defectus*, 'the failure in my body,' as subject of 'sinit.'

23. *dumque*: equivalent to 'dum' in our author's language; cp. i. 165, 2007, &c.

33. *morosa*: this word has a good meaning in Gower's language; cp. 'O deus immense,' l. 2, where 'morosi' is opposed to 'viciosi.'

\*\*\*\*

B b

## VOX CLAMANTIS

## CAPITULA.

LIB. I. Cap. iii. *quandam vulgi turmam*. It may be noted that these headings do not always exactly correspond with those placed at the head of the chapters afterwards. For example here the actual heading of the chapter has 'secundam vulgi turmam,' and for the succeeding chapters 'terciam,' 'quartam,' 'quintam,' &c. Usually the differences are very trifling, as 'illius terre' for 'terre illius' above, but sometimes they proceed from the fact that alterations have been made in the chapter headings, which the corrector has neglected to make in this Table of Chapters. This is the case for example as regards Lib. VI. Capp. xviii. and xix. Slight variations of the kind first mentioned will be found in Lib. III. Capp. i, v, viii, xii, xvi, xix, xx.

LIB. III. Cap. iiiii. The form which we have here in D corresponds to the heading of the chapter given by LTH<sub>2</sub> (but not by D itself) in the text later. G has the text here after 'loquitur' written over an erasure.

LIB. VII. Cap. xix. Here S has lost two leaves (the sixth and seventh of the first full quire) to Lib. I. Cap. i. l. 18. The verso of the former of these leaves had no doubt the four lines 'Ad mundum mitto' &c. with picture, as in the Cotton MS.

## LIB. I. PROLOGUS.

3 f. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, iv. 2921 f.,

'Al be it so, that som men sein  
That swevenes ben of no credence.'

'propositum credulitatis' seems to mean 'true ground of belief.'

12. *interius mentis*: cp. i. 1361.

15. That is, 'hinc puto quod sompnia que vidi,' &c.

21 ff. We are here told to add to 'John' the first letters of 'Godfrey,' the beginning of 'Wales,' and the word 'Ter' without its head: that is, 'John Gower.'

23. *que tali*. The use of 'que' in this manner, standing independently at the beginning of the clause, is very common in Gower.

33 f. Taken from Ovid, *Tristia*, v. l. 5 f.

36. Cp. *Tristia*, i. l. 14, 'De lacrimis factas sentiet esse meis,' which, so far as it goes, is in favour of the reading 'senciat' here.

37 f. This couplet was originally *Tristia*, iv. l. 95 f.,

'Saepe etiam lacrimae me sunt scribe profusae,  
Humidaque est fletu litera facta meo.'

The first line however was altered so as to lose its grammatical construction, and the couplet was subsequently emended.



43 f. Cp. Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 5. 53 f.

47 f. Cp. *Pont.* iv. 2. 19, where the comparison to a spring choked with mud is more clearly brought out.

49. The original reading here was 'confracto,' but it has been altered to 'contracto' in C and G, while E gives 'contracto' from the first hand. The general meaning seems to be that as the long pilgrimage to Rome is to one with crippled knee, so is this work to the author, with his limited powers of intellect.

56. The reading 'conturbant' in all the best MSS. seems to be a mistake.

57 f. The author is about to denounce the evils of the world and proclaim the woes which are to follow, like the writer of the Apocalypse, whose name he bears. Perhaps he may also have some thought of the formula 'seint John to borwe' by which travellers committed themselves to the protection of the saint on their setting forth: cp. *Cony. Amantis*, v. 3416.

## LIB. I.

1. The fourth year of Richard II is from June 22, 1380 to the same date of 1381. The writer here speaks of the last month of that regnal year, during which the Peasants' rising occurred.

4. Cp. Ovid, *Her.* xvii. 112, 'Praevius Aurorae Lucifer ortus erat.'

7 f. Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 24 (ed. 1584), has

'Luce diem reparat, mirandaque lumina praestat,  
Sic fuga dat noctem, luxque reversa diem.'

He is speaking of the Sun generally, and the second line means 'Thus his departure produces the night and his returning light the day.' As introduced here this line is meaningless.

9. Adapted from Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 110.

11. Cp. *Metam.* vii. 703, but here 'mane' is made into the object of the verb instead of an adverb.

13. Cp. *Metam.* ii. 113.

15. Cp. *Metam.* ii. 24.

17 f. From Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 24 (ed. 1584).

21 ff. Cp. *Metam.* ii. 107 ff.,

'Aureus axis erat, temo aureus, aurea summae  
Curvatura rotae, radiorum argenteus ordo.  
Per iuga chrysolithi positaque ex ordine gemmae  
Clara repercusso reddebant lumina Phoebus.'

'alter ab auro' seems to mean 'different from gold.'

27. Cp. *Metam.* ii. 23.

33-60. This passage is largely from Ovid: see especially *Fasti*, i. 151 ff. and iii. 235-242, iv. 429 f., v. 213 f., *Metam.* ii. 30, *Tristia*, iii. 12. 5-8.

40. In Ovid (*Fasti*, iii. 240) it is 'Fertilis occultas invenit herba vias.'

The metrical fault produced by reading 'occultam . . . viam' seems to have been corrected by the author, and in G the alteration has been made by erasure, apparently in the first hand.

44. *reditus*: apparently a substantive and 'practically equivalent to 'reditus.'

59. Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 213 f., where however we have 'Saepeque digestos.' It is difficult to say exactly what our author meant by 'O quia.'

67. Cp. *Metam.* xiii. 395.

79 f. *Speculum Stultorum*, p. 47, ll. 9 f. (ed. Wright, Rolls Series, 59, vol. i.).

81. *irriguis*. Perhaps rather 'Fontibus irriguus, fecundus,' as given by most of the MSS.

131. *ad ymum*, 'to that low place,' i. e. his bed.

135. *Non ita . . . Quin magis*: cp. ll. 264 ff., 351 ff., 442 ff., 499 ff., &c. This form of sentence is a very common one with our author and appears also in his French and English: cp. *Mirour*, 18589, *Balades*, vii. 4, xviii. 2, xxx. 2, *Conf. Amantis*, i. 718, 1259, 1319, &c.

For example, *Bal.* xviii. 2,

'Tiel esperver crieis unques ne fu,  
Qe jeo ne crie plus en ma maniere.'

*Conf. Amantis*, i. 718 ff.,

'So lowe cowthe I nevere bowe  
To feigne humilite withoute,  
That me ne leste betre loute  
With alle the thoghtes of myn herte.'

It is most frequent in Latin, however, and the French and English forms seem to be translations of this idiom with 'quin.'

152. 'Dreams cast the soul into wanderings': 'ruunt' is transitive, as very commonly, and apparently we must take 'vaga nonnulla' together.

155. *gravis et palpebra*, &c., 'and my heavy eyelid unclosed pondered over troubles, but no help came.' This is the best translation I can give, but the explanation of 'ex oculis' as 'away from the eyes' must be regarded as doubtful.

168. That is, on a Tuesday. It would be apparently Tuesday, June 11, 1381. The festival of Corpus Christi referred to afterwards (see l. 919), when the insurgents entered London, fell on June 13.

201. *Burnellus*: a reference to the *Speculum Stultorum*, p. 13 (Rolls Series, 59, vol. i.).

205 ff. Cp. *Speculum Stultorum*, p. 13, whence several of these lines are taken.

211 f. 'They care not for the tail which He who gave them their ears implanted in them, but think it a vile thing.' The former line of the couplet is from *Speculum Stultorum*, p. 15, l. 17.

213 f. *Speculum Stultorum*, p. 15, ll. 23 f.

255. *caudas similesque draconum*, 'and tails like those of dragons.'

267. *Minos taurus*, 'the bull of Minos,' sent from the sea in answer to his prayer.

271. There is some confusion here in the author's mind between different stories, and it is difficult to say exactly what he was thinking of.

277 f. Cp. Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 34 ff.

280. *capulus*. I do not know what this is, unless it is equivalent to 'capulus,' which is rather doubtfully given by D. That would mean the 'handle' of the plough, but we have 'ansa' in l. 282.

289 f. Cp. *Pont.* i. 3. 55 f.

291. *Metam.* viii. 293.

325 ff. For this passage compare *Metam.* viii. 284 ff.

335. *Metam.* viii. 285. The Digby MS. has a rubricator's note here in the margin, 'sete . a bristell.'

341. *quod*: consecutive, 'so that'; cp. 'sic . . . quod,' ll. 223, 311, &c. In the next line 'pascua' seems to be singular.

351 ff. See note on l. 135.

381. *Fasti*, ii. 767.

395. *Cutte que Curre*, 'Cut and Cur,' names for mongrel dogs.

396. As a note on 'casas' the Digby MS. has 'i. e. kenell' in the margin.

402. 'Neither does he of the mill remain at home.'

405. The rubricator of the Digby MS. has written in the margin, 'i. e. threfoted dog commyng after halting.'

407. Digby MS. rubric, 'i. e. Rig þe Teydog.' Note the position of 'que,' which should properly be attached to the first word of the line: cp. l. 847.

455. As a note on 'thalia' here (for 'talía') the Digby MS. has 'Thelea i. e. dea belli' written by the rubricator. It is difficult to conjecture what he was thinking of.

457. The Digby MS. rubricator, as a note on 'Cephali canis' has in the margin, 'i. e. stella in firmamento.'

465. 'super est' is the reading of the Glasgow MS. also.

474. *artes*. This seems to be the reading of all the MSS., though in S the word might possibly be 'arces.' I take it to mean 'devices,' in the way of traps, or ingenious hiding-places.

479. 'The grey foxes determine to leave the caverns of the wood': 'vulpes' (or rather 'vulpis') is masculine in Gower.

483. 'Henceforth neither the sheep nor the poor sheepfold are anything to them.' For this use of 'quid' with a negative cp. l. 184.

492. *solet*. The present of this verb seems often to be used by our author as equivalent to the imperfect: cp. l. 541, iii. 705, 740, &c. Also 'solebat,' i. 699, iii. 1485; cp. v. 333, where 'solebant' seems to stand for 'solent.' In other cases also the present is sometimes used for the imperfect, e. g. l. 585 'quas nuper abhorret Egiptus.'

499 ff. See i Sam. v. The plague of mice is distinctly mentioned in the Vulgate version, while in our translation from the Hebrew it is implied in ch. vi. 5. 'Accharon' is Ekron.



541. *solent*: see note on l. 492.

545. *Coppa*: used as a familiar name for a hen in the *Speculum Stultorum*, pp. 55, 58, and evidently connected with 'Coppen' or 'Coppe,' which is the name of one of Chantecler's daughters in the Low-German and English *Reynard*.

557 f. 'They determine that days are lawful for those things for which the dark form of night had often given furtive ways.'

568. *quod*: equivalent to 'vt'; cp. ll. 600, 1610.

576. G reads 'perstimulant' with CED.

579 f. See Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 366 ff. Apparently 'colonum' is for 'colonorum.'

603. *Torvus oester*: cp. *Speculum Stultorum*, p. 25.

615 f. Cp. *Speculum Stultorum*, p. 24, l. 21 f.

635. Cp. *Speculum Stultorum*, p. 25, l. 15.

637 f. *Speculum Stultorum*, p. 26,

'Haec est illa dies qua nil nisi cauda iuvabit,  
Vel loca quae musca tangere nulla potest.'

652. *stramine*: probably an allusion to the name of Jack Strawe, as 'tegula' in the next couplet to Wat Tyler.

Cap. ix. *Heading*, l. 3. It seems to be implied that the jay, which must often have been kept as a cage-bird and taught to talk, was commonly called 'Wat,' as the daw was called 'Jack,' and this name together with the bird's faculty of speech has suggested the transformation adopted for Wat Tyler.

716. There is no punctuation in S, but those MSS. which have stops, as CD, punctuate after 'nephaz' and 'soluit.' The line is suggested by Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 44, 'Solve nefas, dixit; solvit et ille nefas.' There it is quite intelligible, but here it is without any clear meaning.

It may be observed here that the passage of Ovid in which this line occurs, *Fasti*, ii. 35-46, is evidently one of the sources of *Confessio Amantis*, v. 2547 ff.

749. *Sicut arena maris*: cp. Rev. xx. 8, to which reference is made below, ll. 765 ff.

762. 'All that they lay upon us, they equally bear themselves.' Apparently this is the meaning, referring to the universal ruin which is likely to ensue.

765-776. These twelve lines are taken with some alterations of wording and order from Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 228 (ed. 1584). In l. 765 the reference to the Apocalypse is to Rev. xx.

774. *forum*: apparently 'law.'

783 ff. This well-known chapter was very incorrectly printed in the Roxburghe edition, owing to the fact that a leaf has here been cut out of S, and the editor followed D. Fuller, whose translation of the opening lines has often been quoted, had a better text before him, probably that of the Cotton MS.

810. It is difficult to see how this line is to be translated, unless we suppose that 'fossa' is a grammatical oversight.

821. Cp. Ovid, *Metam.* i. 211, 'Contigerat nostras infamia temporis aures.'

849 f. Adapted from *Amores*, iii. 9. 7 f., but not very happily.

855 ff. With this passage we may compare the description in Walsingham, vol. i. p. 454, 'quorum quidam tantum baculos, quidam rubigine obductos gladios, quidam bipennes solummodo, nonnulli arcus prae vetustate factos a fumo rubicundiores ebore antiquo, cum singulis sagittis, quorum plures contentae erant una pluma, ad regnum conquaerendum convenere.'

868. The reading 'de leuitate' is given also by G.

869. *limpidiores*. The epithet is evidently derived from 1 Sam. xvii. 40, where the Vulgate has 'et elegit sibi quinque limpidissimos lapides de torrente.'

876. 'These fools boast that the earth has been wetted,' &c.

871 ff. Cp. *Metam.* xi. 29 f.

879 f. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, Prol. 37\*. One of the charges against Sir Nicholas Brembre in 1388 was that he had designed to change the name of London to 'New Troy.'

891. *siluis que palustribus*, 'from the woods and marshes.'

904. Cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 577 f.

909. Cp. *Metam.* viii. 421.

919. Corpus Christi day, that is Thursday, June 13.

929 f. *via salua*: apparently meaning 'Savoye,' the palace of the duke of Lancaster in the Strand. In the next line 'longum castrum' looks like 'Lancaster,' but it is difficult to say exactly what the meaning is.

931. *Baptisteqe domus*. This is the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell, which was burnt by the insurgents because of their hostility to Robert Hales, the Master of the Hospital, then Treasurer of the kingdom. Walsingham says that the fire continued here for seven days.

933-936. Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 439 ff., where the reference is to the burning of the temple of Vesta. Hence the mention of sacred fires, which is not appropriate here.

937. *Metam.* ii. 61.

939 f. *Metam.* i. 288 f.

941 ff. This accusation, which Gower brings apparently without thinking it necessary to examine into its truth ('Est nichil vt queram,' &c.), is in direct contradiction to the statements of the chroniclers, e.g. Walsingham, i. 456 f., Knighton, ii. 135; but it is certain that dishonest persons must have taken advantage of the disorder to some extent for their own private ends, however strict the commands of the leaders may have been, and it is probable that the control which was exercised at first did not long continue. The chroniclers agree with Gower as to the drunkenness.

943 f. Ovid, *Trist.* v. 6. 39 f.

951. Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 673.

953. *Metam.* xv. 665.

955 f. That is, the deeds of Friday (dies Veneris) were more atrocious than those of Thursday.

961 f. The construction of accusative with infinitive is here used after 'Ecce,' as if it were a verb, and 'Calcas' is evidently meant for an accusative case. It is probable that the names here given, Calchas, Antenor, Thersites, Diomedes, Ulysses, as well as those which follow in ll. 985 ff., are meant to stand for general types, rather than for particular persons connected with the government. In any case we could hardly identify them.

997. *Vix Hecube thalami*, &c. This looks like an allusion to the princess of Wales, the king's mother, whose apartments in the Tower were in fact invaded by the mob. Similarly in the lines that follow 'Helenus' stands for the archbishop of Canterbury.

1019 ff. The text of these five lines, as we find it in DTH<sub>2</sub>, that is in its earlier form, was taken for the most part from the *Aurora* of Petrus (de) Riga, (MS. Bodley 822) f. 88 v<sup>o</sup>,

'Non rannus pungens, set oliua uirens, set odora  
Ficus, set blanda uitis abhorret eos.  
Anticristus enim regit hos, nam spiritus almus,  
Nam lex, nam Cristus, non dominatur eis.'

He is speaking of the parable of Jotham in the Book of Judges.

1046. *Fasti*, ii. 228.

1073. *medioque*: written apparently for 'mediaque.'

1076. *posse caret*, 'is without effect.'

1081. Cp. *Tristia*, iv. 2. 5 f.

1094. Cp. *Fasti*, i. 122.

1141. *Metam.* vi. 559.

1143. Cp. *Metam.* vii. 603.

1161. *Metam.* vii. 602. Considering that the line is borrowed from Ovid, we cannot attach much importance to it as indicating what was done with the body of the archbishop.

1173. *ostia iuris*: cp. Walsingham, i. 457, 'locum qui vocatur "Temple Barre," in quo apprenticii iuris morabantur nobiliores, diruerunt.'

1188. Cp. Ovid, *Her.* iii. 4.

1189. *Metam.* v. 41.

1193 f. Cp. *Ars Amat.* ii. 373 f., where, however, we have 'cum rotat,' not 'conrotat.'

1206. *Quam periturus erat*, 'rather than that he should perish,' apparently.

1209. Cp. *Metam.* v. 40.

1211. *Metam.* xiv. 408.

1215 f. A reference probably to the massacre of the Flemings.

1219 f. *Fasti*, iii. 509 f.



1221 f. Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 9. 11 f.

1224. Cp. *Her.* v. 68.

1253. Cp. *Metam.* vii. 599, 'Exiguo tinxit subiectos sanguine cultros.'

1271. Perhaps 'cessit' is right, as in l. 1265, but the reading of C is the result of a correction, and the corrections of this manuscript are usually sound.

1279 f. If there is any construction here, it must be 'Erumpunt lacrimae luminibus, que lumina,' &c. For this kind of ellipse cp. l. 1501.

1283. Cp. *Her.* viii. 77.

1289. *Metam.* ix. 775.

Cap. xvi. *Heading*, l. 1. *quasi in propria persona*: cf. *Conf. Amantis*, i. 60, *margin*, 'Hic quasi in persona aliorum quos amor alligat, fingens se auctor esse Amantem,' &c. The author takes care to guard his readers against a too personal application of his descriptions.

1359. Cp. Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. 198. In the lines that follow our author has rather ingeniously appropriated several other expressions from the same story of Ulysses and Polyphemus.

1363 f. *Ars Amat.* iii. 723 f.

1365. *Metam.* xiv. 206.

1369. *Metam.* xiv. 200.

1379 f. Cp. *Tristia*, v. 4. 33 f.

1385 f. *Her.* xx. 91 f.

1387. Cp. *Metam.* xiv. 120.

1395. Cp. *Metam.* iv. 723.

1397 f. Cp. *Tristia*, i. 3. 53 f.

1401 f. Cp. *Fasti*, v. 315 f.

1403. Cp. *Metam.* xv. 27.

1413 f. *Pont.* i. 3. 57 f.

1420. Cp. *Her.* iii. 24, used here with a change of meaning.

1424. Cp. *Ars Amat.* ii. 88, 'Nox oculis pavido venit oborta metu.'

1425 f. *Pont.* i. 2. 45 f.

1429 f. Cp. *Pont.* i. 2. 49 f.

1433. *Metam.* iii. 709.

1442. Cp. *Her.* v. 14, where we have 'Mixtaque' instead of 'Copula.'

1445 ff. Cp. *Metam.* xiv. 214-216.

1453. Adapted from *Metam.* iv. 263, 'Rore mero lacrimisque suis ieiunia pavit.' The change of 'mero' to 'meo' involves a tasteless alteration of the sense, while the sound is preserved.

1459. Cp. *Rem. Amoris*, 581.

1465. *Metam.* ii. 656. Our author has borrowed the line without supplying an appropriate context, and the result is nonsense. Ovid has

'Suspirat ab imis

Pectoribus, lacrimaeque genis labuntur obortae.'

1467 f. *Pont.* i. 2. 29 f.

1469. Cp. *Metam.* xiii. 539.

1473. Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 469.  
 1475. *Metam.* iv. 135, borrowed without much regard to the context.  
 1485. From Ovid, *Her.* xiv. 37, where however we have 'calor,' not 'color,' a material difference.  
 1496. *Her.* v. 46.  
 1497. The expression 'verbis solabar amicis' is from Ovid (*Fasti*, v. 237), but here 'solabar' seems to be made passive in sense.  
 1501 f. i. e. 'cessat amor eius qui prius,' &c., with a rather harsh ellipse of the antecedent. The couplet is a parody of Ovid, *Pont.* iv. 6. 23 f.,  
     'Nam cum praestiteris verum mihi semper amorem,  
     Hic tamen adverso tempore crevit amor.'  
 1503 f. Cp. *Tristia*, iii. i. 65 f.,  
     'Quaerebam fratres, exceptis scilicet illis,  
     Quos suus optaret non genuisse pater.'  
 1506. *Fasti*, i. 148, not very appropriate here.  
 1512. *Her.* xi. 82.  
 1514. Cp. *Her.* xiii. 86, 'Substitit auspicii lingua timore mali.'  
 1517 f. Cp. *Her.* iii. 43 f.  
 1519. Cp. *Pont.* iii. 4. 75.  
 1521. Cp. *Tristia*, i. 11. 23.  
 1534. Cp. *Tristia*, v. 4. 4, 'Heu quanto melior sors tua sorte mea est.'  
 1535 ff. Cp. *Tristia*, iii. 3. 39 ff.  
 1539 f. *Tristia*, iii. 3. 29 f.  
 1541. *scis quia*: 'quia' for 'quod,' cp. l. 1593; 'puto quod,' i. Prol. 15, &c.  
 1549. Cp. *Fasti*, i. 483.  
 1564. *Her.* xiv. 52.  
 1565 f. Cp. *Her.* x. 113 f. The lines are not very appropriate here.  
 1568. See note on l. 1420.  
 1569. Cp. *Metam.* iii. 396.  
 1571. Cp. *Metam.* xiv. 210.  
 1573. Cp. *Metam.* vii. 614.  
 1575. Cp. *Metam.* ix. 583.  
 1581. *Obice singultu*, that is, 'Impediente singultu': cp. *Cronica Tripartita*, ii. 3.  
 1585. *Metam.* xiv. 217.  
 1589. *Tristia*, i. 5. 45.  
 1593. *vidi quia*: cp. l. 1541.  
 1609. *quid agant alii*, 'whatever others may do.'  
 1612. Cp. *Her.* xix. 52.  
 1615 f. It seems probable that this is a prayer to the Virgin Mary, whose name 'Star of the Sea' was used long before the fourteenth century, e.g.  
     'Praevia stella maris de mundo redde procella  
     Tutos: succurre, praevia stella maris,'

in an address to the Virgin by Eberhard (date 1212) in Leyser, *Poet. Med. Aevi*, p. 834, and the name occurs also in Peter Damian's hymns (xi. cent.): For Gower's use of the expression cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 29925, 'O de la mer estoille pure,' and later in this book, l. 2033, 'Stella, Maria, maris.' Here, however, we might translate, 'Be thou a star of the sea going before me,' taking it as a prayer to Christ.

1623. *Metam.* i. 265.

1627. *Extra se positus*, 'beside himself.'

1630. *Fasti*, iv. 386.

1631. Cp. *Metam.* i. 282.

1635. Cp. *Metam.* i. 269.

1637. Cp. *Metam.* i. 270.

1653 ff. From this point to the end of the chapter the description is mostly taken from Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 480-523, many hexameters being appropriated without material change, e. g. ll. 480, 482, 484, 486, 488, 491, 492, 495, 499, 501, 516, 517, 519 f.

1689. The line is taken away from its context, and consequently gives no sense. In Ovid it is,

'Ipse pavet, nec se qui sit status ipse fatetur  
Scire ratis rector.'—*Metam.* xi. 492.

1693. *Metam.* i. 292.

1695. From Peter Riga, *Aurora*, (MS. Bodley 822) f. 16 v<sup>o</sup>.

1697-1700. Cp. *Aurora*, f. 15 v<sup>o</sup>,

'Fontes ingresso Noe corrumpuntur abyssi,  
Et de uisceribus terra fluent uomit.  
Effundunt nubes pluuias, deciesque quaternis  
Sustinet immensas archa diebus aquas.'

1717 f. Cp. Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 689 f.

1719. Cp. *Metam.* iv. 706 f. Ovid has 'prae-*fixo*,' which is more satisfactory.

1721. Cp. *Metam.* iv. 690.

1727 f. *Tristia*, i. 11. 21 f.

1729. *Fasti*, iii. 593.

1735. *Metam.* xi. 539.

1739. Cp. *Metam.* xi. 515, 'Rima patet, praebetque viam letalibus undis.'

1774. Cp. *Fasti*, ii. 98.

1775 f. Cp. *Amores*, ii. 11. 9 f.

1779 f. *Tristia*, v. 12. 5 f.

1781. *Metam.* xiv. 213.

1825. Cp. *Tristia*, ii. 179.

1832. *Tristia*, i. 5. 36.

1847 f. Cp. Ovid, *Pont.* iii. 7. 27 f. In the second line Ovid has 'tumidis,' for which there is no authority in Gower. Our author perhaps read 'timidis' in his copy of Ovid, or made the change himself, taking 'timidis' to mean 'fearful.'



1879. 'Perhaps that day would have been the last of confusion, even if,' &c. This, by the context, would seem to be the meaning.
1898. Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 542.
- 1899 f. Cp. *Pont.* i. 3. 9 f.
- 1907 f. From Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 82 (ed. 1584).
1909. 'But he who walked upon the sea,' &c., that is, Christ.
1913. Cp. *Metam.* i. 328, 'Nubila disiecit, nimbisque Aquilone remotis.'
1917. *Metam.* i. 329.
1919. Cp. *Metam.* i. 345.
1921. Cp. *Metam.* v. 286, where we have 'nubila,' as the sense requires. Here the MSS. give 'numina' without variation.
1923. Cp. *Metam.* ix. 795.
1925. *Metam.* i. 344.
1935. *Metam.* xiii. 440.
1939. *Metam.* xiii. 419.
1944. *Quam prius*: for 'prius quam,' as often.
- 1963 f. This alludes to the supposed reply made to Brutus (son of Silvius), when he consulted the oracle of Diana in the island of Leogecia, 'Brute, sub occasum solis,' &c., as told by Geoffrey of Monmouth.
- 1979 f. Ovid, *Pont.* iii. 8. 15 f.
- 1991 ff. Cp. *Tristia*, i. 11. 25 ff.
- 1997 f. *Tristia*, iii. 2. 25 f.
- 2001 f. Cp. *Her.* xi. 27 f.
- 2003 f. *Her.* xiv. 39 f.
- 2029 f. Cp. *Rem. Amoris*, 119 f.
- 2031 f. Cp. *Rem. Amoris*, 531 f.
- 2033 f. Cp. *Her.* ii. 123 f.
- 2037 f. *Pont.* iv. 3. 49 f.
2043. Cp. *Pont.* i. 4. 21. In Ovid we read 'animus quoque pascitur illis,' and this probably was what Gower intended to write.
- 2071 f. Cp. *Pont.* ii. 7. 9 f.
2074. *Pont.* ii. 7. 8.
2091. Cp. *Hist. Apollonii Tyrii*, xli, 'Sicut rosa in spinis nescit compungi mucrone.'
2139. Cp. *Pont.* i. 5. 47.
2150. Cp. *Rem. Amoris*, 484.

## LIB. II. PROLOGUS.

15. Cp. *Speculum Stultorum*, p. 11, l. 41 (Rolls Series, 59, vol. i.).
41. Deut. xxxii. 13, 'ut sugeret mel de petra oleumque de saxo durissimo.'
- 49 f. Cp. *Fasti*, i. 73 f.
51. The supposed mischief-maker is compared to Sinon, who gave a signal by fire which led to the destruction of Troy: cp. *Conf. Amantis*, i. 1172. I cannot satisfactorily explain 'Excetra.'

57 f. From Neckam, *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 175 (ed. Wright, Rolls Series, 59, vol. ii.).

61. *De modicis* . . . *modicum*: cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 16532.

64. Cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* ii, 166.

## LIB. II.

With the general drift of what follows cp. *Conf. Amantis*, Prol. 529 ff.

1. *Incausti specie*: cp. *Conf. Amantis*, viii. 2212.

18. *nos*: meaning the people of England, as compared with those of other countries.

31 f. Cp. Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 8. 19 f.

33. *Tristia*, v. 5. 47.

41. Job v. 6, 'Nihil in terra sine causa fit': cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 26857.

59. This is the usual opposition of rose and nettle, based perhaps originally on Ovid, *Rem. Amoris*, 46: cp. *Conf. Amantis*, ii. 401 ff.

67 f. Cp. Boethius, *Consol. Phil.* 2 Pr. 4, 'in omni adversitate fortunae infelicissimum genus est infortunii fuisse felicem.' So Dante, *Inf.* v. 121 ff.,

'Nessun maggior dolore,  
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice  
Nella miseria.'

117 ff. Cp. Ovid, *Her.* v. 109 ff. In l. 117 'siccis' is substituted, not very happily, for 'suci.'

138. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, Latin Verses after ii. 1878,

'Quod patet esse fides in eo fraus est, que politi  
Principium pacti finis habere negat.'

163 f. Cp. Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 8. 15 f.

167 ff. Cp. *Tristia*, i. 5. 27 ff.

199 f. There seems to be no grammatical construction here.

239 ff. With this passage cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 27013 ff., where nearly the same examples are given. The classification is according to the nature of the things affected, first the heavenly bodies, then the elements of air, water, fire and earth, and finally living creatures. This arrangement is more clearly brought out in the *Mirour*.

259. Cp. *Mirour*, 27031, and note.

261. 'And from the hard rocks of the desert,' the conjunction being out of its proper place, as in i. 407, 847, ii. 249, &c.

267 f. Cp. *Mirour*, 27049 ff.

281 ff. See *Mirour de l'Omme*, 27073 ff.

282. *Congelat*, 'took form.' Probably the author had in his mind the phrase 'congelat aere tacto,' Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 415.

306. 'num' is here for 'nonne'; cp. l. 320.

316. *Cumque*, for 'Cum': cp. l. 545, iii. 958, &c.

353 f. Cp. Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 9 (ed. 1584).

'Ante creaturam genitor deus et genitura,  
Primaque natura, novit statuitque futura.'

- 357-359. These three lines are from the *Pantheon*, p. 9.  
 371-374. Taken with slight change from the *Pantheon*, p. 10.  
 377 f. From *Aurora*, (MS. Bodley 822) f. 7 v<sup>o</sup>.  
 414. 'That which the new star brings argues that he is God.'  
 423. That is, 'Lux venit, vt obscurari possit tenebris,' &c.  
 485. 'Every one who thinks upon Jesus ought to resolve to lay aside,' &c.  
 487. The MSS. give 'benedicti,' but it seems probable that 'benedici' was meant. The verb is commonly transitive in later Latin.  
 495 ff. Cp. Isaiah, xliv. 9-20.  
 531 f. Psalms, cxiii. 8.  
 619 ff. Cp. Ovid, *Metam.* i. 74 ff.

## LIB. III. PROLOGUS.

11 ff. The author characteristically takes care to point out that in his criticism of the Church he is expressing not his own private opinion, but the 'commune dictum,' the report which went abroad among the people, and the 'vox populi' has for him always a high authority. Cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 18445 ff., 19057 ff., and see below, l. 1267 ff., iv. 19 f., 709 f.

With what is said in this Book of the condition of the Church and the clergy we may compare the author's *Mirour de l'Omme*, 18421-20832.

25 f. Compare with this the author's note on *Mirour de l'Omme*, 21266-78.

61. Cp. Ovid, *Pont.* iv. 14. 41.

64. Cp. *Pont.* iv. 9. 10.

67 f. Cp. *Tristia*, ii. 301 f.

82. Cp. *Pont.* ii. 2. 128.

## LIB. III.

1-28. The form of these lines which stood originally in S is given by the Trinity College, Dublin, and the Hatfield MSS. The passage has been rewritten over erasure in CHG, and it must be left doubtful what text they had originally. From the fact that the erasure in G begins with the second line, it may seem more probable that the original text of this manuscript agreed with that which we have now in S, rather than with TH<sub>2</sub>: for in the latter case there would have been no need to begin the erasure before l. 4. In CH the whole passage has been recopied (the same hand appearing here in the two MSS.) so that we can draw no conclusion about the point where divergence actually began. EDL have the same text by first hand. It will be noted that the lines as given by TH<sub>2</sub> make no mention of the schism of the Papacy.

11 ff. With this we may compare *Mirour de l'Omme*, 18769 ff.

22. *nisi*, for 'nil nisi': cp. l. 32.

41. Cp. Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 8. 55.



63. *Fasti*, i. 225.

65 f. Cp. *Fasti*, i. 249 f.

85-90. Chiefly from the *Aurora* of Petrus (de) Riga, (MS. Bodley 822) f. 71,

'Ollarum carnes, peponum fercula, porros,  
Cepas pro manna turba gulosa petit.  
Quosdam consimiles sinus ecclesie modo nutrit,  
Qui pro diuinis terrea uana petunt.

Carnes ollarum carnalia facta figurant  
Que uelut in nostra carne libido coquit.'

It would seem that Gower read 'Gebas' (which has no meaning) for 'Cepas' and 'preponunt,' as in MS. Univ. Coll. 143, for 'peponum,' which is the true reading, meaning 'melons' or 'pumpkins.'

115. Cp. *Metam.* xv. 173.

Cap. iii. *Heading*. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, Prol. 288 (margin), where this is given as a quotation from Gregory.

141 f. Cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 18553.

167 f. From *Aurora*, f. 37.

175. *gregis ex pietate mouetur*, 'is moved by pity for his flock.'

193 ff. With this passage compare *Conf. Amantis*, Prol. 407-413, and *Mirour de l'Omme*, 20161 ff. In all these places a distinct charge is brought against the clergy, to the effect that they encourage vice, in order to profit by it themselves in money and in influence: 'the prostitute is more profitable to them than the nun,' as our author significantly says in the *Mirour* (20149).

209 ff. Cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 20113 ff.

227 ff. For this attack on the 'positive law' of the Church cp. *Conf. Amantis*, Prol. 247, *Mirour*, 18469 ff. The 'lex positiva' is that which is enjoined not as of inherent moral obligation, but as imposed by Church discipline.

249 f. Cp. *Mirour*, 18997 ff. Apparently 'nouo' is an adverb, meaning 'anew,' 'again': cp. 284, 376.

265 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 18505 ff.

283 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 18637, *Conf. Amantis*, ii. 3486.

329 ff. With this chapter compare *Mirour*, 18649-18732.

375. The note which we find here in the margin of SCHGD refers to the crusade of the bishop of Norwich in Flanders in the year 1383, which probably took place soon after the completion of our author's book. It is added in SCHG in what appears to be one and the same hand, possibly that of the author himself. If we may judge by the manner in which the campaign in question is referred to by contemporary chroniclers, it seems to have been considered a public scandal by many others besides Gower.

419. Gower uses 'sublimo' as an ablat. sing. in l. 701; therefore 'sublimis' may here be an ablative plural agreeing with 'meritis.'

425 ff. Cp. *Aurora*, (MS. Bodley 822) f. 103,

'Cogitat inde domum domino fundare, sed audit  
A domino, "Templi non fabricator eris.  
Es uir sanguineus, ideo templum mihi dignum  
Non fabricare potes, filius immo tuus."  
Sanguineus uir signat eum qui, crimina carnis  
Amplectens, templum non ualet esse dei.  
Ecclesie sancte talis non erigit edem,  
Nec sacre fidei collocat ille domum.'

508. 'And whosoever may sound trumpets, we ought to be silent':  
cp. i. 1609.

531 f. *Aurora*, f. 75 v<sup>o</sup>.

619 f. Ovid, *Pont.* ii. 5. 61 f.

623 f. *Pont.* ii. 6. 21 f.

641. See *Ars Amat.* ii. 417, where we find 'semine,' a reading which is required by the sense, but not given in the Gower MSS.

651. 'The line of descent by right of his mother proclaims Christ to be heir of that land in which he was born.' The author argues for crusades to recover the Holy Land, if there must be wars, instead of wars against fellow Christians, waged by one pope against the other under the name of crusades: cp. below, 945 ff.

676. *quo foret ipse vigil*, 'where it ought to be watchful,' a common use of the imperfect subjunctive in our author's Latin: cp. 'gestaret,' 695, 'lederet,' 922, 'medicaret,' 1052.

815. What follows is spoken as in the person of the supreme pontiff: cp. *Mirour*, 18505-18792, where somewhat similar avowals are put into the mouth of a member of the Roman Court.

819 f. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, Prol. 261,

'The hevene is ferr, the world is nyh.'

835. Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 209.

955 f. I take this concluding couplet as a remark made by the author on the sentiments which he has just heard expressed by the representative of the Pope. It practically means that 'Clemens' is not a proper name for the Pope: it is in fact a 'headless name' and should rather be 'Inclemens.' Compare the address to Innocent III at the beginning of Geoffrey de Vinsauf's *Poetria Nova*:

'Papa, stupor mundi, si dixero Papa *nocenti*,  
Acephalum nomen tribuam tibi: si caput addam,  
Hostis erit metri,' &c.

957 ff. It seems best to take what follows as, in part at least, a dialogue between the author and the representative of the pope, who has just spoken. Soon however the speech passes again entirely to the author. The Biblical reference here is to Revelation, xxii. 8 f. The same use is made of it in the *Mirour*, 18736 ff.

1077-1080. These four lines are from the *Aurora*, f. 44 v<sup>o</sup>.

1113f. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 595 f. (where we have 'sequatur'). The original application is to the effects of rivalry in stimulating the passion of lovers. For the use of 'sequetur' here, apparently as a subjunctive, compare l. 1946, 'Inueniet tardam ne sibi lentus opem.'

1118-1124. These lines are almost entirely borrowed from the *Aurora*, (MS. Bodley 822) f. 21 v<sup>o</sup>.

1124. In the Glasgow MS. 'Est' has been here altered to 'Et.'

1145-1150. Almost verbatim from *Aurora*, f. 93 v<sup>o</sup>.

1169. S has here in the margin in a somewhat later hand than that of the text, 'Nota hic quattuor neccessaria episcopo.'

1171 f. Cp. *Aurora*, f. 44 v<sup>o</sup>,

'Est olei natura triplex, lucet, cybat, unguis;

Hec tria mitratum debet habere capud.'

1183 f. Cp. *Aurora*, f. 44 v<sup>o</sup>,

'Lux est exemplo, cibus est dum pascit egenos,

Vinctio dum populis dulcia uerba ferit.'

Gower is right in reading 'serit,' which is given in MS. Univ. Coll. 143, f. 13.

1206. Cp. l. 1376.

1213. Cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 655.

1215f. Cp. *Ars Amat.* iii. 653 f.

1233. Cp. *Ars Amat.* ii. 279.

1247 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 18793 ff.

1267. *Vox populi*, &c.: cp. *Speculum Stultorum*, p. 100, l. 4, and see also the note on iii. Prol. II.

1271. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, Prol. 304 ff. and *Mirour*, 18805.

1313. With the remainder of this Book, treating of the secular clergy, we may compare *Mirour de l'Omme*, 20209-20832.

1341. Cp. *Mirour*, 18889 ff.

1342. *participaret*, 'he ought to share': see note on l. 676.

1359 f. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, i. 1258 ff.

1375 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 20287 ff.

1376. The reading 'vngat vt' is given by the Digby MS. and seems almost necessary: cp. l. 1206.

1405. *prece ruffi . . et albi*, 'by reason of the petition of the red and the white,' that is, presumably, by the influence of gold and silver, 'dominis' in the next line being in a loose kind of apposition to a dative case suggested by 'Annuit.'

1407. S has here in the margin, in a rather later hand, 'contra rectores Oxon.'

1417. Eccles. iv. 10, 'Vae soli, quia cum ceciderit, non habet sublevantem se.'

1432. The margin of S has here, in the same hand as at 1407, 'Nota rectores et studentes Oxon.'

1443. *formalis*, that is, 'eminent,' from 'forma' meaning 'rank' or 'dignity,' but here also opposed to 'materialis.'

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1454. Originally the line was 'Dum legit, inde magis fit sibi sensus hebes,' but this was altered to 'plus sibi sensus hebes est,' with the idea apparently of taking 'magis' with 'legit.' This involves an awkward metrical licence, 'hebes est' equivalent to 'hebest,' and the original text stands in CEH as well as in TH<sub>2</sub>. The expedient of the Roxburghe editor is quite inexcusable.

1493 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 20314. The sporting parson was quite a recognized figure in the fourteenth century. Readers of Froissart will remember how when the capture of Terry in Albigeois was effected by stratagem, the blowing of the horn to summon the company in ambush was attributed by those at the gate to a priest going out into the fields, 'Ah that is true, it was sir Francis our priest; gladly he goeth a mornings to seek for an hare.'

1498. *fugat*: used apparently as subjunctive also in l. 2078, but it is possible that 'Nec fugat' may be the true reading here.

1509 ff. Cp. *Mirour de l'Homme*, 20313 ff.

1527. *Est sibi missa*, 'his mass is over.'

1546. Apparently a proverbial expression used of wasting valuable things.

1549. If benefices went from father to son, little or nothing would be gained by those who go to Rome to seek preferment, for an heir would seldom fail.

1555 ff. Cp. *Mirour de l'Homme*, 20497 ff. The priests here spoken of are the 'annuelers,' who get their living by singing masses for the dead, the 'Annua seruicia' spoken of below:

'Et si n'ont autre benefice,  
Chantont par auns et par quartiers  
Pour la gent mort.' *Mirour*, 20499.

1559. In the *Mirour*,

'Plus que ne firon quatre ainçois' (20527).

1587-1590. Taken with slight change from *Aurora*, (MS. Bodley 822) f. 65 v<sup>o</sup>.

1591. 'With the ancients it is possible to say "hic et hec sacerdos,"' that is, 'sacerdos' is both masculine and feminine.

1693-1700. Adapted from *Aurora*, f. 65,

'Omen in urbe malum bubo solis iubar odit,  
Escam uestigat nocte, ueretur aues:  
In quem forte gregis auium si lumina figant,  
Et clamando uolant et laniando secant.  
Incestus notat iste reos, qui corpore fedi  
Contra nature iura latenter agunt:  
Hos iusti quasi lucis aues discernere querunt,  
Zelo succensi uerba seuera serunt.'

('Conclamando' for 'Et clamando' in MS. Univ. Coll. 143.)

1727 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 20713 ff.

1759 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 20725 ff.,

'Ne sont pas un, je suis certains,  
Ly berchiers et ly chapelleins,  
Ne leur pecché n'est pas egal,  
L'un poise plus et l'autre meinz,' &c.

1775. *fierent*, 'ought to become': cp. l. 1789.

1791-1794 are from *Aurora*, f. 93 v°, and the succeeding couplet is adapted from the same source, where we have,

'De lino que fit per ephot caro munda notatur,  
Nam tales seruos Cristus habere cupit.'

1797. Cp. *Aurora*, f. 46 v°,

'Balteus ex bysso tunicam constringit honeste.'

1799 f. Cp. *Aurora*, f. 45 v°.

1801 f. 'In medio tunice capitale ligat sibi presul,  
Vt capitis sensus non sinat ire uagos.' *Aurora*, f. 46.

1807 f. 'Aurum ueste gerit presul, cum splendet in illo  
Pre cunctis rutilans clara sophia patris.' *Aurora*, f. 45.

1809 ff. 'Ne tunice leuiter possit ruptura minari,  
Illius in gyro texilis ora micat:  
A grege ne presul se disrumpat, set honestus  
Ad finem mores pertrahat, ista notant.' *Aurora*, f. 46.

1813 f. Cp. *Aurora*, f. 46 v°.

1815-1818. 'Aaron et natis uestes texuntur, ut horum  
Quisque sacerdotis possit honore frui.  
Nam modo presbiteri, seu summi siue minores,  
Conficiunt Cristi corpus idemque sacrant.'

*Aurora*, f. 45.

1823 f. *Aurora*, f. 43 v°.

1841-1848. These eight lines are taken with insignificant changes from the *Aurora*, f. 63 v°.

1853. The reference here given by Gower to the *Aurora* of Petrus (de) Riga has led to the tracing of a good many passages of the *Vox Clamantis*, besides the present one, to that source.

1863-1884. These lines are almost entirely from *Aurora*, ff. 66 v°, 67. The arrangement of the couplets is somewhat different, and there are a few slight variations, which are noted below as they occur.

1866. *eius*: 'illud,' *Aurora*, f. 67.

1868. *tumet*: 'timet,' *Aurora* (MS, Bodley 822), but Gower's reading is doubtless the more correct.

1871. *nimio*: 'magno,' *Aurora*.

1872. *ipse*: 'esse,' *Aurora*.

1876. *ligante*: 'trahente,' *Aurora*, f. 66 v°.

1878. *tardat ad omne bonum*: 'ad bona nulla ualet,' *Aurora*.

1880. *Lumina nec*: 'Nec faciem,' *Aurora*, f. 67.

1881 f. 'Per pinguem scabiem succensa libido notatur;  
Feruēt vel fetet corpus utroque malo.' *Aurora*, f. 67.

1885 ff. Our author still borrows from the same source, though from a different part of it. We find these lines nearly in the same form in the *Aurora*, f. 103,

'Oza manus tendens accessit ut erigat archam,  
Set mox punita est arida facta manus.  
Hinc ideo dicunt meruisse necem, quia nocte  
Transacta cohitu coniugis usus erat.  
Declaratur in hoc quod si pollutus ad aram  
Accedas, mortis uulnere dignus eris.'

1891 f. 'Namque superiectas sordes detergere pure  
Nescit nostra manus, si tenet illa lutum.' *Aurora*, f. 103.

1905-1908. These two couplets are from *Aurora*, f. 69 v<sup>o</sup>, where however they are separated by four lines not here given.

1911 ff. Cp. *Aurora*, f. 69 v<sup>o</sup>,

'Radices non extirpat rasura pilorum,  
Set rasi crescunt fructificantque pyli.  
Sic licet expellas omnes de pectore motus,  
Non potes hinc penitus cuncta fugare tamen.  
Hec de carne trahis, quia semper alit caro pugnans;  
Intus habes cum quo prelia semper agas.'

Gower's reading 'pugnam' in l. 1915 is probably right.

1937. Ovid, *Rem. Amoris*, 669.

1939. *Tristia*, iv. 6. 33 f.

1943 f. *Rem. Amoris*, 89 f.

1945 f. Cp. *Rem. Amoris*, 115 f.

1946. *Inueniet*: apparently meant for subjunctive; cp. l. 1114.

1947-1950. *Rem. Amoris*, 81-84.

1952. Cp. *Her.* xvii. 190.

1953. *Rem. Amoris*, 229.

1955 f. *Rem. Amoris*, 139 f.

1999 f. 'Cum sale uas mittens in aquas Helyseus, easdem  
Sanat, nec remanet gustus amarus aquis.' *Aurora*, f. 140.

2001. *Aurora*, f. 60 v<sup>o</sup>.

2017-2020. From *Aurora*, f. 8.

2035-2040. From *Aurora*, f. 15 v<sup>o</sup>, but one couplet is omitted, and so the sense is obscured. After 'sunt sine felle boni' (l. 2038), the original has,

'Cras canit hinc coruus, hodie canit inde columba;  
Hec vox peruersis, congruit illa bonis.  
Cras prauum cantant, dum se conuertere tardant,  
Set tales tollit sepe suprema dies.'



The meaning is that the bad priests cry 'Cras,' like crows, and encourage men to put off repentance, while the others sing 'Hodie,' like doves, the words 'cras' and 'hodie' being imitations of the notes of the two birds. The expression 'Cras primam cantant,' in l. 2039, is not intelligible, and probably Gower missed the full sense of the passage.

2045. 'sit' has been altered in S from 'fit.'

2049 ff. Cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 20785 ff.

2071. Cp. *Mirour*, 20798.

2078. *fugat*: cp. l. 1498.

2097 f. Cp. iv. 959 and note.

## LIB. IV.

The matter of this book corresponds to that of the *Mirour de l'Omme*, ll. 20833-21780.

19 f. Cp. Lib. iii. Prol. 11.

34. 'dompnus' or 'domnus' was the form of 'dominus' which was properly applied as a title to ecclesiastical dignitaries, and it seems to have been especially used in monasteries. Ducange quotes John of Genoa as follows: 'Domnus et Domna per syncopen proprie convenit claustralibus; sed Dominus, Domina mundanis.' Cp. l. 323 of this book and also 327 ff.

57. *humeris qui ferre solebat*, 'who used to bear burdens,' as a labourer.

87. Cp. Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, p. 74 (ed. 1584).

91. *Pantheon*, p. 74.

109 f. Cp. Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 205 f.

111. *Ars Amat.* ii. 475, but Ovid has 'cubilia.'

112. Cp. *Fasti*, iv. 396, 'Quas tellus nullo sollicitante dabat.' Gower has not improved the line by his changes.

114. *Fasti*, iv. 400.

115. *Metam.* i. 104, but Ovid has of course 'fraga.'

117. Cp. *Metam.* i. 106, 'Et quae deciderant patula Iovis arbore glandes': 'patule glandes' is nonsense.

119. Cp. *Metam.* i. 103.

128. A play on the word 'regula': 're' has been taken away and there remains only 'gula.'

145. Cp. *Metam.* viii. 830.

147. *Metam.* viii. 835.

151 ff. Cp. *Metam.* viii. 837 ff.

163. Cp. *Ars Amat.* iii. 647.

165 f. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, Prol. 473 ff.

175. *Ars Amat.* iii. 503 f., but Ovid has 'Gorgoneo saevius,' for 'commota lenius.'

177. Cp. *Metam.* viii. 465, 'Saepe suum fervens oculis dabat ira ruborem.' The reading 'oculis' is necessary to the sense and appears in one manuscript.

179. Cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 509.

215. 'corrodium' (or 'corredium') is the allowance made from the funds of a religious house for the sustentation of a member of it or of someone else outside the house: see Ducange under 'conredium' and *New Engl. Dict.* 'corrody.' Gower himself perhaps had in his later life a corrody in the Priory of Saint Mary Overey, of which he was a benefactor.

302. The reference is to Ecclus. xix. 27, 'Amictus corporis et risus dentium et ingressus hominis enunciant de eo.' Cp. *Confessio Amantis*, i. 2705, margin.

305-310. *Aurora*, (MS. Bodley 822) f. 65,

'Est nigra coruus auis et predo cadaueris, illum  
Quem male denigrat ceca cupido notans.

Sub uolucrum specie descripsit legifer illos,  
Quos mundanus honos ad scelus omne trahit.  
Hunc aliquem tangit qui religionis amictum  
Se tegit, ut cicius possit honore frui.'

(MS. Univ. Coll. 143: 'libido' for 'cupido,' 'amictu' for 'amictum,' 'maius' for 'cicius').

311. Cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 249, 'Turpe pecus mutilum,' &c. The word 'monstrum' in Gower came probably from a corruption in his copy of Ovid.

327 ff. With this chapter compare *Mirour de l'Omme*, 21133 ff. The capital letters of 'Paciens,' 'Custus,' 'Luxus,' &c. are supplied by the editor, being clearly required by the sense.

354. *Apocapata*, 'cut short': cp. 'per apocapen,' v. 820.

363 f. The habit described is that of the Canons of the order of St. Augustine.

395. Cp. Neckam, *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 175 (Rolls Series, 59, vol. ii),

'Vovistis, fratres, vovistis; vestra, rogamus,  
Vivite solliciti reddere vota deo.

397. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 176.

401. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 178.

403 f. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 177.

405-480. Most of this is taken from Neckam, *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 176.

425. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* ii. 465.

427. *foret*, 'should be,' i. e. 'ought to be.'

431-446. Taken with slight alterations from *De Vita Monachorum*, pp. 187, 188.

442 f. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 188.

449 Cp. Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 85,

'Saepe sequens agnam lupus est a voce retentus.'

Our author has interchanged the sexes for the purpose of his argument, the man being represented as a helpless victim.

450. The subject to be supplied must be 'agnus.'

451. Cp. *Ars Amat.* iii. 419.

453 f. *Tristia*, i. 6. 9 f.

461-466. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 188.

469-490. Nearly the whole of this is taken from Neckam, p. 178.

537 f. Cp. Ovid, *Rem. Amoris*, 235 f.,

'Adspicis ut prensos urant iuga prima iuencos,  
Et nova velocem cingula laedat equum?'

575. Cp. *Amores*, iii. 4. 17.

587. 'Genius' is here introduced as the priest of Venus and in l. 597 in the character of a confessor, as afterwards in the *Confessio Amantis*. The reference to the 'poets' in the marginal note can hardly be merely to the *Roman de la Rose*, where Genius is the priest and confessor of Nature, but the variation 'secundum Ouidium' of the Glasgow MS. does not seem to be justified by any passage of Ovid. The connexion with Venus obviously has to do with the classical idea of Genius as a god who presides over the begetting of children: cp. Isid. *Etym.* viii. 88. The marginal note in S is written in a hand probably different from that of the text, but contemporary.

617 f. Cp. *Ars Amat.* ii. 649 f.,

'Dum novus in viridi coalescit cortice ramus,  
Concutiat tenerum quaelibet aura, cadet.'

623. *Spiritus est promptus*, &c. Gower apparently took this text to mean, 'the spirit is ready to do evil, and the flesh is weak': cp. *Mirour*, 14165.

624. Cp. *Mirour*, 16768.

637. For this use of 'quid' cp. that of 'numquid,' ii. Prol. 59, and v. 279.

648. Rev. xiv. 4, 'Hi sequuntur agnum . . . quocunque ierit.'

657 f. Apparently referring to Rev. xii, 14.

659. Cp. the Latin Verses after *Confessio Amantis*, v. 6358.

681 f. Cp. Ovid, *Pont.* iv. 4. 3 f.

689 ff. Cp. *Mirour de l'Homme*, 21266, margin.

699. *fore*: used here and elsewhere by our author for 'esse'; see below, l. 717, and v. 763.

715. *Acephalum*. This name was applied in early times to ecclesiastics who were exempt from the authority of the bishop: see Ducange. The word is differently used in iii. 956, and by comparison with that passage we might be led to suppose that there was some reference here to the 'inopes' and 'opem' of the next line.

723 ff. Compare with this the contemporary accounts of the controversy between FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh, and the Mendicant Friars, who are said to have bribed the Pope to confirm their privileges



(Walsingham, i. 285), and the somewhat prejudiced account of their faults in Walsingham, ii. 13. The influence of the Dominican Rushook, as the king's confessor was the subject of much jealousy in the reign of Richard II.

735 ff. Cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 21469 ff.

736. *sepulta*: used elsewhere by Gower for 'funeral rites,' e.g. i. 1170. The meaning is that the friar claims to perform the funeral services for the dead bodies of those whose confessor he has been before death. Perhaps however we should take 'sepulta' here as equivalent to 'sepelienda.'

769. Hos. iv. 8: cp. *Mirour*, 21397, where the saying is attributed to Zephaniah.

777 f. Cp. Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 9. 7 f.

781. *Tristia*, i. 9. 9.

784. Cp. *Fasti*, v. 354.

788. See *Mirour*, 21625 ff. and note.

795. 'Prioris' in S, but it is evidently an adjective here.

813 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 21499 ff.

847. The wording is suggested by 1 Cor. ix. 24, 'ii qui in stadio currunt, omnes quidem currunt, sed unus accipit bravium.'

864. *Titivillus*: see note in Dyce's edition of Skelton, vol. ii. pp. 284 f.

869. Cp. Job ii. 4, 'Pellem pro pelle, et cuncta quae habet homo, dabit pro anima sua.'

872. *ultima verba ligant*. As in a bargain the last words are those that are binding, so here the last word mentioned, namely 'demon,' is the true answer to the question.

874. 'Men sein, Old Senne neue schame,' *Conf. Amantis*, iii. 2033.

903. Cp. Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 632, 'Inter aves albas vetuit consistere corvum.' Gower's line seems to have neither accident nor syntax.

953 f. *Fasti*, ii. 219 f.

959. A reference to Ps. lxxii. 5, 'In labore hominum non sunt, et cum hominibus non flagellabuntur.' The same passage is alluded to in Walsingham's chronicle (i. 324), where reference is made to the fact that the friars were exempted from the poll-tax. The first half of this psalm seems to have been accepted in some quarters as a prophetic description of the Mendicants.

963. There is no variation of reading here in the MSS., but the metre cannot be regarded as satisfactory. A fifteenth (or sixteenth) century reader has raised a slight protest against it in the margin of S, 'at metrum quomodo fiet.'

969. Cp. Ps. lxxii. 7, 'Prodiit quasi ex adipe iniquitas eorum: transierunt in affectum cordis.'

971 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 21517 ff.,

'Mal fils ne tret son pris avant,

Par ce qant il fait son avant

Q'il ad bon piere,' &c.

981 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 21553 ff.

1059-1064. These six lines are taken without change from *Aurora*, (MS. Bodley 822) f. 65.

1072. 'lingua' was here the original reading, but was altered to 'verba' in most of the copies. H and G have 'verba' over an erasure.

1081. In G we have 'adepcio' by correction from 'adopcio.'

1090. *adheret*: meant apparently for pres. subj. as if from a verb 'adherere.'

1099 f. Cp. *Aurora*, f. 19 v<sup>o</sup>,

'Sarra parit, discedit Agar; pariente fideles  
Ecclesia populos, dat synagoga locum.'

1103. *Odium*: written thus with a capital letter in H, but not in the other MSS.

1143 ff. Cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 21403 ff. and note.

1145 ff. These lines are partly from Neckam's *Vita Monachorum*, p. 192:

'Porticibus vallas operosis atria, quales  
Quotque putas thalamos haec labyrinthus habet.

. . . . .  
Ostia multa quidem, variae sunt mille fenestrae,  
Mille columnarum est marmore fulta domus.'

Gower alters the first sentence by substituting 'valuas' for the verb 'vallas.' 'It has folding-doors, halls, and bed-chambers as various and as many as the labyrinth.'

1161. 'historia parisiensis' in the MSS. I cannot supply a reference.

1175 f. From *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 193.

1189 ff. The reference is to the *Speculum Stultorum*, where Burnel the Ass, after examining the rules of all the existing orders and finding them in various ways unsatisfactory to him, comes to the conclusion that he must found an order of his own, the rules of which shall combine the advantages of all the other orders. Members of it shall be allowed to ride easily like the Templars, to tell lies like the Hospitallers, to eat meat on Saturday like the Benedictines of Cluny, to talk freely like the brothers of Grandmont, to go to one mass a month, or at most two, like the Carthusians, to dress comfortably like the Praemonstratensians, and so on. What is said here by our author expresses the spirit of these rules rather than the letter.

1197 f. The text here gives the original reading, found in TH<sub>2</sub> and remaining unaltered in S. CHG have 'et si' written over an erasure, and in the next line 'Mechari cupias' is written over erasure in G, 'Mechari cupias ordine' in C, and 'ordine' alone in H. The other MSS. have no erasures.

1212. CHG have this line written over an erasure.

1214. Written over erasure in CHG, the word 'magis' being still visible in G as the last word of the line in the earlier text. The expression 'Linquo coax ranis' is said to have been used by Serlo on his renunciation of the schools: see Leyser, *Hist. Poet.* p. 443.

1215. The word 'mundi' is over erasure in CHG.

1221\*-1232\*. These lines are written over erasure in CHG.

1225. *A planta capiti*, 'from foot to head': more correctly, v. 116, 'Ad caput a planta.'

## LIB. V.

45. *Architesis*. It must be assumed that this word means 'discord,' the passage being a series of oppositions.

53. *Est amor egra salus*, &c. Compare the lines which follow our author's *Traitié*, 'Est amor in glosa pax bellica, lis pietosa,' &c., and Alanus de Insulis, *De Planctu Naturae*, p. 472 (Rolls Series, 59, vol ii).

79 ff. There is not much construction here; but we must suppose that after this loose and rambling description the general sense is resumed at l. 129.

98. *Nec patet os in eis*: cp. Chaucer, *Book of the Duchess*, 942.

104. *Nec . . . vix*: cp. l. 153 and vii. 12.

121 f. Cp. Ovid, *Her.* iv. 71 f.

123 f. Cp. *Fasti*, ii. 763.

165. From *Metam.* vii. 826, but quoted without much regard to the sense. In the original there is a stop after 'est,' and 'subito collapsa dolore' is the beginning of a new sentence of the narrative.

169 f. Cp. *Rem. Amoris*, 691 f.

171. Cp. *Her.* iv. 161.

193. Cp. *Her.* v. 149. For 'O, quia' cp. i. 59.

209. Cp. *Metam.* x. 189.

213. Cp. *Her.* vii. 179. We have here a curious example of the manner in which our author adapts lines to his use without regard to the original sense.

221. Cp. *Her.* ii. 63.

257 ff. Cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 23920, *Conf. Amantis*, iv. 1634.

280. *Numquid*. This seems to be used here and in some other passages to introduce a statement: cp. ii. Prol. 59, iv. 637. Rather perhaps it should be regarded as equivalent to 'Nonne' and the clause printed as a question: so vii. 484, 892, &c. For 'num' used instead of 'nonne' cp. ii. 306.

299. S has in the margin in a later hand, 'Nota de muliere bona.' The description is taken of course from Prov. xxxi.

333. In the margin of S, as before, 'Nota de muliere mala et eius condicionibus.'

341 ff. Cp. Neckam, *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 186.

359 f. Cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 289, 294. Presumably 'bleso' in l. 360 is a mistake for 'iusso.'

361. Cp. *Ars Amat.* iii. 291.

367 f. *Ars Amat.* iii. 311 f.

376. Cp. *Ars Amat.* i. 598.

383 f. This reference to Ovid seems to be with regard to what



follows about the art of preserving and improving beauty. Some of it is from the *Ars Amatoria*, and some from Neckam, *De Vita Monachorum*. For 'tenent,' meaning 'belong,' cp. iii. 584.

399-402. Taken with slight changes from *Ars Amat.* iii. 163-166.

403. Cp. *Metam.* ii. 635.

405. Cp. *Ars Amat.* iii. 179.

407. Cp. *Ars Amat.* iii. 185.

413-416. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 186.

421-428. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 189.

450. The line (in the form 'Illa quidem fatuos,' &c.) is written over an erasure in the Glasgow MS.

454. 'interius' is written over an erasure in HG.

461. *Vt quid*, 'Why.'

501. The reading 'nos,' which is evidently right, appears in CG as a correction of 'non.'

510. 'While one that is stained with its own filth flies from the field.'

520. Cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 23701 ff.

556. The neglect of the burden of a charge, while the honour of it is retained, is a constant theme of denunciation by our author: cp. iii. 116, and below, ll. 655 ff.

557 ff. With this account of the labourers cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 26425 ff. It is noticeable that there is nothing here about the insurrection.

593. Cp. *Metam.* vi. 318.

597. H punctuates here 'salua. que.'

613. A quotation from *Pamphilus*: cp. *Mirour*, 14449.

659. *maioris*, 'of mayor.'

693 f. Cp. *Aurora*, f. 36,

'Dupla die sexta colleccio facta labore  
Ostendit quia lux septima nescit opus.'

703. The capitals which mark the personification of 'Fraus' and 'Vsura' are due to the editor. 'Fraus' corresponds to 'Triche' in the *Mirour de l'Omme*: see ll. 25237 ff.

731. *Nonne*, used for 'Num,' as also in other passages, e. g. vi. 351, 523, vii. 619.

745 ff. Cp. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 25741 ff.

In l. 745 SG have the reading 'foris' as a correction from 'foras.'

760 ff. Cp. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, C 472 ff.

775. See note on l. 280.

785 f. The readings 'fraus' for 'sibi' and 'surripit' for 'fraus capit' are over erasure in CG.

812. 'Thethis,' ('Thetis,' or 'Tethis') stands several times for 'water' (properly 'Tethys'): cp. vii. 1067. The line means that the water is so abundant in the jar that it hardly admits the presence of any malt ('Cerem' for 'Cererem').

835 ff. It is difficult to say who is the bad mayor of London to whom allusion is here made. The rival leaders in City politics were Nicholas Brembre and John of Northampton. The former was lord mayor in the years 1377, 1378, and again in 1383 and 1384, when he was elected against his rival (who had held the office in 1381, 1382) in a forcible and unconstitutional manner which evoked many protests. Brembre, who belonged to the Grocers' company, represented the interests of the greater companies and was of the Court party, a special favourite with the king, while John of Northampton, a draper, engaged himself in bitter controversy with the Fishmongers, who were supported by the Grocers, and was popular with the poorer classes. In the *Cronica Tripertita* Gower bitterly attacks Brembre (who was executed by sentence of the so-called 'Merciless Parliament' in 1388), and we might naturally suppose that he was the person referred to here; but that passage was written before the political events which led to that invective and in all probability not later than 1382, and the references to the low origin of the mayor in question, ll. 845-860, do not agree with the circumstances of Nicholas Brembre. Political passion in the City ran high from the year 1376 onwards, and the person referred to may have been either John of Northampton or one of the other mayors, who had in some way incurred Gower's dislike: cp. *Mirour*, 26365 ff.

877. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, v. 7626,

'It floureth, bot it schal not greine  
Unto the fruit of rihtwisnesse.'

915 f. Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 5. 47 f.

922. Cp. Prov. xxv. 15, 'lingua mollis confringet duritiam,' and the verses at the beginning of the *Confessio Amantis*,

'Ossibus ergo carens que conterit ossa loquelis  
Absit.'

953 f. *Ars Amat.* ii. 183 f., but Ovid has 'Numidasque leones.

957 f. *Rem. Amoris*, 447 f. (but 'ceratas' for 'agitatas').

965 f. *Pont.* iii. 7. 25 f.

967 f. Cp. *Rem. Amoris*, 97 f.

969 f. Cp. *Rem. Amoris*, 101 f.

971 f. Cp. *Rem. Amoris*, 729 f., 'Admonitus refricatur amor,' &c.

973. Cp. *Rem. Amoris*, 623.

975 f. Cp. *Rem. Amoris*, 731 f., 'Ut pene extinctum cinerem si sulfure tangas, Vivet,' &c. The reading 'sub' must be a mistake on the part of our author for 'si.'

979. Cp. *Ars Amat.* iii. 597.

981. *Ars Amat.* iii. 373.

983 f. *Ars Amat.* iii. 375 f., but Ovid has 'iratos et sibi quisque deos.'

985 f. Cp. *Ars Amat.* iii. 501 f.

990. *Fasti*, iii. 380, absurdly introduced here.

991 f. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, Latin Verses before Prol. 499.

1003 f. Cp. *Tristia*, ii. 141 f.

## LIB. VI.

1-468. With this section of the work compare *Mirour*, 24181 ff.

11. Ps. xiv. 3.

89-94. From *Aurora*, (MS. Bodley 822) f. 66, where however the reading is 'sapit' in l. 94 (for 'rapit').

95-98. *Aurora*, f. 65, where we find 'in nocte' for 'in noctem' and 'reprobi' for 'legis' (l. 97).

101 f. Cp. *Aurora*, 64 f.,

'Inprouisus adest cum pullos tollere miluus  
Esurit, in predam non sine fraude ruit.'

This is adapted by our author to his own purpose, but as his meaning is altogether different, some obscurity results, and he does not make it clear to us how the biter is bit.

113. *Metam.* v. 606.

115-118. Cp. *Metam.* vi. 527 ff.

133. In the Glasgow MS. 'locuplex' has been altered to the more familiar 'locuples.'

141 f. Is. v. 8, 'Vae qui coniungitis domum ad domum et agrum agro copulatis usque ad terminum loci: numquid habitabitis vos soli in medio terrae?' The same text is quoted in the *Mirour*, 24541 ff.

144. By comparison with *Mirour*, 24580 ff. we may see that the dissipation of the property by the son is here alleged as a proof that it has been ill acquired:

'Qu'ils font pourchas a la senestre  
Le fin demoustre la verroure.'

176. *forum*, i.e. the market price.

188. *que foret equa*, '(the balance) which should be fair': so also 'foret' below, l. 190.

203. *Basiliscus*: cp. *Mirour*, 3748 ff.

209 f. Ovid, *Pont.* ii. 3. 39 f. (but 'lasso' for 'lapso').

217. *nam nemo dolose Mentis*, &c. 'for no man of a crafty mind can have sure speech.'

225. *tenebrescunt*, 'darken.' So other inceptives are used transitively, e.g. 'ditescere,' ii. 607, *Cron. Trip.* iii. 119.

233 f. 'And this *lex*, from *ledo*, *ledis*, as *ius* from *iurgo*, administers justice at this present time.' It is meant that the administration of law, as we see it, suggests the above etymologies. The use of 'isto' for 'hoc' is quite regular.

241 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 24253 ff.

249 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 24349 ff., and see Pulling, *Order of the Coif*, ch. iv.

269. The reference is to Ecclus. xx. 31, 'Xenia et dona excaecant oculos iudicum.'

274. 'Fear puts to flight the discernment of justice.'

313-326. These fourteen lines are taken with some alterations (not much for the better) from Neckam, *De Vita Monachorum*, pp. 180 f.



327 f. Cp. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 182,

'Sic mihi, divitibus si quando defuit hostis;  
Hos terit et quassat saepe ruina gravis.'

Where, it would seem, we ought to read 'Dic mihi.'

329 ff. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 181. Most of the lines 329-348 are borrowed.

351. 'Nonne' for 'Num,' as often: cp. v. 731.

355 f. Cp. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 182,

'Iustitiae montes virtutumque ardua nullus  
Scandet, dum mundi rebus onustus erit.'

357. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 190.

359-372. Most of these lines are borrowed with slight alterations from *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 191.

387 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 24733 ff.

389. Cp. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 192, 'Cur ampla aedificas busto claudendus in arcto?'

397. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 193,

'Et cecidit Babylon, cecidit quoque maxima Troia  
Olim mundipotens, aspice, Roma iacet.'

419 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 24817-25176.

421 f. For the idea contained in 'vnccio' and 'vncta' cp. iii. 1376.

433. 'The word *comes* receives its beginning not from *vice* but from *vicium*.' That is, apparently, the prefix which makes 'comes' into 'vicecomes' is to be derived from 'vicium.'

439 f. Cp. *Mirour*, 25166 ff.

445 ff. With this compare the corresponding lines in the *Carmen super multiplici viciorum Pestilencia*, under the head of 'Avarice' (246 ff.),

'Vendere iusticiam nichil est nisi vendere Cristum,' &c.

463 f. Cp. *Mirour*, 24973 ff.

467 f. *Vt Crati bufo*, &c.: cp. *Mirour*, 24962 f.

498. Cp. *Mirour*, 22835 f.

522. The insertion which is found after this line in the Digby MS. (and in no other) consists of eight lines taken from the original text of the passage 545-580, which was rewritten by the author: see ll. 561\*-566\* and 579\* f.

523 ff. 'Can a house be built without timber? But of what use is timber to the builder if it be not hewn?' 'Nonne' for 'Num,' as frequently: see note on v. 731. It seems that 'sibi' refers to the builder rather than to the house; in any case, it has no reflexive sense. Finally 'ligna' is here used as a singular feminine: all the MSS. have 'foret' in l. 524 and 'valet' in 525.

The idea of the passage seems to be that good laws are as the material, and the ruler as the builder of the house.

529 ff. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, vii. 2695 ff.

545-580. It is certain that the passage preserved to us in the Dublin and Hatfield MSS. is that which was originally written in those books which now exhibit an erasure; for in several places words are legible underneath the present text of these latter MSS. For example in S 'maior' is visible as the last word of the original l. 547, and 'locuta,' 'aula,' similarly in ll. 549, 551. The chief difference introduced is in the direction of throwing more responsibility on the king, who however is still spoken of as a boy. Thus instead of 'Stat puer immunis culpe,' we have 'Rex puer inductus morales negligit actus' (or more strongly still 'respuat').

The text of 545\*-580\* follows the Dublin MS. (T) with corrections from Hs. Neither text is very correct: both omit a word in l. 549\*, which I supply by conjecture, and both read 'omnes' in l. 561\*. There are some obvious errors in T, as 'sinis' for 'sinit' in l. 554\*, 'Tempe' for 'Tempora' in l. 559\*, which have been passed over without notice.

Cap. viii. *Heading*. The ensuing Epistle to the young king, which extends as far as l. 1200, assumes a more severely moral form owing to the alteration of the preceding passage, the exclusion of all compliment ('regnaturus' in this heading for 'excellentissimo') and the substitution of doctrine causa' for 'in eius honore.' (The readings 'excellentissimo,' 'in eius honore' no doubt are to be found in the Hatfield MS., but I have accidentally omitted to take note of them.)

629f. Neckam, *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 185,

'Quid tibi nobilitas et clarum nomen avorum,  
Si vitiis servus factus es ipse tuis?'

640. 'vix' is sometimes used by our author (apparently) in the sense of 'paene.'

696. Ovid, *Rem. Amoris*, 526.

710. *iudiciale*, 'judgement,' used as a substantive: cp. iii. 1692.

718. *culpe* ... *sue*, 'for their fault,' i.e. the fault of his ministers.

719-722. Cp. *Aurora*, (MS. Bodley 822) f. 65,

'Euolat ancipiter ad prede lucra, suisque  
Deseruit dominis in rapiendo cybum.  
Sic multi dominis famulando suis, ad eorum  
Nutum pauperibus dampna ferendo nocent.'

725. *presul*, 'the bishop.'

740. The expression 'Cuius enim' for 'Eius enim' occurs more than once, e.g. l. 1238: cp. vii. 372. It is found also in the *Confessio Amantis*, Latin Verses after vii. 1984, but was there corrected in the third recension.

765. *stabiles*: apparently used in a bad sense.

793 f. Cp. *Aurora*, f. 96 v<sup>o</sup>,

'Exiguus magnum vicit puer ille Golyam,  
Nam virtus humilis corda superba domat.'

816. Ovid, *Amores*, i. 8. 62, 'Crede mihi, res est ingeniosa dare.'

839 f. Cp. *Aurora*, f. 95 v<sup>o</sup>.

846. *Fasti*, ii. 226.

875-902. This passage of twenty-six lines is taken with few alterations from the *Aurora*, f. 76.

876. *bella*: in the original 'corda' (or 'colla' MS. Univ. Coll. 143).

883. *noctibus*: in the original 'nutibus.'

884. *Spirant*: so in the original according to MS. Bodley 822, but 'Spirent' in MS. Univ. Coll. 143.

886. *acuum ferrum*: in the original 'minitans ferrum.' Apparently our author took 'acus' to mean a spear or javelin. The choice of the word in this passage is unfortunate.

887 ff. 'vincit,' 'tenet' (or 'teret,' MS. Univ. Coll. 143), 'consurgit' in the original.

891. In the original, 'Rex hoc consilium grata bibit aure, puellas Preparat,' &c.

892. 'genis' in the original.

894. 'furit' for 'fugat' is the reading of the original, and we find this in several MSS. of our text, but in the Glasgow MS. this has been corrected to 'fugat,' which is the reading of S.

898. In the original, 'Vultus que geminus ridet in ore decor,' (or 'Vultus et geminus,' &c., MS. Univ. Coll. 143).

907. *Aurora*, f. 100.

947-950. Taken from the description of Saul at the battle of Gilboa, *Aurora*, f. 100 v<sup>o</sup>.

971 ff. Cp. *Praise of Peace*, 78 ff.

985-992. From *Aurora*, f. 64 v<sup>o</sup>,

'Alta petens aquila uolat alite celsius omni,  
Quisque potens, tumidus corde, notatur ea:  
Vt sacra testantur cythariste scripta prophete,  
In celum tales os posuere suum.  
Pennatum griphes animal, pedibusque quaternis  
Inuitos homines carpit, abhorret equos:  
Designatur in his facinus crudele potentum,  
Qui mortes hominum cum feritate bibunt.'

986. Our author no doubt read 'mundus corde' here in the *Aurora*.

987. *citharistea*: properly no doubt 'cithariste,' to be taken with 'prophete,' as in the *Aurora*.

990. 'horret equos' seems to represent the 'equis vehementer infesti' of Isidore, *Etym.* xii. 2.

1019-1024. From Neckam, *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 185, with slight variations.

1037. *esse*: as substantive, 'existence.'

1041-1050. Taken with slight changes from *Aurora*, f. 108.

1066. *fugat*: used as subjunctive; so also iii. 1498, 2078.

1085 f. From *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 184.



1107-1112. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 193.

1115f. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 183.

1159\* ff. That this was the text which stood originally in S is proved partly by the fact that the original heading of the chapter stands still as given here in the Table of Chapters, f. 5, and also by the traces of original coloured initials at ll. 1175 and 1199. A considerable part of the erased chapter reappears in the poem 'Rex celi deus,' &c., addressed to Henry IV: see p. 343.

1189 f. *Si tibi . . . cupias conuertere . . . Te*. These words appear in S as a correction of the rewritten text by a second erasure and in another hand.

Cap. xix. *Heading*. The original form, as given by DLTH<sub>2</sub>, is still to be found in the Table of Chapters in S.

1201. Cp. Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 585 f.,

'veluti cum putria motis

Poma cadunt ramis agitataque ilice glandes.'

1204 ff. Note the repeated use of 'modo' in the sense of 'now': cp. 1210, 1218, 1222, 1232, 1235, 1243, 1263, 1280, &c. The usual word for 'formerly' is 'nuper'; see 1241, 1245, 1279, &c.

1205. *Metam.* ii. 541.

1223. *Oza*, that is Uzzah (2 Sam. vi.), who is selected as a type of carnal lust, apparently on the strength of the quite gratuitous assumption adopted in Lib. III. 1885 ff. Apparently 'luxus' in the next line is genitive, in spite of the metre: cp. 'excercitus,' i. 609, 'ducatus,' *Cron. Trip.* iii. 117.

1236. *Giesi*, i. e. Gehazi.

1238. *Cuius enim*: cp. note on l. 740.

1243. *Liberius*: pope from 352-366 A. D. He is mentioned here as a type of unfaithfulness to his charge, because he was induced to condemn Athanasius.

1251. *defunctis*, 'for the dead,' that is, to bury them charitably, as Tobit did.

1261. Cp. John xii. 24.

1267. Perhaps an allusion to Wycliffe, who seems to be referred to as a new Jovinianus in a later poem, p. 347.

1268. *dant dubitare*, 'cause men to doubt.'

1273. *Troianus*: i. e. Trajan, whose name is so spelt regularly by our author.

1277. *Valentinianus*: cp. *Conf. Amantis*, v. 6398 ff.

1284. *Leo*: cp. *Conf. Amantis*, Prol. 739.

1286. *Tiberii*: i. e. Tiberius Constantinus; cp. *Conf. Amantis*, ii. 587 ff.

1306. *quis*, for 'quisquam': so also 'quem' in l. 1308; cp. i. 184.

1321 f. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, vii. 2217 ff.: 'relinquendo' is used for 'relinquens,' as i. 304, 516, &c.

1323. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, v. 6372 ff., *Mirour*, 18301 ff.

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1330. *Vix si*: cp. iv. 218, *Cron. Trip.* iii. 444.

1345. Cp. Ovid, *Amores*, i. 9. 1.

1357 f. 'She is silent as a jackdaw, chaste as a pigeon, and gentle as a thorn.'

1361 f. Perhaps an allusion to the case of Edward III and Alice Perrers.

## LIB. VII.

5. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, Prol. 595 ff.

9. *modo*, 'now': cp. note on vi. 1204.

12. *nec . . . vix*. For this combination of 'vix' with a negative cp. v. 104, 153.

42. *dicunt . . . volunt*, 'say that they wish': cp. ii. 200 f.

47 f. Cp. *Conf. Amantis*, v. 49 ff.; so below, ll. 61 ff.

123. Rev. ii. 25, 'id quod habetis tenete, donec veniam.'

125 f. Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 8. 41 f.,

'Et tua sunt silicis circum praecordia venae,  
Et rigidum ferri semina pectus habet.'

159 f. It is difficult to construe this couplet satisfactorily, and the reading 'Est' seems quite as good as 'Et.' The Glasgow MS. has 'Et status' erased, as if for correction.

163 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 8921 ff.

167. The original reading seems to have been 'grassantur,' for which S gives 'grossantur' ('o' written over erasure), and CG 'crassantur,' also by correction.

182 ff. I have no record of the readings of H<sub>2</sub> in this passage, but I have no doubt that it agrees with EHT.

184. No record of the reading of T.

186. *abhorret*: apparently subjunctive; so we have 'adhereo' for 'adhereo,' l. 1296.

192. *habere modum*: a first-hand correction in S, whereas the others in ll. 182-192 are in a different hand.

194. *caput ancille*: an allusion to the form in which Satan is supposed to have appeared in the garden of Eden.

243. *specialis*, subst., 'a friend.'

255 f. Cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* ii. 201 f.,

'Riserit, adride; si flebit, flere memento:  
Imponat leges vultibus illa tuis.'

In adapting the couplet to his purpose our author has contrived to make it unintelligible.

265. *Fuluus . . . talus*: referring to the gilded spur of knighthood; gold is 'metallum fuluum.'

273 f. Cp. *Tristia*, v. 13. 27 f.

315 f. Cp. *Metam.* i. 144 f.

323 f. Cp. *Ars Amat.* i. 761 f.

327 f. *Fasti*, iv. 717 f. The application belongs to our author.

- 331 f. Cp. Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 9. 5 f.  
 334. *Ars Amat.* iii. 436.  
 340. Cp. *Tristia*, i. 8. 8.  
 347. Cp. *Metam.* i. 141.  
 349. *cumque*, for 'cum': cp. ii. 302, &c., and l. 872, below.  
 361 ff. Cp. *Mirour*, 26590 ff.  
 372. *Talis enim*, 'such, indeed,': for this use of 'enim' cp. vi. 740.  
 375 f. From Neckam, *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 177.  
 379–383. Taken with slight change from *De Vita Monachorum*, pp. 183 f.  
 387. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 195.  
 389–392. Taken with slight change from *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 197, and so also 395 f.  
 417–420. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 196.  
 437 f. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 196.  
 440. *ne sit*, for 'ne non sit.'  
 441 f. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 189.  
 459 f. Cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 65 f.  
 463 f. Cp. *Tristia*, v. 10. 5 f., 'Stare putes, adeo procedunt tempora tarde,' &c. The couplet has neither sense nor appropriateness as given here.  
 465 f. *Pont.* ii. 2. 37 f.  
 484. *Numquid*, for 'Nonne': cp. l. 892 and note on v. 280.  
 485 f. *Ars Amat.* iii. 119 f.,  
     'Quae nunc sub Phoeboducibusque Palatia fulgent,  
     Quid nisi araturis pascua bubus erant?'
- 'Qui' is evidently a mistake for 'Que.'  
 489 f. *Fasti*, i. 203 f.  
 499–504. From *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 181.  
 509 f. Cp. *Mirour*, 26605 ff. and *Conf. Amantis*, Prol. 910 ff.  
 519. This seems to be dependent on 'noscat' in the line above. The indicative in dependent question is quite usual, though not invariably found: cp. l. 516, where subjunctive and indicative are combined.  
 574. *consequeretur eum*, 'should follow him,' i. e. should be subject to man.  
 599. *Arboribusque sitis*. There must be something wrong here, but the variant given by D does not help us.  
 619. *Nonne*, used for 'Num': cp. v. 731.  
 639 ff. This quotation from Gregory appears also in the *Mirour de l'Homme*, 26869 ff., and the *Confessio Amantis*, Prol. 945 ff.  
 645. *minor est mundus homo*, 'man is a microcosm': cp. *Mirour*, 26929 ff.  
 647 ff. *Mirour*, 26953 ff.  
 684. The Glasgow MS. has 'queris' written over an erasure.  
 685–694. From Neckam, *De Vita Monachorum*, pp. 197 f.



699-708. With slight changes from *De Vita Monachorum*, pp. 193 f.  
 793. *nuper* to be taken with 'auaricia,' 'the avarice of former times';  
 'modo' with 'prestat.'

872. *Cumque*, for 'Cum': cp. l. 349.

892. *Numquid*, for 'Nonne': cp. l. 484, and see note on v. 280. For the idea cp. *Mirour*, 1784 ff. It is originally from Augustine.

909 f. From *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 178.

911-918. From *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 179, with slight variations.

919-924. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 180.

921. The reading 'nostre,' though it has small authority, is necessary to the sense and is given in the original passage.

929-932. *De Vita Monachorum*, p. 180.

955 f. Cp. *Mirour*, 11404 ff., where the often-quoted lines of Helinand's *Vers de Mort* are given.

990. *habet* . . . *habitare*, used perhaps for the future, 'will inhabit': so 'habet torquere,' l. 1047. On the other hand in l. 1148 'habent regi' means 'must be guided,' and the same meaning of 'must' or 'ought' may be applied to all the passages.

1067. *Thetis*, used for 'water' or 'sea': cp. v. 812. All the copies here give 'thetis' (or 'Thetis') except D, which cannot be depended on to reproduce the original form in a case like this. On the other hand in the *Cronica Tripartita*, i. 80, S and H have 'tetis.'

1079. *furor breuis, ira set*: the words are suggested by the common expression 'ira furor breuis,' but the sense is different. This is frequently the case with our author's borrowings, e.g. v. 213, vi. 101.

1095. *vix si*: cp. vi. 1330; but perhaps 'vix sit' is the true reading here.

1106. *Quam prius*, as usual, for 'prius quam': cp. i. 1944.

1148. *habent*: see note on l. 990.

1185. *Que*: the antecedent must be 'virtuti,' in the next line: 'solet' is of course for 'solebat'; see note on i. 492.

1215. *tueri*: apparently passive.

1240. *deficit unde sciam*, 'I do not know.'

1305 f. 'Because justice has departed, therefore peace, who is joined with her, is also gone.' The reference here and in the next lines is to the Psalms, lxxxiv. 11.

1342. An allusion apparently to the debasement of the coinage. The reading 'suum' in G is over an erasure.

1344. *Nobile que genuit*, 'she who produced the noble,' i.e. the gold coin of that name, called so originally because of its purity.

1356. *sine lege fera*: for this kind of play upon words cp. iv. 128, 215, 243, 509, &c.

1409 ff. It may be noted that the Harleian MS. is defective for ll. 1399-1466. Its readings here would probably agree with those of EDL, &c. SCG have the text written over erasure.

1436. *Exiguo* . . . *tempore*: for the ablative cp. i. 1568.

1455 f. It is the galled horse that winces at the load; that which is

sound feels no hurt. Thus, if the reader is not guilty of the faults spoken of, he will pass untouched by the reproof.

1470. 'Vox populi, vox dei': a sentiment repeated by our author in various forms; cp. note on iii. Prol. 11.

1479 ff. These last three lines are over erasure in SCHG. They seem to have been substituted for the original couplet in order to point more clearly the moral of the *Cronica Tripertita*, which is intended for a practical illustration of the divine punishment of sin.

Explicit, &c. It will be seen that in these later years Gower has almost brought himself to believe that the events of the earlier part of the reign were intended for a special warning to the youthful king, whom he conceives as having then already begun a course of tyrannical government. At the time, however, our author acquitted him of all responsibility, on account of his youth.

11 ff. The swan was used as a badge by the duke of Gloucester and also (perhaps not till after his death) by Henry of Lancaster. For the horse and the bear as cognizances of Arundel and Warwick see *Annales Ricardi II* (Rolls Series, 28. 3), p. 206.

## CRONICA TRIPERTITA

1. *Ista tripertita*, &c. These seven lines must be regarded as a metrical preface to the Chronicle which follows. In the Hatton MS. these lines with their marginal note are placed before the prose of the preceding page (which is given in a somewhat different form) and entitled 'Prologus.'

### PRIMA PARS

1. Take the first letter of 'mundus' and add to it C three times repeated and six periods of five years, plus ten times five and seven. The date thus indicated is MCCC + 30 + 57, i. e. 1387. For a similar mode of expression cp. Richard of Maidstone's poem on the *Reconciliation of Richard II* (Rolls Series, 14. 1),

'M. cape, ter quoque C. deciesque novem, duo iunge.'

4-12. These lines are written over an erasure in SCHG. The original version of them is not extant, so far as I am aware.

51. *Penna coronata*. This, as the margin tells us, is the Earl Marshall, that is Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, afterwards duke of Norfolk.

52. *Qui gerit S*: the earl of Derby, from whose badge of S, standing probably for 'Sovereign,' came the device of the well-known collar of SS. His tomb has the word 'Soverayne' repeated several times on the canopy.

55. *aquilonica luna*, 'the northern moon,' that is, the earl of Northumberland. The variation of the text in the Harleian MS., written over an erasure, arises no doubt from the later disagreement between Henry IV and Northumberland.

58. *Troie*, i. e. London.

65. The earl of Oxford, lately created duke of Ireland, whose badge was a boar's head, was Chief Justice of Chester in this year, and there raised forces for the king, with the assistance of Thomas Molyneux, Constable of Chester, 'cuius nutum tota illa provincia expectabat,' Walsingham, ii. p. 167 (Rolls Series, 28. 2).

80. *Tetis*: see note on *Vox Clamantis*, vii. 1067: *a parte* means apparently 'on one side,' or perhaps 'on the side of the victors.'

The place where this affair happened is not very well described by the authorities, but it seems clear that the first attempt of the earl of Oxford (or duke of Ireland) to cross the river was made at Radcot (Knighton, Rolls Series, ii. 253). Here he found the bridge partly broken, so that one horseman only could cross it at a time, and guarded by men-at-arms and archers set there by the earl of Derby. At the same time he was threatened with attack by the earl of Derby himself on the one side and the duke of Gloucester on the other, both apparently on the northern bank of the river. Walsingham says that he went on to another bridge, and, finding this also guarded, plunged in on horseback and escaped by swimming over the river. Knighton gives us to understand that he was prevented by the appearance of the duke of Gloucester's force from making his way along the northern bank, and at once plunged in and swam the stream, 'et sic mirabili ausu evasit ab eis.' Walsingham adds that he was not pursued, because darkness had come on (it was nearly the shortest day of the year) and they did not know the country. This chronicler does not mention Radcot Bridge, but refers to the place vaguely as 'iuxta Burford, prope Babbelake.' It is impossible, however, that either the fight, such as it was, or the escape of the earl of Oxford can have taken place at Bablock Hythe. No doubt the lords returned to Oxford after the affair by this ferry, which was probably the shortest way. The earl of Oxford seems to have made his way to London, and after an interview with the king to have embarked at Queenborough for the Continent (Malverne, in Rolls Series, 41. 9, p. 112).

89 ff. The marginal note speaks of the 'castra, que ipse [Comes Oxonie] familie sue pro signo gestanda attribuerat.' The cognizance referred, no doubt, to the city of Chester. The same note tells us that the duke of Gloucester bore a fox-tail on his spear as an ensign: cp. Harding's Chronicle, p. 341:

'The foxe taile he bare ay on his spere,  
Where so he rode in peace or elles in warre.'

103. *Nova villa Macedo*, i. e. Alexander Neville: a very bad attempt on the part of our author.

104. *maledixit*. The particular form of curse in this case was translation to the see of S. Andrew, which he could not occupy because Scotland was Clementine.

107. *Hic procures odit*, &c. He is said to have especially urged



the king to take strong measures against Warwick (Malverne, p. 105).

109. *de puteo Michaelis*, 'of Michael de la Pool.' The same view of the meaning of the name is taken in Shakspeare, 2 *Henry VI*, iv. 1. 70, by the murderer of William, duke of Suffolk, son of this Michael, 'Pole, Pool, sir Pool, lord! Ay, kennel, puddle, sink.'

111 ff. This is Thomas Rushook, a Dominican, who was translated from Llandaff to Chichester by the king's special desire in 1385. He had incurred much suspicion and odium as the king's confessor and supposed private adviser. Walsingham says, 'ipse sibi conscius fugam iniit' (ii. 172); but he certainly appeared at the bar of Parliament and was sentenced to forfeiture of his goods (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 241, Malverne, p. 156).

113. *ater*: alluding to his Dominican habit.

121 ff. Cp. Knighton, ii. 255 f. All the five Appellants seem to have entered the Tower, but the three spoken of here are of course the three leaders, referred to in l. 41 and afterwards. Knighton says that the king invited the five to stay for the night, but only the earls of Derby and Nottingham accepted the invitation. The fact that Gower here assigns no political action to his hero the earl of Derby (who was under twenty years old), but gives all the credit to the three leaders, shows clearly that the young Henry played a very subordinate part.

131. *cornata*: that is, 'co-unata,' meaning 'assembled.'

133 ff. Cp. Knighton, ii. 292.

141. *senecta*. Burley was then fifty-six years old.

142. This evidently means that the queen interceded for him; cp. *Chronique de la Traison*, p. 9. Walsingham tells us only that the earl of Derby tried to save Simon Burley and quarrelled with his uncle Gloucester on the subject. Burley had been the principal negotiator of the marriage of Richard with Anne of Bohemia.

150. Walsingham says of him that he was 'ab antiquo fallax et fraudulentus.'

152. *Pons Aquilonis*, 'Bridgenorth.' Beauchamp was keeper of Bridgenorth Castle (*Rot. Pat.*, 10 Rich. II. pt. 2. m. 15), but it does not appear from other sources that he had the title here given him by Gower of 'baron Bridgenorth.' In 1387 he was made a peer by patent (the first instance of this) under the title of lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster.

154. *Tribulus*: i.e. Nicholas Brembel (so called by Gower), called Brembul or Brembyl by Knighton, Brambre by Walsingham and Brembre or de Brembre in the Patent Rolls and Rolls of Parliament. Presumably he was of Brembre (Bramber), in the county of Sussex. He had been Mayor of London last in 1386. Knighton says of him 'quem saepius rex fecerat maiorem praeter et contra voluntatem multorum civium' (ii. 272), and Walsingham declares that he had planned a proscription of his opponents, with a view to making himself absolute ruler of London with the title of duke (ii. 174).

158 f. Though he was a knight, he was not dignified with the nobler form of execution, being a citizen of London.

162. *Cornubiensis*: Sir Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice.

172. *falsa sigilla*: that is, the seals set by the judges to the questions and replies submitted to them at Nottingham. 'In quorum omnium testimonium Iusticiarii et Serviens predicti sigilla sua presentibus apposuerunt' (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 233; cp. Knighton, ii. 237). They all pleaded that they had set their seals to these replies under the influence of threats from the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, and the earl of Suffolk.

173. *magis ansam*, 'or rather a handle' (i.e. a pretext). The reading of the MSS. is doubtful (S apparently 'ausam,' but with a stop after 'regi'). The form of expression is not unusual with our author.

174 f. 'There was no punishment which would have been sufficient,' &c.

176. *ficta pietate*: that is, what our author in the *Conf. Amantis* calls 'pite feigned,' i. e. false or misplaced clemency.

176 ff. Knighton says that the queen interceded for them with the prelates (ii. 295). For the intervention of the prelates see *Rot. Parl.* iii. 241.

178 f. For the terms of their exile see *Rot. Parl.* iii. 244, Knighton, ii. 295 f.

183. The sense of the preceding negative seems to be extended to this line also.

188 ff. I do not know of any other authority for this expulsion of friars.

200. *cantus*: apparently genitive in spite of the metre; so 'ducatus,' iii. 117, 'exercitus,' 'luxus,' *Vox Clamantis*, i. 609, vi. 1224.

215. *hirundo*: a reference to the name Arundel.

## SECUNDA PARS

There is an interval of nearly ten years between the first and the second part of the Chronicle. Our author proceeds to the events of 1397. He assumes that the king carried out a long-meditated plan of vengeance, cp. ll. 23 ff., but this was of course an after-thought by way of accounting for what happened.

15. A pardon was granted to all three in the Parliament of 1387-88, 'par estatut' (see *Rot. Parl.* iii. 350), and a special charter of pardon was granted to the earl of Arundel at Windsor, April 30, 1394 (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 351; cp. *Ann. Ric. II*, p. 211). See below, ll. 259 f., where the charters of pardon are said to have been procured by archbishop Arundel who was then Chancellor. It seems to be implied that the other two had similar charters, but nothing is said of this in the Rolls of Parliament; cp. *Eulog. Hist.* iii. 374.

56. Cp. *Ann. Ric. II*, p. 202 (Rolls Series, 28. 3) 'iurans suo solito iuramento, per sanctum Iohannem Baptistam, quod nihil mali pateretur in corpore, si se pacifice reddere voluisset.'

69f. In the *Annales Ricardi II* it is definitely stated that Warwick came to the king's banquet and was arrested after it (p. 202). According to Gower's account there was no banquet at all, and Gloucester was arrested before Warwick; and this agrees with the accounts given in the *Chronique de la Traison*, p. 9, and by Froissart, vol. xvi. p. 73 (ed. Lettenhove).

85ff. From this account we should gather that the king officially announced the death of the duke of Gloucester to parliament before it had occurred; but this was not so. Parliament met on Sept. 17, and on Sept. 21 a writ was sent in the king's name to Calais, ordering the earl of Nottingham to produce his prisoner. This was replied to, under date Sept. 24, with the announcement that he was dead (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 378). It is certain, however, that a report of the duke of Gloucester's death was circulated and generally believed in the month of August, and equally certain that this was done with the connivance of the king, who probably wished to try what effect the news would produce upon the public mind. Sir William Rickhill, the justice who was sent over to extract a confession from the duke of Gloucester, received on Sept. 5 a commission from the king to proceed to Calais, no purpose stated, the date of the commission being Aug. 17. On arrival he was presented by the earl of Nottingham with another commission from the king, also with date Aug. 17, directing him to examine the duke of Gloucester. He expressed surprise, saying that the duke was dead and that his death had been 'notified' to the people both at Calais and in England. On the next day he saw the duke and received his so-called confession (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 431). When this confession was communicated to parliament, the date of it was suppressed, and things were so arranged as to favour the opinion that the interview with Rickhill took place between the 17th and 25th of August, the latter being the accepted date of Gloucester's death; cp. the article by Mr. James Tait in the *Dict. of National Biography*, vol. lvi. pp. 157 f.

It is probable enough that the duke of Gloucester was still living when parliament met, as Gower seems to imply. Unfortunately John Halle, who confessed that he was present at the murder of the duke (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 453), gave no precise date. The statement of Gower that the king waited until he had secured his condemnation, may mean only that he satisfied himself of the temper of Parliament before taking the final and irrevocable step.

101ff. The body seems first to have been laid in the Priory of Bermondsey: then it was buried by Richard's command in Westminster Abbey, but apart from the royal burial-place. Afterwards the body was transferred by Henry IV to the place chosen by Gloucester himself, between the tomb of Edward the Confessor and that of Edward III (Adam of Usk, p. 39).

121f. For the insults levelled against the earl of Arundel see *Ann. Ric. II*, p. 215, Adam of Usk, p. 13.

With regard to the events of this parliament generally, it is worth



while here to observe that Adam of Usk must certainly be regarded as a first-hand authority and his account as a contemporary one. It has usually been assumed that, though he says himself that he was present at the parliament ('In quo parlimento omni die presensium compilator interfuit'), he actually borrowed his account of it from the Monk of Evesham. This assumption rests entirely on the statement of the editor of Adam of Usk's Chronicle, that he must have written later than 1415, a statement which is repeated without question by Potthast, Gross, and others. It may be observed, however, that the evidence adduced for this late date is absolutely worthless. It is alleged first that Adam of Usk near the beginning of his Chronicle alludes to the Lollard rising in Henry V's reign, whereas what he actually says is that the Lollards planned an attack on Convocation, but were deterred by the resolute measures of the archbishop of Canterbury, at the time of the second parliament of Henry IV, that is the year 1401, when Convocation was engaged in an endeavour to suppress the Lollards and the archbishop procured the execution of William Sawtree; secondly we are told that the chronicler refers (p. 55) to the death of the dauphin Louis, which happened in 1415, whereas actually his reference is obviously to the death of the dauphin Charles, which took place at the beginning of the year 1402. Mr. James Tait in the *Dict. of National Biography*, vol. xlviii. p. 157, has already indicated that an earlier date than 1415 is necessary, by his reference to p. 21 of the Chronicle, where the chronicler speaks of Edmund earl of March as a boy not yet arrived at puberty, which points to a date not later than 1405. It seems probable that the Monk of Evesham had before him Adam of Usk's journal of the parliament of 1397, to which he made some slight additions from other sources, introducing into his account a political colour rather more favourable to Richard II. The close correspondence between them is confined to the proceedings of this parliament at Westminster. It may be added that the account given by Adam of Usk is full of graphic details which suggest an eye-witness.

129. The pardon pleaded by the earl of Arundel had already been revoked by parliament, therefore the plea was not accepted. From the attempts made by the king to recover Arundel's charter of pardon, even after his execution (*Rot. Claus.* 21 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 18 d.), we may perhaps gather that some scruples were felt about the revocation of it.

135 ff. *Cp. Annales Ric. II*, pp. 216 f.

155 f. *Annales Ric. II*, p. 219.

179 ff. *Rot. Parl.* iii. 380, *Annales Ric. II*, p. 220.

199 f. 'Qu'il demurerait en perpetuel prison hors du Roialme en l'isle de Man par terme de sa vie' (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 380).

201 f. By the sentence upon the earl of Warwick all his property was confiscated, but it is stated in the *Annales Ric. II* (p. 220) that a promise was made that he and his wife should have honourable maintenance from the forfeited revenues, and that this promise was not

kept. Adam of Usk says that an income of 500 marks was granted to him and his wife, but was never paid (p. 16).

217 f. It seems impossible to construe this, and I suspect that a line has dropped out.

280. His sentence of death was commuted for that of exile to the isle of Jersey (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 382).

281 f. So also below, l. 280, our author expresses a hope for the safe return of the archbishop of Canterbury, who came back in company with Henry of Lancaster; cp. 330f, where a hope is expressed for future vengeance on the king. Yet we can hardly suppose that this second part of the Chronicle was actually written before the events of the third part had come to pass. All that we can say is that the writer gives to his narrative the semblance of having been composed as the events happened. The return of Cobham is mentioned by him afterwards (iii. 262).

283 ff. Our author reserves the case of the archbishop to the last, as a climax of the evil. He was actually sentenced on Sept. 25, before the trial of the earl of Warwick (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 351). Sir John Cobham, whose sentence is mentioned above, was not put on his trial till Jan. 28, when parliament was sitting at Shrewsbury.

242. That is, the court of Rome was bribed to consent to his translation.

243. The title of his father, who was the second earl of Arundel, was used by him as a surname.

267 ff. This seems to mean that other private reasons were alleged to the Pope.

280. See note on l. 231.

326 f. An allusion to the campaign of 1380.

328 f. Referring especially to the very popular naval victory of Arundel in 1387 (Walsingham, ii. 154).

340. That is, in the twenty-first year of the reign (1397).

### TERCIA PARS

17. This comparison of Richard's proceedings to the work of a mole under the ground (see also l. 12, *margin*) is appropriate enough as a description of the plot which he undoubtedly laid against the liberties of the kingdom, but the comparison is perhaps chiefly intended to suggest that Richard, and not Henry, was the 'talpa ore dei maledicta' of prophecy (Glendower's 'mould-warp'), cp. *Archaeologia*, xx. p. 258.

27 ff. This refers to the appointment of a committee with full powers to deal with the petitions and other matters left unfinished in this parliament. The committee consisted of twelve lords, of whom six should be a quorum, and six commons, three to be a quorum: see *Rot. Parl.* iii. 368, *Annales Ric. II*, p. 222<sup>1</sup>. The latter authority accuses the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stubbs says that the earls of Worcester and Wiltshire were appointed to represent the clergy on this commission, as on that mentioned

king of altering the Rolls of Parliament 'contra effectum concessionis praedictae.'

35 ff. Cp. *Annales Ric. II*, p. 225.

47. *Que non audiuit auris*, &c. The same expression is used by Adam of Usk about the king's proceedings in this parliament at Shrewsbury (p. 17).

49 ff. These transactions are related, but not very intelligibly, in the continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii. 378. It seems that the king summoned the archbishop and bishops to his Council at Nottingham, and used their influence to obtain from the city of London and the seventeen counties adjacent acknowledgements of guilt and payments of money to procure pardon. After this the king ordered that the archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c., and also the individual citizens of towns, should set their seals to blank parchments, wherein afterwards a promise to keep the statutes of the last parliament was inscribed, to which it was supposed that the king intended to add acknowledgements placing the persons in question and their property at his own disposal: cp. Monk of Evesham, p. 147. These last are the 'blanche-chartres' spoken of below called 'blanke chartours' in Gregory's Chronicle, p. 101, where the form of submission sent in by the city of London, 'in plesauns of the kyng and by conselle and helpe of Syr Roger Walden, Archebischoppe of Cauntyrbury ande Syr Robert Braybroke, Byschoppe of London,' is given in full, pp. 98-100. See also *Rot. Parl.* iii. 426, 432, where they are referred to as 'les Remembrances appellez Raggemans ou blanches Chartres.'

73. *pharisea*: that is, hypocritically submissive to the king.

77. *melior*: comparative for superlative; so 'probacior,' l. 79.

85 f. Gower attributes Henry's exile to what was probably the true cause, namely the king's jealousy of his popularity and fear that he might take the lead in opposition to the newly established arbitrary system of government. The very occasion of the quarrel with the duke of Norfolk, an allegation on the part of Henry that the duke of Norfolk had warned him of danger from Richard and had said that the king could not be trusted to keep his oaths, made it difficult to take more summary measures against him at that moment. Indeed it seems probable that the conversation was reported to the king with a view to obtain a contradiction of the design imputed to him. Adam of Usk says definitely that the king's object in appointing the duel at Coventry was to get rid of Henry, and that Richard had been assured by astrologers that the duke of Norfolk would win; but that on seeing them in the lists he was convinced that Henry would be the victor, and therefore he broke off the duel and banished both, intending

*Rot. Parl.* iii. 360, which consists of the same persons; but the official record is as given above, and the commission afterwards acted on its powers without requiring the presence of either of these two lords (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 369).



shortly to recall the duke of Norfolk (p. 23). It is noteworthy that Gower makes no mention whatever of the duke of Norfolk here.

128 (*margin*). It cannot of course be supposed that Henry embarked at Calais. Probably he sailed from Boulogne. Froissart says that his port of departure was Vannes in Brittany, but he expresses some uncertainty about the matter, and his whole account here is hopelessly inaccurate (xvii. 171, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove).

137. *nepote*: that is Thomas, son of the late earl of Arundel; see l. 130, *margin*.

160 ff. The suggestion here that Richard foresaw the coming of Henry and went to Ireland through fear of it, is of course absurd. At the same time it is certain that he received warnings, and that in view of these his expedition to Ireland was very ill-timed. The statement in the *margin*, that he fatally wasted time in Ireland, is supported both by the English annalists and by Creton. In the *Annales Ric. II* we read that a week was wasted by Richard's hesitation as to the port from which he should sail (p. 248), and Creton says that Richard was delayed by the treacherous advice of the duke of Aumerle, who induced him to leave the levying of troops in Wales to the earl of Salisbury and to embark at his leisure at Waterford (*Archaeologia*, xx. 312). Nothing is said of unfavourable winds in any of these authorities, except that Creton observes that the news of Henry's landing was delayed by the bad weather (p. 309). Henry landed July 4, and Richard was in Wales before the end of the month.

188. There is no authority for reading 'sceleris' in this line, as the former editors have done. Presumably 'sceleres' is for 'celeres,' and this form of spelling is found occasionally elsewhere in the MSS., as conversely 'ceptrum' frequently for 'sceptrum.' It is not easy to translate the line, whatever reading we may adopt. It seems to mean 'So in their ignorance they hesitate,' ('few show themselves quick in action').

205. *mundum nec abhorruit istum*, 'nor renounced this world': 'istum,' as usual, for 'hunc.'

244. *Augusti mensis*. Richard left Flint on Aug. 19, and arrived in London Sept. 2 (*Annales Ric. II*, p. 251).

256. *Humphredum natum*: that is Humphrey, the young son of the duke of Gloucester. Richard had taken him to Ireland, and on hearing of the landing of Henry had ordered him to be confined, together with young Henry of Lancaster, in Trim castle (Walsingham, ii. 233).

272. *transit moriens*. He died apparently on the way back from Ireland, in Anglesea according to Adam of Usk, who says that he was poisoned (p. 28). Walsingham says that he died of 'pestilence' (ii. 242): cp. *Annales Henrici IV*, p. 321 (Rolls Series, 28. 3).

276. *Cignus*: apparently the young duke of Gloucester is here meant, and it is not intended to state that he was killed by grief for the loss of his father, but that his mother died of grief for him: cp. *Annales Henrici IV*, p. 321.

286. *dies Martis*, Tuesday, Sept. 30. Richard's renunciation was made on Sept. 29 (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 416 ff.).

300 ff. The demise of the crown made new writs necessary, but the same parliament met again six days later (Oct. 6).

310. *verbalis . . . non iudicialis*. This appears to mean that the proceedings were confined to a recital of the circumstances connected with the deposition of Richard, and that no parliamentary business was done until after the coronation, which took place on the next Monday, Oct. 13.

332 ff. The threefold right is stated here by Gower in the same way as by Chaucer:

‘O’ conquerour of Brutes Albioun,  
Which that by lyne and free eleccioun  
Ben verray kyng,’ &c.

In the margin, however, Gower places the right by conquest last, and tempers the idea of it by the addition ‘sine sanguinis effusione.’ Henry’s challenge claimed the realm by descent through ‘right line of blood’ (that is, apparently, setting aside descent through females, cp. *Eulog. Hist. contin.* iii. 383) and by ‘that right which God of his grace hath sent me . . . to recover it’ (that is, by conquest). To these was added the right conferred by parliamentary election. It is not at all necessary to suppose that he relied on the legend about Edmund Crouchback, which had been officially examined and rejected (Adam of Usk, p. 30). His reference to Henry III may have been occasioned only by the fact that he was himself of the same name, and would come to the throne as Henry IV.

324. That is Oct. 13, the Translation of Edward the Confessor.

341. *augit*. This form is given by all the MSS.

352 ff. *Rot. Parl.* iii. 426.

364 ff. *Rot. Parl.* iii. 425.

368 ff. *Rot. Parl.* iii. 430 ff.

378 ff. *Rot. Parl.* iii. 449 ff.

384 ff. This refers to the fact that the dukes of Aumerle, Surrey, and Exeter, the marquis of Dorset, and the earl of Gloucester, were condemned to lose the titles of duke, marquis, and earl respectively. The case of the earl of Salisbury was reserved for future decision by combat with lord de Morley.

388 f. This seems clearly to imply that Bagot was eventually pardoned, and this conclusion is confirmed by *Rot. Parl.* iii. 458 (overlooked by the author of Bagot’s life in the *Dict. of National Biography*), where there is record of a petition presented by the Commons for the restoration of his lands (Feb. 1401), which seems to have been granted by the king.

394 ff. This is confirmed by Walsingham, ii. 242, and *Annales Henrici IV*, p. 320.

402 f. Holland and Kent are the former dukes of Exeter and Surrey.

now earls of Huntingdon and Kent. Spenser is the former earl of Gloucester.

417 f. Kent and Salisbury were put to death by the populace at Cirencester, and Despenser at Bristol. The earl of Huntingdon was captured and irregularly executed in Essex.

420 ff. For the feeling in London cp. *Chronique de la Traïson*, pp. 92, 93.

432 ff. The statement here is not that Richard deliberately starved himself to death on hearing of the failure of the rising and the death of his associates, but that he lost hope and courage and could not eat, 'quod vix si prandia sumit, Aut si sponte bibit vinum,' and that he desired the death which came to him. This is not an incredible account, and it is fairly in accordance with the best evidence. Most of the contemporary authorities give starvation as the cause, or one of the causes, of death, and the account of it given in our text agrees with that of Walsingham (ii. 245), *Annales Henrici IV*, p. 330, *Eulog. Hist. contin.* iii. 387. The Monk of Evesham mentions this commonly accepted story, but thinks it more probable that he was starved involuntarily: 'Aliter tamen dicitur et verius, quod ibidem fame miserabiliter interiit,' and this is also the assertion of the Percies' proclamation (Harding's Chronicle, ed. Ellis, p. 352). Creton says,

'Après le roy de ces nouvelles,  
Qui ne furent bonnes ne belles,  
En son cuer print de courroux tant,  
Que depuis celle heure en avant  
Oncques ne menga ne ne but,  
Ains covint que la mort recut,  
Comme ilz dient; maiz vraiment  
Je ne croy pas ensement:'

and he proceeds to say that he rather believes that Richard is still alive in prison (*Archaeologia*, xx. p. 408). Adam of Usk (p. 41) says that Richard was brought almost to death by grief and the disappointment of his hopes, but that his death was partly caused by the scantiness of the food supplied to him. The *Chronique de la Traïson* tells the story about Piers Exton, which was afterwards commonly accepted by historians, but this was certainly not current at the time in England.

462 ff. The epithet 'pius,' which Gower attaches to Henry's name in this passage, means in his mouth 'merciful,' and in the margin the 'pietas' of the new king is contrasted with the 'cruelty' of Richard, the vice to which Gower chiefly attributes his fall. There is no doubt that the execution of Arundel and the murder of Gloucester (or the popular opinion that he had been murdered) produced a very sinister impression, and caused a general feeling of insecurity which was very favourable to Henry's enterprise. It is true also that Henry showed himself scrupulously moderate at first in his dealings with political



opponents. Gower expresses the state of things pretty accurately, when he says below :

'R. proceres odit et eorum predia rodit,  
H. fouet, heredesque suas restaurat in edes;  
R. regnum vastat vindex et in omnibus astat,  
Muset terrorem pius H., que reducit amorem.'

486. This is a perilously near approach to the Wycliffite doctrine.

#### REX CELI ETC. (p. 343)

This piece is here connected by its heading with the *Cronica Tripertita*, but it occurs also in the Glasgow MS. independently and in the Trentham MS. as a sequel to the poem *In Praise of Peace*, with the following in place of the present heading, 'Explicit carmen de pacis commendacione . . . Et nunc sequitur epistola, in qua idem Iohannes pro statu et salute dicti domini sui apud altissimum deuocius exorat.' The poem itself is an adaptation of the original version of *Vox Clamantis*, vi. cap. 18 : see vol. iii. p. 554.

#### H. AQUILE PULLUS ETC. (p. 344)

The word 'Prophecia' in the margin seems to be intended to recall the supposed prophecy of Merlin about the 'filius (or pullus) aquilae' (*Archaeol.* xx. p. 257, Adam of Usk's Chronicle, p. 133).

These four lines immediately follow the *Cronica Tripertita* in the Glasgow and Hatton MSS., and are themselves followed by two quotations from the Psalms (lxxxviii. 23, xl. 3) :

'Nichil proficiet inimicus in eo, et filius iniquitatis non apponet nocere ei.'

'Dominus conseruet eum, et viuificet eum, et beatum faciat eum in terra, et non tradat eum in animam inimicorum eius.'

In the Trentham MS. we have the lines 'H. aquile pullus,' and the above quotations, subjoined to the first eight lines of 'O recolende,' as part of the dedication of the *Cinkante Balades* : see vol. i. p. 336.

1. *aquile pullus* : Henry is called so because his father was named John and used the eagle as one of his cognisances : cp. Adam of Usk, p. 24, 'pullus aquile, quia filius Iohannis.' The reference is to a prophecy, one form of which is quoted by the editor of Adam of Usk's Chronicle, p. 133. For the use of the eagle by John of Gaunt see Sandford's *Genealogical History*, p. 249.

2. *colla*. The reading of S may be supported by reference to *Vox Clamantis*, vi. 876, where our author in borrowing from the *Aurora* substitutes 'bella' for 'corda' or 'colla.'

3. *aquile . . . oleum* : this is the oil produced for Henry's coronation, which was said to have been miraculously delivered to Thomas à Becket in a vial enclosed within an eagle of gold, and deposited by him in the

church of St. Gregory at Poitiers. It was said to have been brought to England by Henry, first duke of Lancaster, and to have been delivered by him to the Black Prince. Thus it came into the possession of Richard II, who is said to have worn it constantly about his neck. He had desired to be re-anointed with this oil, but archbishop Arundel had refused to perform the ceremony (*Annales Henrici IV*, pp. 297-300, *Eulog. Hist. contin.* iii. 380).

#### O RECOLENDE, ETC. (p. 345)

The first eight lines of this appear in the Trentham MS. in combination with 'H. aquile pullus' as part of the dedication of the *Cinkante Balades*.

16 ff. For 'pietas,' 'pius,' see note on *Cronica Triperitila*, iii. 462.

#### CARMEN SUPER MULTIPLICI VICIORUM PESTILENCIA (p. 346)

'Putruerunt et corrupte sunt,' &c. This is in fact a quotation from the Psalms, 'Putruerunt et corruptae sunt cicatrices meae a facie insipientiae meae,' xxxvii. 6. (xxxviii. 5).

32. *quasi Ioviniani*. Already in the *Vox Clamantis* we have had reference to the 'new Jovinian' who is a sower of heresy (vi. 1267), and the person meant is no doubt Wycliffe. Jovinian, the opponent of Jerome on the marriage question, is taken as a type of the ecclesiastic of lax principles. Milman calls Jovinian and Vigilantius 'premature Protestants' (*History of Christianity*, Bk. III. ch. iv).

36. *sub grossa lana*: an allusion perhaps to the simple russet garb of Wycliffe's poor priests.

52 ff. Cp. *Vox Clamantis*, ii. 437 ff., whence many of these lines are taken, e.g. 54-57, 60-77.

54. *mortis ymago*: that is, the mortal creature.

86. 'time' was probably written originally for 'stude' in SCH, as well as in F, but it was perceived perhaps that 'reuereri,' which was required for the rhyme, would not stand as an imperative. Similarly in line 88 'Que fantasias aliter tibi dant' stood no doubt originally in SCH, and was altered for grammatical reasons.

181 f. This couplet is repeated from *Vox Clamantis*, vi. 861 f.

190. *quam prius*, for 'prius quam,' as frequently: cp. ll. 202, 292.

199. This line is from Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 826, 'Credula res amor est,' &c., and is quite without sense as it stands here: cp. *Vox Clamantis*, v. 165.

203 f. I Cor. vi. 18.

246 ff. Cp. *Vox Clamantis*, vi. 445 ff.

250. *semel nisi*, i. e. 'once only' for 'non nisi semel': cp. *Vox Clamantis*, iii. 22.

\*\*\*\*

312. *bis deno Ricardi regis in anno.* The twentieth year of Richard II is from June 22, 1396 to the same date of 1397. The arrests of Arundel and Gloucester took place in the first few days of the twenty-first year.

#### DE LUCIS SCRUTINIO (p. 355)

The Ecton MS. (E) gives a different form of the marginal notes, as follows:

6. Nota de luce prelatorum et curatorum. 18. Nota de luce professorum. 30. Nota de luce regum. 44. Nota de luce procerum. 51. Nota de luce militum. 58. Nota de luce legistarum et causidicorum. 67. Nota de luce mercatorum. 79. Nota de luce vulgari in patria. 89. Nota quod Iohannes Gower auctor huius libri hic in fine tenebras deplangens pro luce optinenda deum exorat.

25 ff. See *Praise of Peace*, 225 ff.

64 f. Cp. *Vox Clamantis*, v. 703.

91 ff. The language is of course figurative: we must not assume that the author is referring to any physical blindness.

#### ECCE PATET TENSUS ETC. (p. 358)

This piece is found in the Trentham MS. f. 33 v<sup>o</sup>, following the *Cinkante Balades*. It is probably imperfect at the end, the manuscript having lost the next leaf.

25. *que naturatur*, &c., 'which is irresistibly disposed to that which is unlawful.' This seems to be the meaning, but it is awkwardly expressed.

#### EST AMOR ETC. (p. 359)

This piece occurs also in combination with the *Traitid*: see vol. i. p. 392. For the substance of it cp. *Vox Clamantis*, v. 53 ff.

#### QUIA VNUSQUISQUE ETC. (p. 360)

The form given by G is practically identical with that of the Fairfax MS. That of the text, as given by SCH, varies from it in the first paragraph, where it adopts the wording found in the second recension copies, BTA. See vol. iii. pp. 479 and 550.

10. The word 'meditantis' is written over an erasure in G.

11 ff. This paragraph, as finally rewritten, seems intended to include the *Cronica Tripartita* as a sequel to the *Vox Clamantis*: cp. p. 313, where in the note which connects the two works language is used very similar to that which we have here. The author in his retrospective view of Richard's reign has brought himself to feel that the earlier calamities were a divine warning, by the neglect of which the later



evils and the final catastrophe had been brought about. It has already been pointed out (vol. iii. p. 550) that in the Fairfax MS. this account of the author's books is completely separated from the text of the *Confessio Amantis* and is written in a later hand, the same in fact which we have here in the All Souls MS.

#### ENEIDOS BUCOLIS ETC. (p. 361)

These lines, which Gower says were kindly sent to him by 'a certain philosopher' (not 'quidam Philippus,' as printed by the Roxburghe editor) on the completion of his three books, are found also at the end of the Fairfax MS. The author is probably the same as that of the four lines 'Quam cinxere freta,' &c., appended to the *Confessio Amantis*, which are called 'Epistola super huius opusculi sui complementum Iohanni Gower a quodam philosopho transmissa.' I have ventured on the conjecture that this philosopher was in fact Ralph Strode, whom Chaucer couples with Gower in the last stanza of *Troilus* with the epithet 'philosophical,' and of whom we know by tradition that he wrote elegiac verse.

#### O DEUS IMMENSE ETC. (p. 362)

There is no reason why the heading should not be from the hand of the author, though added of course somewhat later than the date of composition. The phrase 'adhuc viuens' or 'dum vixit' does not seem to be any objection to this. It is used with a view to future generations, and occurs also in the author's account of his books (p. 360, l. 4).

2. *morosi*: opposed here to 'viciosi'; cp. l. 57 and *Epistola* (p. 1), l. 33.

7. *foret*, 'ought to be.'

19. Isaiah xxxiii. 1.

49. Cp. *Traitié*, xv. 7, &c.

62. *habet speciale*, 'keeps as a secret.'

74. *recoletur*: apparently meant for subjunctive.

#### QUICQUID HOMO SCRIBAT, ETC. (p. 365)

Of the three forms given here we must suppose that of the Trentham MS. to be the earliest. It is decidedly shorter than the others, it has no prose heading, and it names the first year of Henry IV in such a manner that we may probably assign it to that year. The poet's eyesight had then failed to such an extent that it was difficult for him any longer to write; but complete blindness probably had not yet come on, and he does not yet use the word 'cecus.' Of the other two forms it is probable that that given by S is the later, if only because the precise date is omitted and the very diffuse heading restrained within reasonable limits. S, it is true, ends with this piece, while CHG have the later pieces; but these were probably added as they were composed,

and the All Souls book may have been presented to archbishop Arundel before the last poems were written.

This concluding piece is written in S in the same hand as the *Epistola* at the beginning of the book, the heading apparently over the writing of another hand, some parts as 'dicitur,' l. 2, 'tripertita—tempore,' 2, 3, being obviously over erasure. The original hand remains for 'est qualiter ab illa Cronica que,' 'in Anglia—rerum,' 'varia carmina—quia.'

#### ORATE PRO ANIMA ETC. (p. 367)

I have no doubt that this exhortation was set down by Gower himself, who had probably arranged before his death for the promised indulgence, following the principle laid down in the last poem of the collection, of being his own executor in such matters. The verses 'Armigeri scutum,' &c., which are appended in the Glasgow MS. were originally upon his tomb, and they have every appearance of being his own composition: cp. p. 352, ll. 217 ff. Berthelette after describing the tomb says, 'And there by hongeth a table, wherin appereth that who so euer praith for the soule of John Gower, he shall, so oft as he so dothe, haue a thousande and fyue hundred dayes of pardon.'

#### PRESUL, OUILE REGIS, ETC. (p. 368)

This is evidently addressed to archbishop Arundel. The comet referred to is no doubt that of March, 1402. The evils complained of are the conspiracies against the king, and we are told by the chroniclers that the appearance of this comet in the north was taken as a presage of the troubles in Wales and in Northumberland: cp. Walsingham, ii. 248. Adam of Usk, who saw it when on the Continent, says it was visible by day as well as by night, and that it probably prefigured the death of the duke of Milan, whose arms were also seen in the sky (p. 73).

#### DICUNT SCRIPTURE ETC. (p. 368)

5. The neglect complained of is of prayers for the soul of the departed. Gower seems to have followed his own precept and made arrangements for some of the prayers in his lifetime, though others are provided for by his will. Berthelette in his preface to the *Confessio Amantis* (1532) speaks of Gower's place of burial as having been prepared by himself in the church of St. Mary Overes, 'where he hath of his owne foundation a masse dayly songe. And more ouer he hath an obyte yerely done for hym within the same church, on fryday after the feaste of the blessed pope saynte Gregory.' St. Gregory's day is March 12.

## GLOSSARY

THE Glossary is not intended as a complete record of Gower's Latin vocabulary. It is a list of words which are unclassical in form or usage, or seem to present some difficulty, with select references and occasional explanations. Regular differences of spelling, such as *e* for *ae* and *ci* for *ti* are passed over without notice. The Roman numbers without letters prefixed indicate books of the *Vox Clamantis*, Ep. stands for the *Epistola* at the beginning of the volume, C. T. for *Cronica Tripartita*, V. P. for *Carmen super multiplici Viciorum Pestilencia*, L. S. for *Tractatus de Lucis Scrutinio*, and the other pieces are represented by their opening words. A few references only are given, and common usages are illustrated chiefly from the first book of the *Vox Clamantis*.

### A

abbas, s. iii. 379.  
 abhominacio, s. C. T. iii. 33.  
 abhorreo, v. a. i. 1084, shrink from, i. 1020\*, be repulsive to; abhorret *as subj.* vii. 186.  
 abinde, adv. C. T. i. 199, iii. 4.  
 abintus, adv. i. 2056.  
 abissus, s. i. 345.  
 abortus, &c. *for* 'obortus,' &c. i. 885.  
 absto, v. ii. 9, cease to exist.  
 accidia, s. vii. 817, sloth.  
 accidiosus, a. iii. 2069, vii. 817 ff., slothful.  
 Acephalus, iii. 956, iv. 715.  
 acra, a. f. *sing.* and n. *pl.*, iii. 1162, C. T. ii. 27.  
 Actëon, i. 446.  
 actrix, s. i. 763.  
 adhero, v. vii. 1296.  
 aera, s. *nom. sing.*, iii. 831 (*also aer*, e. g. iii. 837).  
 Āgamënon, i. 988.  
 agon, s. i. 1124, C. T. iii. 464, contest, action.  
 alba, s. iii. 1787, alb.  
 aliqualis, a. i. 486, (not) any.  
 aliquis, *for* 'quisquam,' i. 261.  
 alter (= different) i. 21.  
 altero, v. a. i. 534, change.  
 ambassiator, s. C. T. iii. 107.

ammodo (amodo), adv. i. 196, 495, 2146, henceforth, now.  
 amurca, s. i. 359, scum.  
 ancer, *for* 'anser,' i. 518.  
 angelicus, a. iii. 283.  
 ab ante, adv. i. 1355.  
 Anthënor, i. 963.  
 antifrasis, s. vii. 507, contradiction.  
 antitodum, s. vi. 828, antidote.  
 aperculus, s. i. 305.  
 apex, s. vii. 746, letter, vii. 1076, crown.  
 āpocapatus, a. iv. 354, cut short.  
 āpocapē, s. v. 820, cutting short.  
 apostata, s. iv. 289, 973.  
 appello, v. C. T. ii. 77 ff., accuse.  
 approprio (aproprio), v. a. i. 198.  
 aproprio, *see* approprio.  
 aquilonicus, a. C. T. i. 55, northern.  
 āra, *for* 'hara,' i. 306, 369.  
 arātrum, s. i. 249, 283.  
 archanum, *for* 'arcanum,' V. P. 64.  
 architesis, s. v. 45, (?)  
 ardeo, v. a. i. 325.  
 artes, i. 474, *see* Notes.  
 assessus, *pp.* vi. 425, prepared.  
 assisa, s. vi. 426, assise.  
 asto, v. v. 96, 100, vi. 26, be.  
 Āthenis, *abl. pl.* v. 1011.  
 auca, s. i. 549, goose.  
 augo, v. a. C. T. iii. 341 (*also augeo*, as 'Rex celi' &c. 45).  
 Augustinensis, a. C. T. ii. 153.



## B

Bachus, *for* 'Bacchus,' i. 949.  
 bāro, s. C. T. 152, bāro, 'O recolende'  
 &c. 10.  
 bassus, a. i. 523, C. T. ii. 104, low.  
 bercarius, s. iii. 1761, shepherd.  
 biblea, s. V. P. 182 (*also* biblia, vi.  
 862).  
 biceps, a. i. 227, two-edged.  
 blādum, s. i. 318, corn-crop.  
 Boētes, *for* 'Boōtes,' i. 139.  
 bombizo, v. i. 811, buzz.  
 botrus, s. ii. 219, bunch of grapes.  
 brauium, s. iv. 847, prize.  
 bruchus, s. i. 603, caterpillar.

## C

Calisia, C. T. ii. 47, Calisie (*pl.*), C. T.  
 iii. 133, Calais.  
 Cāmélion, s. iv. 826.  
 camera, s. i. 471, chamber.  
 cānon, s. iv. 359, rule.  
 cānonicus, s. iv. 359.  
 Cāpanēus, i. 985.  
 capitale, s. iii. 1801, head-dress.  
 capitaneus, s. i. 921, captain.  
 capitatus, a. iv. 839, (?).  
 capitosus, a. 'Est amor' &c. 4, head-  
 strong.  
 capitulum, s. chapter.  
 captiuo, v. C. T. ii. 70, arrest.  
 carecta, i. 285, cart.  
 caribdis, *for* 'Charybdis,' C. T. iii. 23.  
 carta, s. C. T. ii. 16, charter.  
 catallum, s. C. T. i. 144, *pl.* C. T. i. 22,  
 property.  
 catasta, s. i. 682, cage.  
 cathena, *for* 'catena,' i. 400.  
 cātus, s. C. T. i. 25, cat.  
 causo, v. i. 1072.  
 cautela, s. vi. 29, trick.  
 celsithronus, i. 2068.  
 celsitonans, i. 26.  
 ceptrum, *for* 'sceptrum,' iii. 579.  
 Cerem, *for* 'Cererem,' v. 812.  
 cerpo, *for* 'serpo,' iii. 1963.  
 cessit, *for* 'cessat,' Ep. 11.  
 Chaym, i. 1117, Cain.  
 chorusho, *for* 'corusco,' i. 23.  
 cicius, *adv.* i. 846, iv. 207, rather.  
 cielus, s. ii. 241, cycle.  
 Cilla, *for* 'Scylla,' i. 1951.

ciniphes, s. i. 603, (?).  
 citharistēus, a. vii. 753, of the harp.  
 clamo, i. 2, iv. 1330, claim.  
 clarifico, v. ii. 560, C. T. i. 188.  
 clata, s. v. 809, pillory (?).  
 claustralis, s. iv. 273, 828, monk; a. L. S.  
 15.  
 claustrum, s. iii. 379, cloister.  
 clerus, s. iii. 1.  
 cognicior, a. *comp.* i. 1112.  
 colonis, s. i. 1876, vii. 1261.  
 comitissa, s. C. T. ii. 203, countess.  
 comitua, s. C. T. iii. 139, company.  
 compaciōr, v. i. 1330, 1545, iv. 272, sym-  
 pathize (with).  
 compotus, s. iii. 1397, account.  
 concerno, v. v. 127, look at.  
 concito, *adv.* i. 1955, quickly.  
 concomitor, v. vi. 786.  
 condignum, s. iii. 1564, desert.  
 condignus, a. iv. 556, suitable.  
 confero, v. n. i. 360, ii. 311, be of use;  
*refl.* i. 207, suit.  
 confrater, s. iv. 63, brother in religion.  
 congaudeo, i. 97, C. T. iii. 148, 245.  
 congradiōr, *for* 'congradiōr,' i. 308.  
 conroto, v. i. 1194, whirl about.  
 consiliaris, s. 'O deus' &c. 13.  
 consiliator, s. 'O deus' &c. 33.  
 constellacio, s. i. 141.  
 construo, iii. 998, 1237.  
 contemplor, v. *pass.* Ep. 4.  
 contritus, a. C. T. iii. 206.  
 coppa, s. i. 545, hen.  
 corditer, *adv.* C. T. iii. 315, heartily.  
 cordula, s. iv. 509, string (of a musical  
 instrument).  
 cornuto, v. i. 245, push with horns.  
 corona, iii. 1763, 2104, tonsure.  
 corrodio, s. iv. 215, *see* Notes.  
 cōtidianus, a. ii. 164.  
 co-vnatus, a. C. T. i. 131, assembled.  
 erapulus, s. i. 280, *see* Notes.  
 crasso, v. iii. 122, iv. 71, fatten.  
 Cristicola, iii. 310, Christian.  
 crōnica, s. i. 670, C. T. iii. 489, chronicle,  
 record.  
 crucifer, s. i. 1087, cross-bearer.  
 cumque, *for* 'cum,' i. 119, iii. 545, 958,  
 vii. 872.  
 cupero, v. *for* 'recupero,' v. 214.  
 cura, s. iii. 1315 ff. cure of souls.  
 curatus, s. iii. 1322, parish priest.  
 euro, v. iii. 1344, have a cure of  
 souls.  
 cŷnōmia, s. i. 1603, dog-fly (κυνόμια) (?).

## D

*Dauticus*, *a.* iii. 365, of David.  
*de*, *prep.* Ep. 35, i. 14, 101, 115, 202, 230, 244, 392, 430, 523, 614, 868, 872, 1240, &c. with, by reason of, for the sake of.  
*decapito*, *v.* i. 836, C. T. i. 184.  
*decasus*, ii. 30, vii. 1242, fall.  
*decaudo*, *v.* v. 819, curtail.  
*dēcimo*, *v.* v. 785, take tithe.  
*decōro*, *v.* vii. 595.  
*dedico*, *v.* iii. 943, refuse.  
*dedignosus*, *a.* 'Est amor' &c. 11.  
*defendo*, *v.* v. 719, forbid.  
*deforis*, *adv.* i. 63, outside.  
*deliciosus*, *a.* i. 196.  
*demon*, *s.* i. 301.  
*denārius*, *s.* v. 760.  
*denaturo*, *v.* i. 979, v. 637, degenerate, misbehave.  
*dentale*, *s.* i. 283, ploughshare.  
*depenno*, *v.* C. T. ii. 315.  
*derogo*, *v.* vi. 29, obtain.  
*desuper*, *adv.* i. 96, vii. 678, &c. on high.  
*deuiolo*, *v.* iv. 676.  
*dextrarius*, *s.* i. 639, steed.  
*a dextris*, i. 31.  
*dieta*, *s.* C. T. i. 58, iii. 157.  
*digito*, *v.* a. iii. 1004, lay finger to.  
*disproprio*, *v.* iii. 680, cast aside.  
*dissoluo*, *v.* vii. 549, spread out.  
*distancia*, *s.* i. 965, difference.  
*ditescere*, *v.* a. ii. 607, C. T. iii. 119, enrich.  
*diuarico*, *v.* a. ii. 612, vii. 474, vary.  
*diuturnus*, *a.* i. 219.  
*doleum*, *s.* for 'dolum,' v. 777.  
*dominati*, *s.* pl. iii. 297, 'dominions.'  
*dompnus*, *s.* iv. 34, 323 ff., see *Notes*.  
*dorsa*, *s.* i. 409, back.  
*dubitatus*, *a.* i. 1561, doubtful.  
*ducatus*, *s.* C. T. iii. 117, dukedom.  
*ductilis*, *a.* iii. 1091, guiding; cp. i. 930.  
*dummodo*, for 'dum,' Ep. 11.  
*dumque*, for 'dum,' Ep. 23, i. 165, 806, iii. 366, iv. 266.

## E

*eccho*, for 'echo,' i. 376.  
*ecclēsia*, *s.* iii. 293, C. T. i. 104.  
*eclipsis*, *s.* C. T. i. 60.

*econtra*, *adv.* i. Prol. 5, on the other hand.  
*econuerso*, *adv.* ii. 102.  
*edus*, for 'haedus,' iv. 693.  
*elemōsyna*, *s.* iv. 263, alms.  
*elongo*, *v.* ii. 308, v. 99.  
*enim*, with *relat. pron.* vi. 740, 1238, cp. vii. 372, indeed.  
*ephot*, *s.* i. 1080.  
*esse*, *inf. as subst.* ii. 437, 512, 'Rex celi' &c. 7.  
*Ethna*, C. T. ii. 207.  
*euinco*, *v.* vii. 67, acquire (?).  
*ex*, *prep.* i. 97, 156, 522, 881, 1334, because of, by means of, by, away from.  
*exercitus*, for 'exercitus,' i. 609.  
*excetra*, ii. Prol. 51, serpent (?).  
*executor*, *s.* p. 368 *marg.*, executor of the dead.  
*exemplior*, *v.* vii. 925, warn by example.  
*exennia*, *s.* pl. vi. 63, gifts.  
*exilium*, *s.* i. 455, destruction.  
*explanto*, *v.* C. T. iii. 255, root out.  
*expresse*, *adv.* 'Vnanimis esse' &c. 2.  
*exquo*, *conj.* ii. cap. xi. (*heading*), since.  
*extasis*, *s.* i. 1470, v. 138.  
*extenta*, iii. 942, (?).  
*exto*, *v.* i. 421, 433, be.

## F

*falco*, *s.* i. 521, C. T. ii. 51.  
*fatatus*, *pp.* C. T. iii. 356, fated.  
*fāuus*, *s.* ii. Prol. 77 (*but* *fāuus*, vi. 900).  
*febricitor*, *v.* iv. 64, be fevered.  
*fero*, *v.* i. 164, 365, 724, 1200, 1202, find, obtain, experience, direct.  
*fidūcia*, *s.* vi. 336.  
*figmentum*, *s.* vii. 1139, formation.  
*florigeratus*, *a.* vi. 1365, flowery.  
*forma*, *s.* iii. 1413, dignity.  
*formalis*, *a.* iii. 1443, dignified.  
*fortifico*, *v.* ii. Prol. 81.  
*fortitudo*, *s.* i. 1095.  
*fossum*, *s.* i. 348, pitfall.  
*frāgro*, *v.* i. 61.  
*frendeo*, *v.* i. 337, roar.  
*fugat*, *subj. for* 'fugēt,' iii. 1498, vi. 1066.  
*furiens*, for 'furens,' i. 777, 843, 1190.  
*furo*, *v.* a. i. 853, 2106, stir up, infuriate (*also v. n. i. 245, &c.*).

## G

*gaiolis*, *s.* (*abl. pl.*) i. cap. vi. (*heading*), gaols.  
*garcio*, *s.* vii. 264, apprentice.  
*geba*, *s.* iii. 86, *see Notes*.  
*gehenna*, *s.* i. 431, 1377, C. T. ii. 2.  
*genuflexus*, *a.* 'Rex celi' &c. 53.  
*gerarchia*, *s.* iii. 300, hierarchy.  
*Gereon*, *for* 'Geryon,' i. 447.  
*gibbosus*, *a.* vii. 1455.  
*girovago*, *v.* i. 124, wander about.  
*gladius*, *pp.* iii. 366, armed with a sword.  
*glosa*, *s.* iii. 941, 'Est amor' &c. I, comment, explanation.  
*graculus*, *s.* i. 681, jay.  
*grauo*, *v.* n. vii. 1455, be an offence.  
*grisus*, *a.* v. 797, grey.  
*grossor*, *v.* *perh.* *for* 'grassor,' vii. 167.  
*grossus*, *a.* i. 251, coarse.  
*guerra*, *s.* i. 2027, ii. 76, war.  
*gutta*, *i.* 70, gum.

## H

*habeo*, *v.* vii. 990, 1047, 1148, must, ought.  
*habundo*, *v.* n. i. 17, increase.  
*Hānibal*, vi. 1289.  
*Hēlēnus*, *Hēlēnus*, i. 1002, 1153.  
*Herēbus*, *for* 'Erebus,' i. 741.  
*herēmis*, *s.* ii. 261, desert.  
*heremita*, *s.* V. P. 300, hermit.  
*heresis*, *s.* V. P. 32.  
*hēri*, *adv.* i. 245, yesterday, (*hēri*, iii. 1379).  
*hic*, *for* 'is' or 'ille,' i. 475, 501, 676.  
*Hispannia*, i. 447.  
*holocaustum*, *s.* i. 1854, sacrifice.  
*humerales*, *s.* iii. 1799, vestment worn on the shoulders.

## I

*Iāsōnis*, *genit.* i. 263.  
*idipsum*, ii. 585.  
*igniuomus*, *a.* i. 1713.  
*Thēsus*, ii. 485, &c.  
*illiceber*, *a.* vi. cap. xii. (*heading*), alluring.  
*illicebrum*, *s.* *for* 'illicebra,' vi. 854, allurement.  
*illuc*, *for* 'illic,' i. 57.

*imperialis*, *a.* C. T. iii. 458, royal.  
*incantatus*, *pp.* iv. 799, C. T. ii. 13, charmed, deluded.  
*incaustum*, *s.* ii. 1, ink.  
*inchola*, *for* 'incola,' i. 1215.  
*incircumspectus*, *a.* i. 907, incautious.  
*in eternum*, *adv.* i. 1756, 'Rex celi' &c. 6.  
*infernus*, *s.* i. 430, 748, hell.  
*inficio*, *v.* iv. 236, unmake (*also* taint, pollute, iv. 438, &c.).  
*infra*, *prep.* C. T. ii. 95 (*marg.*), iii. 401 (*marg.*), within: *ab infra*, *ad infra*, i. 2011, v. 167.  
*ingluuius*, *s.* i. 1907, flow, (?).  
*innunis*, *a.* vi. 1307, innocent.  
*inquiēto*, *v.* vii. 892.  
*insuleatus*, *pp.* i. 1649, (?).  
*interius*, *comp. n. as subst.* i. Prol. 12, 1361.  
*interuter*, *a.* ii. 188, each in turn (?).  
*intitulo*, *v.* i. 126, vii. 158, take possession of (?).  
*ioco*, *v.* a. ii. 188, C. T. ii. 181, mock at, greet with smiles.  
*iota*, *s.* vii. 746.  
*ipse*, *for* 'ille,' i. 94, 239, 754; *redundant*, i. 852, 864.  
*irracio*, *s.* i. 178, unreason.  
*iste*, *for* 'hic,' Ep. 7, i. 357, 838, 1118.  
*iūbeo*, *v.* vi. 779 (*also* *iūbeo*).  
*iubileum*, *s.* C. T. iii. 330.  
*iudiciale*, *s.* iii. 1692, vi. 710, judgement.  
*iugulum*, *s.* C. T. ii. 98, murder.  
*iustifico*, *v.* C. T. ii. 223.

## L

*laicus*, *a. and s.* iii. 505, 1761.  
*latitanter*, *adv.* i. 481, secretly.  
*Latōna*, i. 579.  
*latria*, *s.* iv. 819, service.  
*lauācrum*, *s.* ii. 7, baptism.  
*lēgatus*, *s.* iii. 664.  
*legista*, *s.* C. T. i. 31, L. S. 61.  
*legius*, *s.* vi. 581, subject.  
*leopardus*, *s.* i. 232, 1757.  
*leuio*, *v.* v. 662, lighter.  
*ligna*, *s. f.* vi. 524.  
*limpha*, *for* 'lymphā,' ii. 255.  
*linquo*, *v.* n. i. 1572, cease.  
*locuplex*, *for* 'locuples,' vi. 133.  
*Londonie* (*pl.*), *Londonienses*, C. T. ii. 153, iii. 244, 268, 420.  
*a longe*, *adv.* i. 725, 1032.



**lūcerna**, *s.* iii. 1077 (*also lūcerna*, e.g. L. S. 6).  
**luxuracio**, *s.* iii. 209, wantonness.  
**Lysias**, ii. 290.

## M

**Macēdo**, vi. 1109.  
**maculo**, *v.* C. T. iii. 375, blame.  
**madeo**, *v.* a. vii. 888, make wet.  
**maior**, *s.* i. 1861, mayor.  
**maius**, *adv.* i. 2010, any longer.  
**maledictio**, *s.* i. 177, curse.  
**maligno**, *v.* V. P. 12.  
**Mammona**, *s.* iii. 207, vii. 120, V. P. 298.  
**manus**, *in phrases*, ante manum, vi. 438, 680, pre manibus, i. 1244, iii. 227.  
**manutentus**, *pp.* C. T. ii. 61, (of an oath) taken.  
**margārita**, *s.* iv. 661.  
**martirizatus**, *pp.* C. T. ii. 96.  
**meminens**, *pres. part.* ii. Prol. 2.  
**memor**, *a.* vi. 924, vii. 1428, remembered.  
**memoror**, *v. dep.* Ep. 18, vi. 1117, vii. 1162.  
**mentalis**, *a.* 'O recolende' &c. 25.  
**mēridianus**, *a.* i. 737.  
**miles**, *s.* i. 1067, knight.  
**milicia**, *s.* v. 3, knighthood.  
**milicies**, *s.* i. 1265, knighthood.  
**millesies**, *adv.* i. 1406.  
**Mīnōtaurus**, i. 273.  
**ad minus**, vi. 1344, at least.  
**misticus**, *for* 'mysticus,' ii. 444, iii. 1838.  
**mitto**, *v.* i. 1123, commit.  
**mocio**, *s.* iii. 2091, motive.  
**modernus**, *a.* iii. Prol. 56, V. P. 33, 134, of the present time.  
**modo**, *adv.* Ep. 40, iii. 276 ff., 1258, now, at the present time.  
**molendinum**, *s.* i. 402, mill.  
**mollior**, *v. dep.* i. 41, soften.  
**molosus**, *s. for* 'molossus,' i. 400, mastiff.  
**mōmentum**, *s.* i. 1405, ii. 152.  
**monachus**, *s.* iii. 379.  
**monialis**, *s.* iv. 553 ff., nun.  
**monilis**, *a.* iv. 265.  
**mōnoculus**, *a.* i. 405, one-eyed.  
**moriger**, *a.* vi. 567, vii. 1183, 1355, good.  
**morosus**, *a.* Ep. 33, 'O deus' &c. 2.  
**mortifico**, *v.* C. T. ii. 110, kill.  
**mulcōbris**, *a.* v. 75, soothing.  
**mulier**, *genit.* muliēris, i. 1255, iii. 1517.  
**multiplico**, *v. n.* ii. 606.  
**multociens**, *adv.* i. 1341, iv. 1095.

**mundifico**, *v. a.* vii. 627, C. T. i. 192, cleanse.  
**mundipotens**, *a.* vi. 398.  
**murelegus**, *s.* i. 463, cat.

## N

**nāto**, *v.* C. T. ii. 45.  
**naturō**, *v. a.* v. 205.  
**nēbula**, *s.* i. 133, L. S. 22.  
**necesse**, *s.* C. T. iii. 217, necessity.  
**nefrendus**, *s.* i. 307, young pig.  
**nephas**, *nephandus*, *for* 'nefas,' 'nefandus,' i. 446, 1318.  
**nequio**, *for* 'nequeo,' Ep. 17.  
**nigredo**, *s.* i. 529, C. T. i. 114.  
**nisi**, *conj.* iii. Prol. 62, iii. 22, V. P. 250, (*used for* 'non nisi') only.  
**nisus**, vii. 226, hawk.  
**non**, *for* 'ne,' iii. 1152, 1434, iv. 131.  
**nonne**, *for* 'num,' v. 721, vi. 523, vii. 619, *for* 'non,' vi. 351.  
**nota**, *s.* i. 128, note of music.  
**nouiter**, *adv.* i. 2011, anew.  
**nouo**, *v. n.* iv. 678, be renewed.  
**nouo**, *adv.* iii. 250, 284, 376, anew.  
**nullatenus**, *adv.* vi. cap. v. (*heading*).  
**num**, *for* 'nonne,' ii. 306, 320.  
**numquid**, *for* 'nonne,' ii. Prol. 59, v. 280, vii. 484, 892, surely.  
**nuper**, *adv.* i. 443, iii. 279 ff., formerly.

## O

**obaudio**, *v.* vii. 1471, (?).  
**ōbex**, *s.* C. T. ii. 3, hindrance.  
**occianus**, *for* 'oceanus,' i. 1954.  
**occo**, *v.* vii. 448, cut off.  
**ōster**, i. 603, gad-fly.  
**oppono**, *v.* iii. 615, put questions.  
**organa**, *s.* i. 103, vii. 299, musical instrument.  
**origo**, *s.* i. 144, (?).  
**orizon**, *s.* ii. 240, sky.  
**orphanus**, *s.* v. 232.  
**ortus**, *for* 'hortus,' i. 61.  
**Oxōnia**, C. T. i. 63.

## P

**pāganus**, *s.* ii. 495, iii. 307.  
**Pālamādes**, i. 987.  
**palentinus**, *a.* i. 915.  
**panellus**, vii. 1455, saddle.  
**pannicfeus**, *a.* v. 782, of cloth-makers.

paritas, s. i. 763.  
 parliamentum, s. C. T. i. 129, iii. 284.  
 pasqua, s. fem. i. 342, pasture.  
 pauce, adv. v. 93.  
 pedito, v. iii. 1561, v. 101.  
 peniteo, v. n. V. P. 135, 250, repent.  
 penna, s. i. Prol. 37, pen.  
 perambulus, a. C. T. iii. 120, going about.  
 perante, per ante, adv. i. 135, 591, 670, 1107.  
 perextra, adv. iv. 645.  
 perio, for 'pereio,' iv. 807, C. T. ii. 145.  
 perpetualis, a. Ep. 48, 'O recolende' &c. 25, lasting.  
 phariseus, a. iv. 936, C. T. iii. 73; s. iv. 1013.  
 Philomena, i. 99.  
 philosophus, s. i. 588.  
 pietas, s. i. 1190, vi. 744, C. T. iii. 452, mercy, pity.  
 pietosus, a. C. T. iii. 388, merciful.  
 pius, a. i. 1264, vii. 1141, C. T. iii. 466 ff., merciful, gentle.  
 placenda, s. pl. iv. 714, acceptable offerings.  
 placitus, a. vii. 379, pleasing.  
 plano, v. i. 409, ii. 481, smoothe, stroke.  
 plasma, s. vii. 1233, creature.  
 plasmator, s. vii. 1233, creator.  
 plaudo, v. vii. 299, 753, be pleasing.  
 pneumonia, s. iii. Prol. 106.  
 pōderis, s. iii. 1787, surplice or alb.  
 policia, s. v. 670.  
 polimitus, for 'polymitus,' a. iii. 1383, closely woven.  
 pomposus, a. iii. 76, C. T. ii. 82, iii. 366, arrogant.  
 porcarius, s. i. 313, swineherd.  
 posse, inf. as subst. i. 1176, iii. 582, power.  
 postēn, adv. v. 1013.  
 (de) postfacto, iii. 562, afterwards.  
 practica, s. iii. 1461, practice.  
 prebenda, s. iii. 1323, prebend.  
 prelatus, s. Ep. 41.  
 prenosticum, s. i. Prol. 13, presage.  
 presbiter, s. iii. 390, 1790, priest.  
 presbiteralis, a. L. S. 17, of the priesthood.  
 presbitero, v. a. iii. 1826, 2090, ordain priest.  
 prestigiosus, a. 'Est amor' &c. 13, full of tricks.  
 prestimulo, v. i. 576, sting (but read rather 'perstimulo').

presto, v. v. 671, cause (*with inf.*).  
 presul, s. iii. 34, prelate.  
 preuarico, v. a. iv. 679, 806, falsify.  
 preuaricor, v. n. i. 740, iii. 12\*, 1701, L. S. 90, transgress.  
 primas, s. C. T. ii. 239, primate.  
 prior, s. iv. 318, prior (of a monastery).  
 probitas, s. vi. 938, prowess.  
 profugus, a. C. T. i. 92, 108.  
 Progne, for 'Procne,' i. 101.  
 prophanus, for 'profanus,' C. T. Prol. 3.  
 prophecia, s. iv. 771, prophecy.  
 propheta, s. iv. 767.  
 proprietarius, s. iv. 897.  
 proprio, v. iii. 770, iv. 817, 838, appropriate.  
 prosēlitus, s. iv. 1011, proselyte.  
 prothdolor, for 'prohdolor,' V. P. 234, C. T. ii. 1 (also 'prodolor,' i. 234, &c.).  
 protunc, adv. i. cap. xiii. (heading) (also 'pro tunc').  
 proximior, a. comp. i. 906, 974, nearer.  
 psalmista, s. V. P. 119.  
 Pseudo, iv. 788.

## Q

quam, for 'quanto,' i. 1534.  
 quam prius, for 'prius quam,' i. 1944, vii. 429, 1106, V. P. 190, 202, &c.  
 quamuis, conj. i. 350.  
 que, conj. (standing alone) Ep. 25, i. Prol. 23, i. 54, 100, 149, 395, &c., (enclitic) i. 53, 179, 407, &c.  
 quia, for 'quod,' i. 1593, O quia, i. 59, v. 193.  
 quicquid, for 'quicquam,' i. 412, 885, 1346.  
 quid, for 'quicquid,' i. 1609, vii. 551.  
 quiesco, v. a. C. T. iii. 4, restrain.  
 quin magis (*with indic.*), i. 135, 262, 595, 994, so quin, i. 509, 608, 1607.  
 quiritō, v. i. 804, cry out (like a boar).  
 quis, for 'quisquam,' i. 184, 617, 716; quid pro quo, iii. 1223.  
 quisque, for 'quicunque,' vi. 813, vii. 578.  
 quo, conj. for 'qua,' i. 500, vii. 487, for 'vnde,' vii. 800, 820.  
 quod, conj. i. 223, 541, so that, i. Prol. 22, i. 568, in order that.  
 quōdammodo, adv. vii. 1323.  
 quodecunque, *with negative*, i. 507.  
 quoque, conj. iii. Prol. 20, and.

## R

ramnus, s. i. 1019\*, bramble (?).  
 reatus, s. vi. 432, C. T. ii. 179, L. S. 89, guilt.  
 rector, s. iii. 1319, rector (of a parish).  
 redditus, s. for 'reditus,' i. 44.  
 radio, for 'redeo,' i. 1190.  
 refor, v. ii. 505, reply.  
 refundo, v. i. 49, sprinkle.  
 reiectus, *pp.* L. S. 6.  
 releuamen, s. i. 2113.  
 reliquus, a. i. 1474.  
 remordeo, v. i. 1756, V. P. 175, remind, call to mind (?).  
 replanto, v. C. T. iii. 255.  
 reprobus, a. i. 1018, reprobate.  
 reptile, s. i. 36.  
 rescido, v. (for 'recido'), C. T. i. 93, iii. 347, L. S. 80 (also 'recisa,' vi. 423).  
 residuus, for 'reciduius,' vii. 1124, C. T. ii. 343.  
 responsalis, a. C. T. iii. 380.  
 restauro, v. V. P. 256.  
 retrocado, v. ii. 329, fall back.  
 retrogradus, a. i. 1311, 'O deus' & c. 90.  
 retrouersor, v. ii. 229, be reversed.  
 reviuus, a. 'Rex celi' & c. 22.  
 ribaldus, s. iii. 1472, profligate person.  
 Rinx, i. 407 (name of a dog).  
 robustus, a. C. T. i. 41.  
 Romipeta, iii. 1551.  
 rosans, *pres. part.* vi. 1358, rose-bearing.  
 rōta, s. ii. 61 (but rōta, i. 1163).  
 rotundo, *adv.* i. 1953, around.  
 rumphea, for 'rumpia,' i. 863, sword.  
 rusticitas, s. i. 174, 513, country-people, country.  
 rutilis, a. v. 27.

## S

sanceitum, s. vi. 743, sentence.  
 sanguinitas, s. i. 1172, bloodiness.  
 saporo, v. a. ii. 601.  
 Sāturnus, iii. 923.  
 scansus, s. i. 1601.  
 sceleres, for 'celeres' (?), C. T. iii. 188.  
 scisma, s. L. S. 29.  
 scrophia, for 'scrofa,' i. 309.  
 scrutor, v. *pass.* iv. 369.  
 se, sibi, & c. for 'eum,' 'ei,' & c. i. 271, 322, C. T. iii. 231.  
 sedimen, s. i. 359, dregs.  
 segistrum, s. i. 359 (?).  
 sēmidemon, s. iv. 214.

sēmitutus, a. vii. 280.  
 sepultum, s. i. 1170, C. T. ii. 156, burial.  
 sēra, s. i. 882, bar.  
 series, s. v. 569, 812 (?).  
 seruitus, s. C. T. iii. 468.  
 sexus, s. i. 728, class.  
 sibulus, a. for 'sibilus,' i. 551.  
 sic quod, i. Prol. 32, in order that.  
 sicque, for 'sic,' i. 338.  
 significatum, s. vii. 952, meaning.  
 similo, for 'simulo,' iv. 4.  
 sinagoga, s. ii. 494, iv. 1093.  
 sinautem, *conj.* iii. cap. xxvii. (heading), otherwise.  
 sincopo, v. a. v. 819, diminish.  
 sinistro, v. n. iii. 1525, do wrong.  
 sintilla, for 'scintilla,' ii. 475.  
 sollicitas, s. iv. 112, labour.  
 solor, v. *pass.* i. 1497.  
 sophia, s. ii. 370, wisdom.  
 sōpitus, *pp.* i. 151, 'O deus' & c. 81.  
 sors, s. i. 171, C. T. ii. 113, company.  
 sotulares, s. v. 805, shoes (?).  
 spācium, s. i. 1273.  
 spasmatus, *pp.* i. 2011, seized with convulsions.  
 specialis, a. as s. vii. 243, L. S. 77, friend; speciale, 'O deus' & c. 62, secret.  
 speculatiuum, s. iii. 1462, theory.  
 spera, for 'sphaera,' ii. 151.  
 spergo, for 'spargo,' i. 590.  
 spiritualis, s. v. 605, 668.  
 spiritualiter, *adv.* iii. 635.  
 spiro, v. i. 408, 550, v. 435, desire.  
 spondaicus, a. iv. 81, slow.  
 sporta, s. iii. 1961, basket.  
 stapula, s. v. 773, the staple (of wool).  
 sternutacio, s. i. 189, braying.  
 sternuto, v. i. 797, bray.  
 stragulatus, a. C. T. i. 140.  
 stringo, v. (with *inf.*) i. 130, compel.  
 subite, *adv.* i. 1531.  
 sublimus, a. iii. 419, 701 (sublimis, iii. 821).  
 succo, v. Ep. 36, suckle.  
 suffragium, s. Ep. 32, prayer.  
 suggo, v. for 'sugo,' ii. 413.  
 superbio, v. a. iv. 322, make proud.  
 supersum, v. iii. 16, 1298, surpass.  
 suus, for 'eius,' 'eorum,' i. 54, 189, 206, 332, 338, 634.

## T

taxa, s. vi. 650, vii. 209, 283, C. T. iii. 469, tax, blame.



*taxo*, *v.* C. T. iii. 469, *tax*.  
*Tēgia*, *for* 'Tegeaea,' *a.* i. 349.  
*temporibus*, *as adv.* i. 298, after a time.  
*tempore*, *for* 'tempero,' *v.* 213.  
*tenebresco*, *v. n.* Ep. 11; *v. a.* vi. 225.  
*teneo*, *v.* iii. 584 ff., *v.* 384, belong.  
*tener*, *a. abl.* *teneri*, iv. 993, *pl.* *teneres*,  
 iv. 583.  
*tenuus*, *for* 'tenuis,' i. 551.  
*terreus*, *a.* iii. 88, 288, earthly.  
*terrula*, *s.* vii. 531, a little earth.  
*Thāmisia*, C. T. i. 81.  
*thēologīa*, *s.* iv. 821.  
*thēsaurus*, *s.* 'O deus' &c. 81.  
*Thētis*, *Thēthis*, *Tētis*, *v.* 812, vii.  
 1067, C. T. i. 80.  
*Tidēus*, i. 985.  
*timeo*, *vi.* 997 (*usu.* *timeo*).  
*timidus*, *a.* i. 1848, fearful.  
*tirannicus*, *a.* C. T. ii. 22.  
*trādīdit*, i. 2128.  
*tribula*, *s.* i. 863, three-pronged fork.  
*Troianus*, *for* 'Traianus,' vi. 1273.  
*tureor*, *v. pass.* vii. 1215.

## V

*vago*, *v.* i. 1199, wander.  
*valdē*, *adv.* i. 581, iii. 1594.  
*valedico*, *v.* v. 766, give salutation.  
*vanga*, *s.* i. 859, mattock.  
*vario*, *v.* iv. 910, transgress.  
*vaspa*, *s.* i. 571, wasp.  
*Vaspasianus*, i. 571.

*vber*, *fem.* *vbera*, vii. 346.  
*vegeto*, *v.* vii. 1033, flourish.  
*velle*, *inf. as subst.* i. 235, 832, iii. 22, will,  
 desire.  
*vendico*, *v.* vi. 228, claim.  
*vertor*, *v.* a. vi. 1197.  
*veteratus*, *a.* v. 784, old.  
*vetitur*, *for* 'vetatur,' iv. 903.  
*vicecōmes*, *s.* vi. 419, sheriff.  
*vicinium*, *s.* iii. 991.  
*videbat*, *for* 'videbat,' C. T. iii. 436.  
*villa*, *s.* C. T. iii. 55 ff., town.  
*vitalis*, *a.* V. P. 27, (?).  
*vix*, *adv. with neg.* v. 104, 153, vii. 12;  
*vix* si, iv. 218, vi. 1330; *for* 'paene,' vi.  
 640.  
*Vluxes*, i. 779, 967.  
*vnio*, *s.* v. 673, unity.  
*voluto*, *for* 'volito,' i. 95, 605.  
*volutus*, *pp.* from 'volo, volui,' iii. 913.  
*vrtricatus*, *a.* 'Est amor' &c. 15.  
*vt quid*, v. 461, why.  
*vtpote*, *for* 'vt,' v. 843, as.  
*vtque*, *for* 'vt,' v. 104, 385.  
*vulpis*, *for* 'vulpes,' i. 487.

## Y

*ydōlum*, *s.* ii. 519.  
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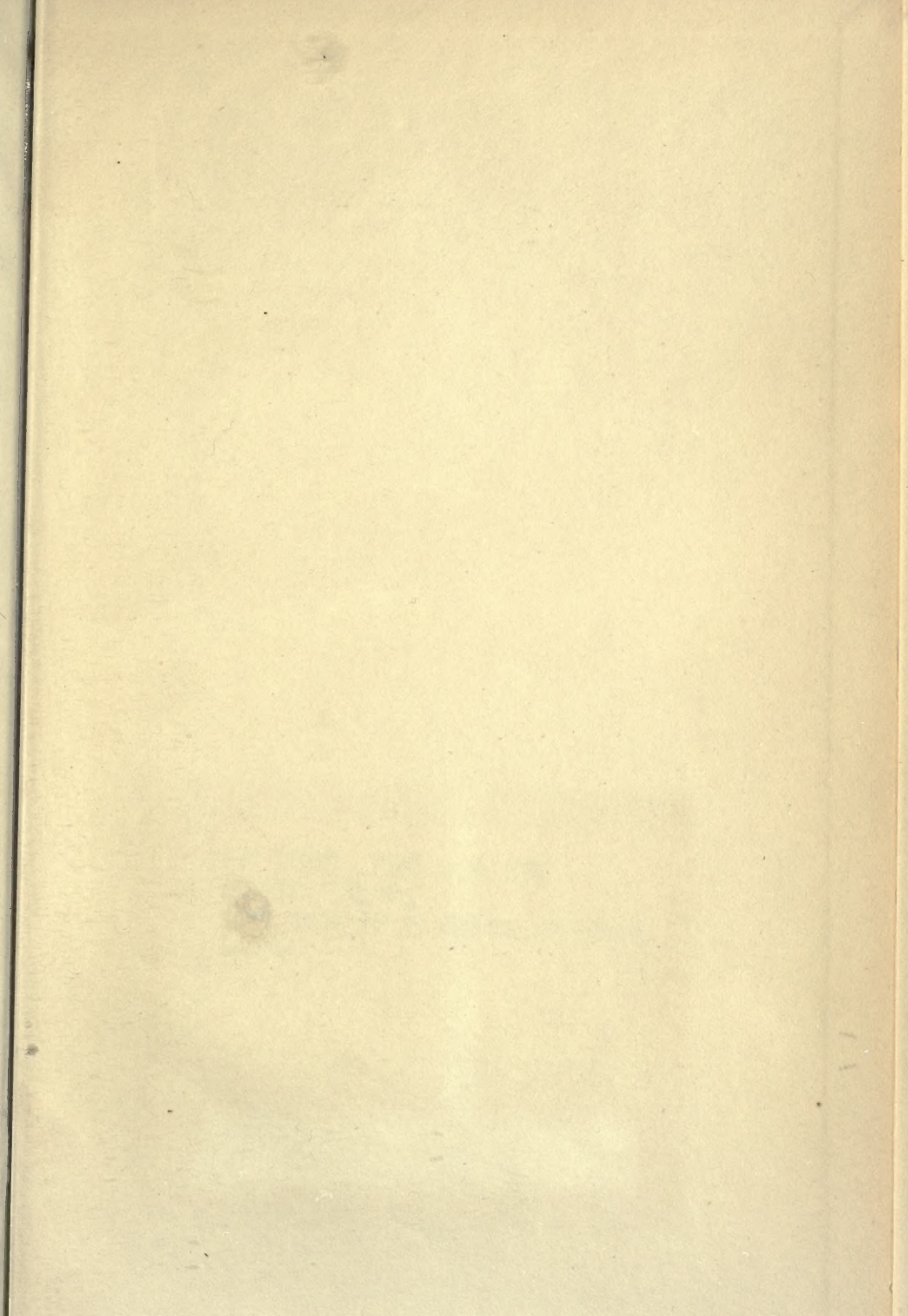
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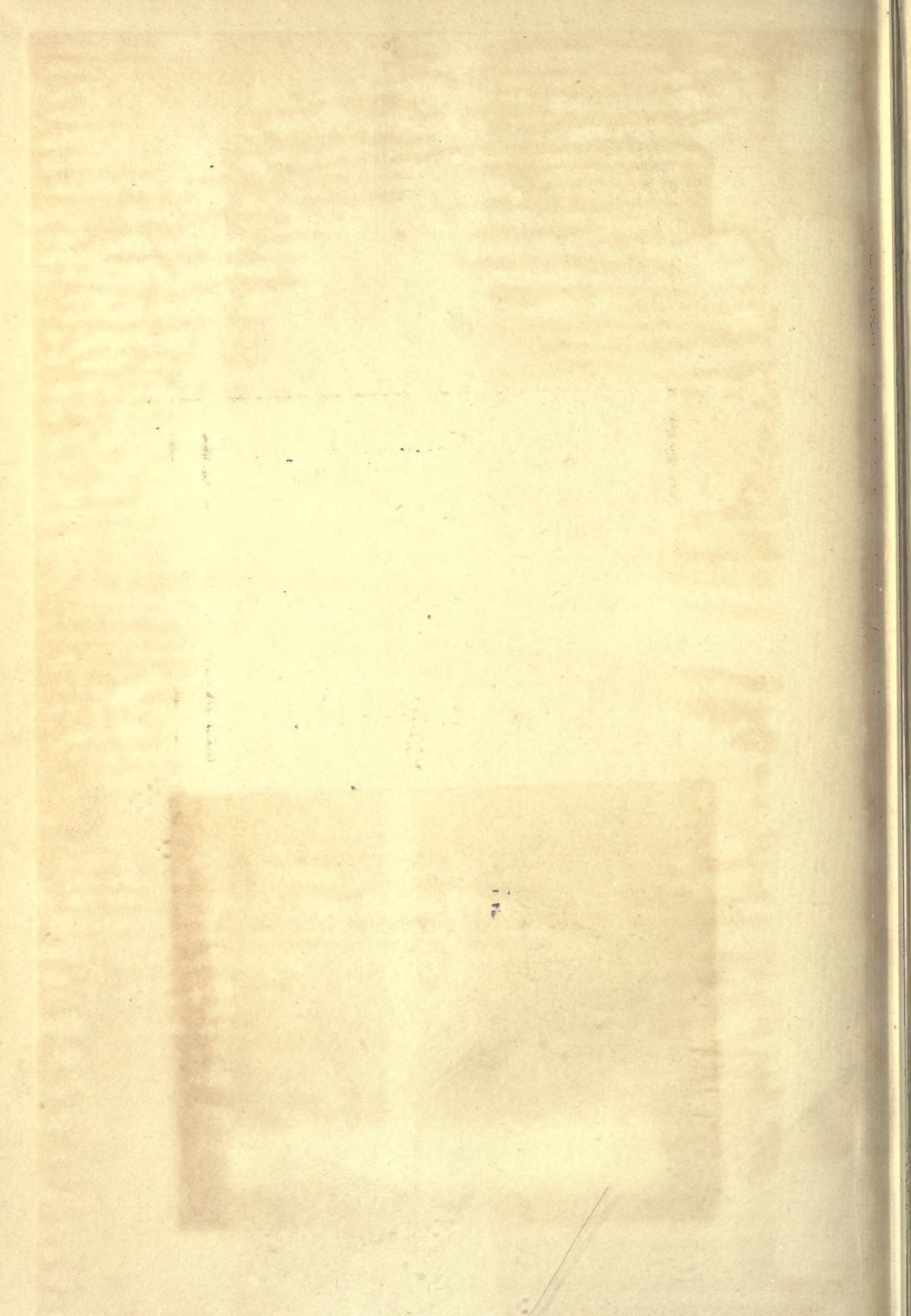


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